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Lives and Characters
of the
Eminent Writers
of the
Scots Nation

George Mackenzie
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Volume III



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THE
LIVES and CHARACTERS
Of the most Eminent
W R I T E R S
OF THE
S C O T S N A T I O N ;
WITH
An Abstract & Catalogue of their *WORKS*,
Their various *EDITIONS* ;
A N D
The Judgment of the LEARN'D concerning them.

B Y
GEORGE MACKENZIE,
M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh.

V O L. III.

*Si ad Naturam eximiam Eruditio accesserit, tum demum singulare
quoddam existere debet. Cic. pro Arch. Poet.*

*Mibi quidem nulli satis eruditii videntur, quibus nostra ignota sunt.
Id. de Finib. Lib. 1.*

*Nunquam Stygias fertur ad umbras
Inclita virtus. Senec. Hercul. Scen. 8. Act 5.*



E D I N B U R G H :
Printed by William Adams Junior, MDCCXXII.



T O

JOHN LAW, Esq;



HIS Work was design'd to appear under Your Protection, when the Eyes of all Europe were upon You, and when both *Whig* and *Tory* were offering up the Incense of their Praises to Your Merit: But they no sooner perceived the Wheel of Providence to turn, but they altered their Encomiums to bitter Invectives. As the *Roman Historian Sallust* observes, (a) Fortune prevails in every Thing; it exaltereth or depresses our Fame and Reputation, not according to the Rules of Reason and Justice, but according to the unaccountable Caprices and Whims of Mankind: Yet it is not in the Power of Fortune, either to give or take away from the Souls of Great Men, those bright and shining Qualities they are endued with. And 'tis nowise surprizing, to any Man that has but the least Knowledge in the Affairs of the World, to observe the daily Vicissitudes and Changes that happen in it. So that what *Pliny the Younger* says of himself (b), we may all apply to our selves, especially in this Age we live in.

" When (*says he*) I reflect upon the Changes that happened in " my Time; if I compute them by the Years of my Life, they are " not many, but if I calculate them by the Variety of their Events, " they wou'd seem to require several Ages: Which shou'd teach us " to despair of nothing, nor to put our Trust in any Thing.

Now, *SIR*, as it was not any mercenary Motive that mov'd me to address You by my Letter of the 30 of November, 1719, where-

(a) Fortuna Prohibitam, Industriam, aliasque artes bonas, neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest. *Sal. Bell. Jug.*

(b) Si computas annos, exiguum tempus; si vires rerum, etiam plus: Quid potest esse documenta nihil desperare, nullum credere. *Plin. Lib. 4. Ep. 24.*

in I begg'd the Honour of Your Patronage to this Work ; but the real Value I had for Your extraordinary Accomplishments, that had then deservedly gained You the Esteem of all *Europe* : So this is only to let the World know, how proud I am of Publishing the Lives of the Illustrious Persons of our Nation, under the Patronage of One of Them, who, by His sole Merit, had raised Himself to be the First Minister of State, not only in a Foreign Kingdom, but in one of the most polite and powerful Nations in *Europe* ; and whose Knowledge in all the Parts of Literature, deservedly claims the Patronage of a Work of this Nature. And I hope, *SIR*, how mean soever the Performance may be in it self, You'll be pleas'd to Accept of It, as the outmost Testimony of the Love and Respect of,

S I R,

Your most Humble,

and Obedient Servant,

George Mackenzie.

T H E



T H E P R E F A C E



HIS Work, which should have been Published some Years ago, was stopt by the Calamities and Troubles that arose in the Country immediately after the Printing of my Proposals; and since I have had my large Share in these afflicting Dispensations of the Divine Providence, I hope 'twill be sustained as an At-onement for my Fault, if that can be reckoned one in me which was but the Consequence of a public Calamity. And now since it has pleased God to enable me to perform my Promise, if This shall meet with as favourable a Reception from the Public as the Two Former Volumes have met with, so that I may thereby be enabled to defray the Charges of the Press, I shall willingly undergo the Toil and Labour of finishing this Undertaking by bringing it down to our own Times: But if otherwise, I shall rest satisfied, in Hopes that some one or other may undertake the Task, that is every way better qualified for it than I am.

Since the Publishing of my II. Volume, I have seen the Accounts that two Journalists have given of it: The First is Monsieur de la Roche, in the II. Volume of his Memoirs of Literature (a) for the Month of February, 1712. And the Other is by the Jesuites of Trevaux, in their Memoirs for the Month of March (b) 1712. The First of these has given such an impartial Account of my Design and Performance, that I have not so much as the Shadow of an Objection to make against it; but on the contrary, I think my self here bound to make my outmost Acknowledgment to that Learn'd Gentleman for the great Honour that he has done me. But the Jesuites of Trevaux have not given the Public such a favourable Impression of my Undertaking: They have indeed given a very obliging Account of my Conjecture concerning the Peopling of Scotland from Scandinavia, and of Ireland, from Scotland. And here I must acquaint the Reader, That I lately found in the Scaligerana (c) a very strong Argument for strengthenning of this Conjecture; for this Prodigy of Learning,

from his immense Reading, informs us, That the ancient Language of the Danes and Irish was the same; "Les Irlandois & les Danois parloient autrefois une même Language". But to return to our Learned Journalists: They say, "That I acknowledge, with Reason, that I have a great Obligation to Mr. Du Pin, who alone furnished Materials for this 1. Volume; for since the most part of the learned Men of which he speaks (says he) are Theologues, he has found in this Ecclesiastical Bibliotheque, all that was requisite to say of them to any Purpose: But he does not tell us how he found an infinite Number of Things in the same Bibliotheque, altogether extraneous to his Subject, by which he has enlarged his 1. Volume: For, to what Purpose was it to give us the History of the Pelagians, the Arians, the Iconoclasts, the Predestinarians? &c. And what Connection is there betwixt the Life of a Learned Scotsman, and the History of Abaillard and Heloise? &c. (a)

Tis very well known in the Republic of Letters, what a Spite and Malice that Society in general bore to this illustrious Doctor of the Sorbon: And for me to have mentioned him with Honour, was sufficient to have brought me under the Lash of their Censure; but if these mighty Umpires of Learning had been pleased to represent to the Public my Design, with the same Candor and Ingenuity that Monsieur de la Roche has done, they would not have had the least Ground of an Objection against me: "For (says he) (a) to give the Readers a just Notion of this Work, I must observe, That they will find in it a prodigious Number of Things hardly to be expected in a Collection of this Nature. The Author, not contented to give us the History of the Scots Writers, an Abstract and Catalogue of their Works, an Account of their various Editions, and the Judgment of the Learned concerning them; he has also thought fit to insert a great many Digressions, and to treat occasionally of several Subjects, whereby this Work will be the more useful to the Reader. Whenever he finds an Author engaged in a Controversy of any Moment, he gives a compendious Account of that Controversy, from its Rise to the Time of that Author: Having observed, That Thomas, a Cistercian Monk and Abbot of Dundrenan in Galloway, was sent to the Council of Basil by the Clergy of Scotland, he takes occasion from thence to insert an Historical Account of that Council. Adam Blacader having censured Livy, for his Digression concerning Alexander the Great, our Author gives us, in the Life of that Scots Writer, an Account of the Faults that are generally imputed to that famous Historian by the Critics of the former and latter Ages. Such is the Method of the Author.

Now

(a) Il avoue, avec raison, qu'il a beaucoup d'obligation à Mr. Du Pin, qui seul lui a fourni de quoi remplir ce Premier Volume: Car comme la plupart des Savans doot il parle, soit [dit il] Théologiens, il a trouvé dans la Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique tout ce qu'il falloit pour parler des ces Auteurs avec connoissance des causes. Mais il ne dit pas, qu'il a trouvé dans cette même Bibliotheque, une infinité des choses étrangères à son sujet, dont il a grossi son Premier Volume: Car, à quel propos nous y donner l'Histoire des Pelagiens, des Ariens, des Iconoclastes, des Prædestinariæ? &c. Et quelle Connexion entre la vie d'un Savant Irlandais, & l'Histoire d'Abaillard & d'Heloise? &c.

(b) Memoirs of Literature, Vol. II. p. 41, 42.

Now, had our Journalists represented to the Public my Design in as fair a Light as this Learned Gentleman has done, they might have spared themselves the Trouble of all that they have said: For in the first place, 'Tis absolutely false to say, that I have taken all, or the most Part of my I. Volume from Mr. Du Pin's Ecclesiastical Bibliothec; as will evidently appear to any that has been at the pains of Reading it. But in the 2d place, To say that I have swell'd and enlarged my Book, by extraneous Digressions taken from the same Bibliothec, and no ways relative to the Lives or Writings of the famous Men that I am treating of, is not only false, but a malicious and calumnious Representation of the Matter of fact; as I shall make it appear to the unbiass'd and impartial Reader, even in those Instances they are pleased to name.

And first, I have not writ the History of the Pelagians, but only an Account of the erroneous Doctrines that were laid to the Charge of Pelagius by his Enemies, and for which he was tossed from Council to Council, till at length he was banish'd the Empire by an Imperial Edict: Now, since I had proven from St. Jerom, who was Pelagius's Contemporary, and well acquainted with him, that he was a Scotsman, I would gladly know, how I could give an Account to the World of the Persecutions and Sufferings that he underwent by the Prosecutions of his Enemies, without giving an Account of what his Enemies laid to his Charge: So that this cannot be called a Digression, much less an extraneous one, and nothing relative to my Subject. And what I have said upon this Head, I have been but very little oblig'd to Mr. Du Pin for: The most of all that I have said, is taken out of Petavius, Gerard Vossius, Archbishop Usher and Cardinal Norris their Histories of the Pelagian Heresies.

2dly. As to the History of the Arrians, I having proved, that Clement, the first Founder of the publick Schools at Paris, was a Scotsman, from the indisputable Authority of Notkerus Balbus his Contemporary; and Clement having wrote a Book in Defence of Arrianism; was it an extraneous Digression in me, to give the Reader a true Notion of the Arrian Heresy, for which my Author appeared so zealous? or rather, was it not consequential to the Plan that I had laid down to my self, and of which I had acquainted the Publick in my Preface, to give the History of that Controversy in which my Author was engaged, from its first Rise till his Time? Neither have I taken what I have wrote upon this Subject from Mr. Du Pin, but from the ancient Ecclesiastical Historians, Socrates, Eusebius, Zozomen, Theodoret, &c. And amongst the Moderns, from Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe; and Mr. Le Clerk's History of the Life of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea.

3dly. As to the History of the Iconoclasts, Albin the first Founder of the publick Schools at Pavia, and a Scots Man, having wrote a Book against the worshiping of Images, by the Command of Charles the Great, King of France, was it an extraneous Digression for me,

to give an Account of the Occasion of my Author's writing of this Book, which I could not have done to any Purpose, without a short Historical Narrative, of the scandalous Confusions that arose in the Christian Church, upon this Doctrine of worshiping of Images; but what I was only to blame for in this Article was, that I did not give an Account of the scandalous Allowances and Dispensations that the Jesuites of China gave to their new Converts, for their Idolatrous worshiping of Confucius, and their deceast Ancestors, notwithstanding of the Protestations to the contrary, by the Apostolick Vicars, Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, and other Missionaries in that Empire, concerning all which, I shall only insert here a Paragraph from the 3d Chapter of the 2d. Volume of F. Simon's critical Bibliothec, where having summed up all that the Jesuites had said in their own Defence, he concludes (a) " Thus let them say as much " as they please on the one Side, there is not the least Appearance, " of the Apostolick Vicars, Men of known Virtue and Integrity, " and who only went to *China*, out of a pure Zeal for Religion, " and at the Intreay and Desire of the *Jesuites* themselves, their " intimate Friends, that they would have declared against them in " Favours of the *Dominicans*, the born and natural Enemies of " the Society, had they not been constrain'd to it, out of a pure " Love to the Truth; and on the other Hand it is manifest, that " that Spirit of obtaining a Superiority over all others, which in- " duced the *Jesuites* in *Europe* to pervert and corrupt all the Mo- " ral Rules of the Gospel, to accommodate them to the perverse " Lusts of Men, whom they endeavoured by all Means to get un- " der their Direction, yea, so far as even to have dispensed with the " undispensable Obligations of loving of God; for which they in- " vented that monstrous Tenet of the *Philosophic Sin*: I say, it " is manifest, that 'tis the same Spirit that has engaged these Fa- " thers to permit to People in *China* that embrace the Christian " Faith, to retain almost the whole idolatrous Worship of their old " *Pagan* Religion, that they might have the Glory alone, of ma- " king more Conversions than all the other Missionaries put toge- " ther, and to see themselves at the Head of a more numerous " Flock of People than they have.

" Likewise, Let us allow the Lives of the *Jesuites* in the *Indies* " to be yet further exposed, by their scandalous Commerce and " Traffiquings with their new Converts, and their Accepting of be- " ing made *Mandarines*, (the Office of the Priesthood amongst " these *Pagans*) Dignities unworthy and unbecoming the Ambas- " sadors of *Jesus Christ*. And lastly, For their Knowledge in the " Mathematics, with which they make a greater Parade and Show " amongst the People, than by Teaching them the Gospel; so " that it may be very well said, That it is more by the Virtue of " their Astrolabs and Telescops that they triumph in their Convers- " sions

" sions, than by the Efficacy and Force of our Saviour's Cross ;
" which on the contrary they often conceal from them.

Yet notwithstanding of all this, my Author proceeds to make an Apology for them, which indeed is a very sorry one, being only founded upon some of their Fellow Missionaries Faults of the like Nature.

4thly. *As to my History of the Predestinarians, I have not so much as attempted any such Thing; so faithful are these Gentlemen in their Representations, that they make to the Publick of the Books that they pretend to have read. Tis true, in the Life of Rabanus Maurus, whom I have proved to be a Scotsman, I have given an Account of the Controversy that was betwixt him and Goteschalcus, concerning Predestination, but I am sure no rational Man will call this an History of the Predestinarian Heresy, or think that it was an extraneous Digression from my Subject.*

And lastly, as to that profound Question of theirs, what Connexion is there betwixt the Life of a learned Scotsman, and the History of Abeillard and Heloise; had our Journalists read what they pretend to give an Account of, they had seen the Connexion betwixt them; for S. Ælfred the Scots Abbot of Ridual, having wrote a Book against Abillard's Errors, and his scandalous Amours, with Heloise or Heloisa, was it an extraneous Digression, for me to give an Account of Abillard and Heloisa, or rather was there not such a necessary connexion, that I could not give a rational Account of the one without the other? After this they conclude their Censure with these Words, " Our Author has likewise made Use of Dempster, but in making Use of him, he has taken (says he) all necessary Precautions, that he might not deceive him, but the Readers will not be apparently of his Opinion;" (a) but it is not the first Time that they have been deceived in their Conjectures, nor apparently will be the last, and they have been very often and severely taken to Task, for their positive Decisions in Matters of Literature, nor apparently will they ever attain to that absolute Superiority in the Republick of Letters, that their Bretheren of the Society have obtain'd over their Demi-pagan Converts in the Indies.

Tis true, that Dempster has often fallen into Mistakes, as any private Man cannot evite to do, that undertakes such a laborious and difficult Task as he and I have done, for Want of sufficient Information; but I have acquainted the Publick, in the Preface to my first Volume, that whatever Mistakes I am led into, either by his or any other Author's Authority, upon due Advertisement, I shall make a publick Acknowledgment of it. And here I shall take the Opportunity of making Mention of one, communicated to me by my learned and worthy Friend Dr. Patrick Abercromby, lately deceas'd; a Gentleman whom the Nation has been infinitely obliged to for his Performances in our History, in which he has made several valuable Discoveries from authentic and

(a) Notre Auteur s'est aussi servé de Dempster, mais en se serrant il a pris des précautions nécessaires pour ne pas tromper, les lecteurs ne seront pas apparemment de son avis. *Journal de Trévoux, ubi supra.*

uncontroverted Documents, and which will render his Memory Famous to all future Generations, especially with those that have a Love for the Honour or Interest of their Country.

This Gentleman, in the Letter which he received from the present Abbot of Wurzburg, F. Augustine Bruce, was desired to communicate the following Paragraph to me:

“ Dr. Mackenzie is in a Mistake concerning our Founder, who died in the Year of our Lord 1151. And the Inscription upon his Tomb is, *Hic jacet Macharius, primus Abbas hujus Ecclesie, per quem Deus vinum in aquam convertit.* And for this Miracle’s being done *coram multis testibus*, as the Monastery’s Foundation-letters expresseth it, they possess a full Prebendary to this Day in the Cathedral Church, which is the best Part of their Rent.

As for the Miracle, I shall not concern my self much about it, tho’ I think it had been more beneficial for his Monks that he had turned Water into Wine, (as Dempster has it) than Wine into Water: But it must be confessed, that it is a great Mistake in Chronology, in making the Macharius that flourished in the Beginning of the 9th Century, to be the same with the Abbot of Wurzburg who died in the Year 1151.

Having thus shewn, how consequential I have been to the Plan I laid down to myself, which hath been approved of by several learned Men, both in our own and Foreign Nations, as I could instance in several of their Letters which they have honoured me with; I shall now proceed to give my Reader an Account of my present Performance.

In this Volume I have followed the same Method as in the Two Former; so that besides the Lives of the Illustrious Persons mentioned here, the Reader will find an Abridgment of a great many valuable Books: *The History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland; an Account of all the ancient Creeds in the Primitive Church; a List of all the General Councils, and the Occasions of their being called; the History of Astronomy, from its first Rise to the End of the 16th Century; the Rise and Progress of the Grecian Comedy, to Aristotle’s Time; the History of the Septuagint Translation of the Bible, an Account of Ignatius Loyola, and the first Foundation of the Society of the Jesuites; the Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Church concerning Excommunication, the first Rise and Progress of Geography, to the End of the 16th Century; an Account of the Writs and Utensils of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow; an Account of the Practice of the Jews and Primitive Christians under tyrannical and wicked Princes; and the first Rise and Extent of all the known Languages in the World.*

The History of the Reformation is to be found in the Life of Queen Mary, and those Reformers that I have treated of: That of the ancient Creeds, in the Life of Patrick Cockburn, Professor of the Oriental Languages at Paris: That of the Councils, in the Life of Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Cross Raguel: That of Astronomy, in the Life of James Bassentine, Professor of the Mathematics at Paris: That

That of the Grecian Comedy, in the Life of John Rutherford, Professor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrew's: That of the Septuagint, in the Life of Thomas Ogston, Professor of the Belles Lettres at Tourain: That of the Society of the Jesuites, in the Life of James Tayre of the Society of Jesus: That of Excommunication, in the Life of Mr. Robert Rollock, Principal of the College of Edinburgh: That of Geography, in the Life of James Chyne, Doctor of the Laws and Professor of Philosophy at Doway: That of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, in the Life of the Reverend Father in God, James Beaton Archbishop of Glasgow: That of Passive Obedience, in the Life of William Barclay, Doctor and Professor of the Law at Angers: That of the Languages, in the Life of James Bonaventure Hepburn, of the Order of the Minims, one of the greatest Linguists that ever the World produc'd. And lastly, in the Life of Merchiston, there is an Account of the wonderful Invention of the Logarithms. The Writers of lesser Note who were contemporary with those I have treated of in this Volume, I have omitted till a farther Opportunity.

All that I have further to advertise the Reader is, that I have seen a Project, of publishing in Latine an Account of the Learned and Illustrious Persons, Benefactors and Friends of the King's College at Aberdeen, extracted from the Authentick Records of that University, by my learned Friend Mr. John Ker, Professor of Greek in that University, under the following Title, Historica Narratio de Universitatis & Collegii Regii Abredonensis fundatione, ejusdemque Amicis & Patronis ex Academæ hujus Charophylacii Archivis optimis aliisque excerpta; in Methodum imprimis quod ad accuratam Chronologiam rationem digesta, iterum atque iterum recognita, Curâ & studio Joannis Ker, Græcarum Literarum Professoris, in eadem Academia Regia Abredonensi.

And if all our Universities and Colleges in Scotland and abroad, would do what this learned Gentleman has done, for the Honour of his Society, we should soon have a more complete and exact History, of the Illustrious Persons of our Nation, than any other Country in Europe could boast of. And as this would tend very much to the Honour and Glory of our Country in general, so it would in particular to the Interest of these learned Societies; for as the Roman Orator observes, he does not deserve the Character of a learned Man, who is ignorant of the learned Men of his own Country, Mili quidem nulli satis eruditi videntur, quibus nostra ignota sunt. And I am very hopeful, that our Universities by a generous Emulation, may be excited to undertake a Work of this Nature, which as I have said, would tend so much to the Honour of our Country.

It is not to be imagined, but that in this Volumie, by my Absence from the Press, some Errors and Mistakes may be found, and others of greater Consequence, for want of due Information; but Escapes of this Nature being inevitable in all such Undertakings, all I shall claim from the Candid Reader is, the Allowances that are granted to others in such Cases.

A N
Alphabetical Catalogue
O F

*Such of the SUBSCRIBERS Names and
Designations as have come to our Hand.*

A.

THE Right Honourable, William Marquis of Anandale.
The Right Honourable, Robert Viscount of Arburghnot.
Sir William Anstruther of that Ilk, one of the Senators
of the College of Justice.

John Abernethy, *M. D.*

William Adam, Apothecary in Edinburgh.

Alexander Aikenhead, Merchant in Edinburgh.

Mr. Thomas Aikman of Brinlton.

Robert Allan, Merchant in Rotterdam.

Robert Alexander of Corsclays.

Mr. James Anderson, Town-clerk of Elgin.

Mr. James Anderson, Writer to the Signet.

Patrick Anderson, Wright in Edinburgh.

Sir Alexander Anstruther of Newark.

Alexander Arburghnot of Findowrie.

Mr. John Arrat, Professor of Philosophy.

Thomas Auchinleck, Chirurgeon.

James Auchinleck, Baker in Edinburgh.

B.

HER Grace, Anne Duchess of Balcleuch.

The Right Honourable, David Earl of Buchan.

The Right Honourable, Colin Earl of Balcarres.

The Right Honourable, James Earl of Bute.

The Right Honourable, John Lord Balmerinoch.

The Right Honourable, Walter Lord Blantyre.

Alexander Bailie, Writer in Fortrose.

Hugh Bailie, Sheriff-clerk of Ross and Surveyor at Inverness.

Mr. James Bailie, Collector at Prestonpans.

John Bailie, Chirurgeon in Edinburgh.

Robert Bailie of Cairnbrew.

Mr. James Bailie, Advocat.

Mr. James Bailie, Writer to the Signet.

Alexander Bailie of Ashsteel.

Alexander Bailie of Castlecarr.

Sir William Baird of Newbyth.

A

Alex-

Alexander Bain of Logie.
 Captain Benjamin Barron.
 John Barber, Bailie of Inverness.
 Mr. Robert Bannerman, Minister of the Gospel.
 Mr. Charles Bennet, Sheriff Depute of Stirlin-shire.
 Mr. John Birnie of Broomhill.
 John Blair, *M. D.*
 George Borthwick, Chirurgion in Edinburgh.
 Thomas Bower, *M. D.*
 John Bowie of Saltcoats.
 Walter Boswell of Balbarton.
 Sir George Brown of Colstoun.
 Andrew Brown of Dauphinton.
 Archbald Brown, Writer in Edinburgh.
 Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird.
 Alexander Bruce, Apothecary in Edinburgh.
 Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys.
 Mr. Alexander Burnet, Professor of Philosophy in the King's College of Aberdeen.
 Mr. Gilbert Burner, Advocate.
 David Burton, Glaser in Edinburgh.

C.

THE Right Honourable, Robert Earl of Carnwath.
 The Right Honourable, George Earl of Cromerty.
 The Right Honourable, Anne Viscountess of Carington.
 Sir William Calderwood of Poltoun, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.
 Christ's Church Library in Oxon.
 The Honourable Archbald Campbell, Son to the Lord Neil Campbell.
 Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochneil.
 Sir James Campbell of Aberochil.
 Colin Campbell of Camismore.
 Colin Campbell of Lochlane.
 Alexander Campbell Merchant in Stornway.
 David Caw in Creel.
 Mr. David Crawford of Alenton.
 John Cuthbert of Castlehill.
 The Reverend Arthur Charlet, Master of University College, Oxon.
 Robert Car younger of Cavers.
 Sir James Carmichael of Bonnington.
 The Honourable Mr William Carmichael Advocate.
 John Carnegie of Boysack.
 Mr. William Cartairs, Principal of the College of Edinburgh.
 James Cartairs Writer in Edinburgh.
 William Cartairs Apothecary Chyrurgeon.
 Janes Carruthers of Hallairlis.

George

George Carruthers of Holdmains
James Carruthers of Roberthill.
Mr. John Carruthers of Denby.
James Cheap of Roslie.
The Incorporation of Chyrurgeons at Edinburgh.
The Incorporation of Chyrurgeons at Glasgow.
Robert Clark Chyrurgeon in Edinburgh.
William Clark Advocate.
The Honourable William Cochran of Kilmacdonock.
William Cockburn *M. D.*
Library of the College of Edinburgh.
Alexander Colvil of Blair.
John Corse Writer in Edinburgh.
Adam Coult Advocate.
John Corse Writer in Edinburgh.
Mr. Charles Craigenelt of Keverkee.
Mr. George Crawford Brother to Kersburn.
Mr. Matthew Crawford, Professor of Ecclesiastic History in the College of Edinburgh.
Laurence Crawford of Jordanston.
Mr. George Crocket *M. D.*
Mr. John Crockat Minister of the Gospel.
Patrick Crichton Chirurgeon in Dundee.
Sir William Cunningham of Caprington.
Sir James Cunningham of Milncraig.
Mr. John Cunningham of Woodhall Advocate.
Mr. William Cunningham, Provost of Irvine.

C

HI S Grace Archibald Duke of Douglas.
The Right Honourable James Lord Drummond.
The Right Honourable Charles Earl of Dunmore.
The Right Honourable Lord John Drummond.
The Reverend Dr. Dobson, President of Trinity College Oxon.
Roderick Dingwal of Cambuscurry.
Sir James Dumbar of Hempiggs.
John Dumbar of Burgie.
Mr. George Dumbar Minister at Nairn.
James Daes Writer in Edinburgh.
James Deans of Woodislie.
The Honourable Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Advocate,
Thomas Dalrymple *M. D.*
James Dewar Brewer in Edinburgh.
Mr. Alexander Dyck, Professor of Humanity at Dalkeith.
Mr. Don of Hattenburn.
John Don of Spittle, Sheriff Clerk of Stirling.
Lieutenant Robert Douglas.
James Douglas of Mains.

James Douglass of Dornock.
 Mr. Robert Douglass of Auchinschinach.
 Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden.
 Thomas Drummond of Logy-Almond.
 John Drummond of Culquhilzie.
 Mr. David Drummond, Advocate.
 James Drummond of Blair-Drummond.
 John Drummond, *M. D.*
 George Drummond, Merchant in Edinburgh.
 Mr. William Drummond, Writer in Edinburgh.
 Mr. William Drummond of Grange.
 William Drummond of Mackany.
 John Drummond of Megans.
 John Duff, Writer in Aberdeen.
 Sir James Dumbar of Mochram.
 Alexander Dumbar of Bishop-mill, Sheriff of Murray.
 Ludovick Dumbar of Grange.
 Alexander Dumbar, Taylor in the Canongate.
 Ralph Dundas of Mannor.
 Alexander Duncan of Lundie.
 Mr. William Dunlop, Son to the Laird of Househill.

E

THE Right Honourable Charles Earl of Errol, High Constable of Scotland.
 The Right Honourable John Lord Elphinstone.
 The Right Honourable Alexander Lord Elibank.
 The Right Honourable Lady Sophia Erskine, Dowager of Pitfogo.
 The Right Honourable Charles Master of Elphinstone.
 The Right Honourable James Erskine of Grange, Lord Justice Clerk, and one of the Senators of the College of Justice.
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F

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John Forbes, Peutherer in the Canongate.
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John Frazer of Kirkroun.
Henry Frazer, Herald-painter.
Mr. David Freebairn, Minister of the Gospel.
Mr. Robert Freebairn, Bookseller in Edinburgh..
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Her Grace, Henrietta Duchess of Gordon.
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Mr. Andrew Garden, Minister of the Gospel..
Mr. George Gordon, Professor of the Oriental Languages at Aberdeen.
Mr. William Gordon, Merchant in Edinburgh.

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 Alexander Gordon of Pitlurg.
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 John Glass of Sauchy.
 William Govan, Younger of Drumquhaſlie
 Alexander Grant of that Ilk.
 Robert Gray of Warristoun.
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 Thomas Grieve, Apothecary in Dundee.
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 Sir Robert Grier of Lag.
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H

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 John Haldin of Lanrick
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 Mr. Patrick Haldin, Professor of Ecclesiastic History in St. Andrews.
 Janies Hamilton of Olivestab.
 John Hamilton *M. D.*
 John Hamilton of Bardowie.
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Sir

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John Hay of Pitfour.
Patrick Hay Gentleman.
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William Harris of Mabie.
Roger Hog, Merchant in Edinburgh.
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Sir Alexander Hope of Carise.
John Hopepringle of that Ilk.
Roderick Hosack, *M. D.*
Alexander Horseburgh of that Ilk.
Richard Howison, Writer in Edinburgh.
Sir Robert Home of Renton.
Mr. Ninian Home, Minister at Sprouston.

I

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Sir George Innes of Cockston.
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Robert Johnston of Wamphry.
Andrew Johnston of Newton.
William Johnston of Granton.
William Johnston Postmaster at Haddington.
Edward Joissy of West-pans.
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K

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L

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Donald Mackdonald of Benbecla.
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John Ochterlony of Guinde.
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William Ptolmy, Merchant in Fortrose.
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William Seaton of Pitmedden, Younger.
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Kenneth Stevenson, *M. D.* at Elgin.
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Charles Stirling of Kippendavie.
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William Stirling, Chirurgeon in Stirling.
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James Stuart of Allantoun.
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 James Watson Merchant in Stirling.
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 James Winram, Sheriff-clerk of Berwick Shire.
 William Wilson, one of the Under-clerks of the Session.
 James Wiseman Writer in Elgin.
 John Wordie of Cambusbaren.
 John Wright of Kersy.

Y.

THE Right Reverend, John Arch-bishop of York.
 The Right Honourable, Charles Lord Hay of Yester.
 Joseph Young Merchant in Edinburgh.
 Mr. Ninian Young, Professor of Philosophy in St. Leonard's College.
 George Yeoman, Merchant in Dundee.
 Murdoch Young, Writer in Beaulie.

T H E

Life of Sir *GILBERT HAY*, Chamberlain to *Charles VI.* King of *France*.

THE *Hayes* are said to have their first Rise from a very noble and heroick Action, about the Year of our Lord 980, in the Reign of *Kenneth III.* as we have shown in the Life of that Prince, in the second Volume of this Work, *Pag. 60.* But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain that this is one of the most noble and ancient Families in *Scotland*, and that ever since the Reign of King *Robert Bruce*, they have been Lord High Constables of *Scotland*: That Prince, for the faithful Service and Loyalty of *Robert Lord Hay*, declar'd them heretale Constables of *Scotland*, about the Year 1310.

From this noble and ancient Family our Author was descended, <sup>His Birth
and Education</sup> of whom I have no other Account to give, but that he was born in *Scotland*, brought up at the University of *Aberdeen*, where after he had finished the Course of his Studies in Philosophy; he commenced Master of Arts, went over to *France*, where he studied the Laws, and was Bachelor of the Canon Law, and for his great Merit, obtained the Honour of Knighthood, and was made Chamberlain to *Charles VI.* King of *France*; upon whose Death he returned to *Scotland*, and was in great Favour and Esteem with *William Earl of Orkney*, and Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*, at whose Desire he translated from the *French* into *Scots*, Dr. *Bonnet's* Book of Battles in the Year of our Lord 1456.

*His Pro-
fession and
Writings.*

This *Honoratus Bonnet* was of the Order of St. *Augustine*, and Prior of *Salon* (*a*), and so little known, even amongst those of the *French* Nation, that several Biographers have committed gross Mistakes about him; for M. *Du Verdier Vauprivas* calls him *Bonnor* instead of *Bonnet*, and says, That he dedicate his Book to *Charles V.* whereas it is dedicated to *Charles VI.* But the Author of the Abridge-ment of *Gesner's* Bibliothec*k* (*b*) has committed a much grosser Mistake; for he has metamorphosed the Title of the Book into that of an Author, and makes his Book the Author of another Book, *L'Arbre des Battailes* says he, which is the Title of Dr. *Bonnet's* Book, *Scripsit de Bello & Duello*. *Samuel des Mares* observes, (*c*) That *David Blondel*, amongst the Catalogue of those Authors that have mentioned the Pope *Joan*, he has omitted this Author, who was Prior of *Chalon*, and who wrote his Book about 300 Years ago, and mentions her in the 7th Chapter of his first Book, and which, no doubt,

A

(*a*) *Vide M. Bayl Diss. Hist. & Crit. Edi. 2. Pag. 1370. (b) Pag. 514. (c) In *Johanna Papilla Recitata*, *Pag. 11.**

doubt, he would have taken Notice of, had he known this Author who was his Country-man ; For this M. des Mares is severely censured by Philip Labbe the Jesuite (d), First, For calling him Prior of Chalon instead of Salor. 2dly, For ascribing only 300 Years to the Age of his Book, whereas Charles VI. to whom it is dedicated, did reign from 1388 to the Year 1422. And Lastly, For saying, That he was of Chalons, whereas he should have said that he was of Chalons sur Saon : His Words are, *In Honorato Boneto auctore libri vernaculi qui inscribitur L'Arbre des Batailes multa peccat. I. Priorem de Chalon vocat, cum fuerit de Salon. II. Compositum librum dicit ante Annos 300, cum tamen Carolus VI. cui dicatus fuit regnavit duntaxat ab Anno 1388 ad 1422. III. Challon reddit Cata-launensem, id est Chaalons, cum apellare Cabiollonensem debuisset : Ita enim discriminantur illæ civitates, hæc Matrone in Campania illæ Arari in Burgundia imposta utraque Episcopalis. IV. Atque hinc longe absurdior apparet allusio alioquin Alpina nive frigidior, quod si illius testimonium vidisset Blondellus qui Catalaunensis fuit minus impendisset opera in fabula illa expugnanda.*

M. Du Pin makes no Mention of this Author, neither in his Ecclesiastical Bibliothec, nor in his Universal Catalogue. And since he is so little known in the Republic of Letters, and that our Author has translated him, I shall give the Reader an Account of this Work, which is in my Custody, wrote in a very fair Hand, in a large Folio, upon Imperial Paper.

Our Author begins his Translation with this Preamble, *Here begynnys the Buke callit the Buke of Armys, the qhilke was compilit be a notable Man Doctour in Decries, callit Bonnet Prioure of Salon, the qhilke when it was made, callit it The Flour of Batailes, or the Tree. Into the qhilke Buke there shall be four Parties esteir, as the Rubryks shaws. The first shall be of the Tribulacion of the Kirk before the Nativitie of Christe ; The second Party sal be of the Tribulacions and Destruction of the Four principal Realms grettest of the Warld ; The third sal be of Battallis in generale ; The farde of Battalis in specialitie.*

Then our Author gives the Rubrick or Contents of the first Book ; after which follow these Words, *Here folows the Proloug of the said Buke, in Termis as the forenamit Doctour Bonnet Prior of Salon made his first Initulacion and Prohemian, and syne efter shall folow the principal Parties of the Buke fornamynt, translatit be me Gilbert of the Haye Knight, Master in Artis, and Batchelere in Decreas, Chamberlyn umquhill to the maist worthy King Charles of France, at the Request of an bye and mighty Prince and worthy Lord, William Earl of Orknay and of Cathunes, Lord Syncleire, and Chancelour of Scotland, in his Castell of Roslyne, the Zere of our Lord a Thousand four hundredth fifty and sex.*

The first Book contains 10 Chapters, wherein the Author gives the Definition of War, according to the Doctors of the Civil and Canon

(d) De Script. Eccles. Tom. 1. Pag. 222.

Canon Law, and shows that it had its first Rise in Heaven betwixt GOD and his rebellious Angels ; then he treats of the bypast Persecutions of the Church by Way of Commentary upon S. John's Vision of the five Angels in the *Revelation*, and speaking of the Fourth Angel, he acknowledges, *That there was a Woman that was chosen Pope, and that she was an English Woman* : And after Leon, says our Translator, *was chosen a Woman Pope, not wittand that she was a Woman, the qhilk was of England born.*

The second Book contains 18 Chapters, wherein he treats of the Destruction of the Four great Empires of the World ; The *Babylonian* begun in the East, in the Time of *Abraham* ; The *Carthaginian* begun in the Time of the *Judges* ; The *Macedonian* begun in the Time of the *Maccabees* ; and that of the *Roman* begun in the Time of *Achan King of Judæa* : But, he more paricularly insists upon the *Roman Empire*, and shews when the City of *Rome* was first founded, when they began their Government by Kings, Senators, Consuls and Emperors, and of their most memorable or remarkable Actions, of the Actions of *Alexander the Great*, and the Destruction of the *Carthaginian Empire* ; and concludes with an Account of the first Rise of Government or Jurisdiction amongst Men, and who were the first Governors or Judges.

The third Book contains 10 Chapters, wherein he treats of the Lawfulness of making of War ; and if it be possible for Mankind to live without it ; how Men may know when they are justly compell'd to make War ; what the Marks of true Valour, and Cowardice are ; what Punishment is due to those that leave the Army, without asking Permission of their Commanders, or fight the Enemy, without the Orders of their Commanders.

The fourth Book contains 155 Chapters, wherein he treats of the lawful Grounds of War, especially amongst Christians against the *Turks*, and all Infidels ; whether the Emperor can lawfully declare War against the Pope and the Church, and whether the Pope may make War against him ; concerning the Duties of Knights, and for what Reasons they ought to be punished ; concerning the Duties of Generals, and if, when they are taken in Battle, they ought to lose their Lives or not ; whether Strength or Force be a moral, cardinal or natural Virtue ; whether Prisoners that are taken in War belong to those that take them, or to the Princes to whom the Armies in which they are taken belongs ; whether Vassals should serve in the Army upon their own or their Prince's Expences ; if a Baron be obliged to serve his King but only in his own Wars ; whether two Barons having War against one another, their Men are obliged to assist either of them till they receive Orders from their King and respective Lords ; whether we are bound to defend our Neighbours with Arms and Men when invaded by others, and what the Persons are that are obliged to defend one another, and particularly how the Vassal is obliged to defend his Lord, the Son his Father, by the Law of Justice ; whether he is more bound to defend

his Father or natural Prince ; whether a Clergy-man is bound most to assist his Father or his Bishop, when War is declared betwixt them ; whether Men may make a defensive War for their temporal Goods lawfully conquer'd ; whether Priests and Clerks may defend their Goods by Force of Arms ; whether Arms lent and lost in the Field of Battle ought to be restored ; whether Arms and Horses hired and lost in Battle ought to be restored ; whether a Knight being robbed in his King's Service, he or his King ought to pursue the Robbers ; whether a Man that goes to the Wars uncharg'd ought to take Wages ; whether a Knight serving a King uncharg'd, may lawfully ask Wages of him ; whether, when the King of *Spain* sends Assistance to the King of *France*, he ought to ask Wages of him ; whether a Man that goes to the Wars out of vain Glory, ought to ask Wages by the Law of Arms ; whether a Captain that is robbed obeying his Lord's Commands, his Lord ought to restore him his Goods or not ; whether a Man going to the Wats for Covetousness and Robbery, ought to demand Wages ; whether a Priest or Clergy-man may lawfully go to the War or not, concerning the Time that Men ought to be paid their Wages that go to the Wars ; whether a Warriour that obtains Leave to divert and recreat himself for some Time, should receive Wages for that Time ; whether a Knight that has taken Wages of a King for a Year's Service, and after three Months, goes to the Service of another Prince, ought to receive Wages for the Time that he has served ; whether a Soldier that has been paid by a Prince for a Year's Service, may substitute another in his Place ; whether a Captain may send any of his Men away, after he has mustered them in the Fields before his Prince ; whether a Soldier falling sick in the Wars, may lawfully ask his Wages for all the Time that he has been sick ; how the Goods or Spoil that is gained by the Army ought to be parted amongst the Soldiers ; whether a Man may lawfully keep what he takes from a Robber that was designed to rob him on the High-way ; of the Lawfulness of the Wat that is made betwixt two Cities that hold of no Sovereign ; whether a Man may kill a Prisoner that delivers himself voluntarily ; whether by the Law of Arms, a Man may take a Ransom of Gold or Money from his Prisoner ; whether in a War betwixt *England* and *France*, the *French* may lawfully seize upon the Goods of the *English* Husbandmen, and detain their Persons Prisoners ; whether one King may overcome another King lawfully by Craft and Subtilty ; whether it be lawful to fight upon a Holy-day ; whether, when one Man wrongs another, he may lawfully recover his own by War or Force, before he pursues him legally ; whether a Knight that dies in Battle in his Prince's Service, is sure of his Salvation ; whether the Righteous or Sinners are the most powerful in Battle ; why there are so many Wars in the World ; whether one that is taken Prisoner, and sworn to keep Prison, may lawfully break it, and make his Escape, if he finds Occasion ; whether one that is taken Prisoner and

and put in a close dark Room, and makes his Escape, may be said to break Prison? Whether a Man that's promised safe Conduct from one Place to another, but has neglected to capitulate for his safe Return, may be lawfully detained Prisoner? Whether a Man that has safe Conduct promised to him and his Attendants, can bring alongst with him a greater Man than he himself is? If a Man be taken Prisoner upon another's safe Conduct, whether he that had the safe Conduct be obliged to relieve him upon his own Charges? If a Man having Liberty to go out of Prison, on Condition that he should return upon such a Day, re-enters again into the Prison, fails in the Day, how he should be punished? Whether it be lawful for one Prince to refuse another, with whom he is at Peace, Passage thorow his Country? Whether Churchmen should pay Taxes, Tributes and Impositions to Secular Kings and Princes? If the Church should make War against the *Jews*? If a Man may defend his Wife by Force of Arms? If a Brother may defend his Brother by Force of Arms? When a Baron is a Vassal to two Lords in different Countries, that have both of them War, whom of them he ought to serve? When a Baron is a Vassal to two Lords that make War upon one another, whom of them he ought to obey? When a Man is a Burgess in two Cities that make War against one another, which of them he ought to obey? Whether a Man that is in Bondage or in Slavery, be obliged to go to the Wars with his Lord and Master? Whether a Man may be compelled to go to the Wars? If one Man fairly wounds another, and he wound him again, whether he ought to be punished for the same? If a Bondman or Slave kills another by his Master's Command, whether he ought to be punished for the same? Whether a Bondman or Slave may defend himself against his Lord and Master that designs to kill him? Whether a Monk may defend himself against his Abbot who designs to kill him? Whether the Son may lawfully defend himself against the Father who designs to kill him? Whether a Man may lawfully defend himself against his Judge? Whether a Man being banished the Realm, and returning again without Permission, when People set upon him to take him, if he ought to defend himself? Whether a Priest that is assaulted carrying the Lord's Body (or the Sacrament) alongst with him, ought to lay it down and defend himself? If a Man that is innocent ought to be punished by way of Reprisal for the Guilty? And how Princes ought to behave themselves in the Cases of Reprisals? How Reprisals should be made against a City that owes Allegiance to no Sovereign? If all Lords or Masters may make Reprisals? How and for what Reason it may be said, that the King of *France* is no way's subject to the Emperor? Whether the King of *England* be in any manner of way subject to the Empire? Whether Reprisals can be granted to a Burgess that's living at *Paris*, and robbed in his Return to *Paris*, for recovering the Money or Goods that he has been deprived of in another Prince's Dominions? Whether an *English*

Student at the University of *Paris* may be detained Prisoner when a War is declared betwixt the two Nations? Whether a Servant should enjoy the Privileges that his Master has? Whether an *Englishman* coming to *Paris* to visit his Son, Student at that University, in Time of War, may be detain'd Prisoner? Whether an *Englishman* coming to visit his Brother at the University may be detained Prisoner? Whether a Student may be imprisoned by way of Reprisal? Whether a mad Man may be detained and ransomed in the Wars? Whether a mad Man returning to his Senses may be detained Prisoner? Whether by the Law of Arms, an old Man may be detained Prisoner? Whether by the Law of Arms, a Child may be taken and detained Prisoner? Whether by the Law of Arms, a blind Man may be detained Prisoner? Whether an Ambassador coming to visit a King, may lead any of his Enemies thorow his Country? Whether a Bishop may be taken and detained Prisoner? Whether any Churchman may be taken by way of Reprisal? whether Pilgrims may be made Prisoners by the Law of Arms? What Things in Time of War have safe Conduct, without Liberty asked at the Prince? whether in Time of War the Ass and the Ox is free? Whether the Husbandman's Servant enjoys, by the Law of Arms, the same Privilege with himself? Whether in Time of War it be lawful to build Castles and walled Towns? How they ought to be punished that breaks the safe Conduct or Assurance of a Prince? whether a great Lord, or any in a meaner Dignity, ought to trust in a safe Conduct? Whether a Christian King may lawfully give a safe Conduct to a *Saracen* King or any other Infidel Prince? Whether if two Lords make Peace, and the One breaks it, the Other ought to break it likewise? Whether it be better to fight fasting, or before Meat or after Meat? Whether Battle ought to be set before Ladies? And if Queen *Jonat* of *Naples* had Right, in her War against *Lewis* King of *Sicily*.

Then he proves that Duelling is against all manner of Laws; yet he gives seventeen different Cases, wherein by the Laws of *Lombardy* tis lawful. Then he treats of those who fight for their Principles in Duels, and how far that is lawful: Then of the Form and Oath that is taken by those that fight in Lists or Combats; Whether a Man that is superannuate may substitute another to fight for him in Battle? If any of the Company breaks his Sword, if another should be given unto him? If the Lord or Judge cannot discern on the first Day who has the Advantage in the Field; if he be obliged to return on the second Day, and enter the Lists as before, which of the Parties ought to begin the Fight? If he that is overcome ought to pay the other the Damages, tho' the King should pardon them? If a Man is overcome in Duelling, if he may be afterwards accused in Law? whether, if the Company pleases, they may fight in plain Field, without Barriers? How they should be punished that owns their Crime, and is openly overcome? Whether

ther when one Knight chalenges another, he may be allowed to repent and recall his Challenge?

Then our Author treats of Arms and Banners, in general and particularly, and proceeds to the answering of the following Questions; If a Man at his own Pleasure may make choice of another Man's Coat of Arms? If a German finds a Frenchman in the Field bearing the same Coat of Arms with him, if he ought to appeal him to a Combat? How they ought to be punished that assume the Arms of Others?

Then he treats of all the different Colours us'd in Herauldry, and of all the different Rules and Conditions that are to be observed in fighting of Duels: And concludes with the Duties incumbent upon Emperors Kings and Princes; which he ends with these Words,

*Explicit Liber Bellorum, sed potius Dolorum,
Ut recitat Doctor in pluribus.*

Next to this follows our Author's Translation, of Dr. Bonet's Book of Chevalry or Knight-hood, which contains eight Chapters; in the first Chapter he tells us, how that a Bachelor, Squire of Honour, travelling to the Coronation of a great Prince, with an Intention to take upon him the Order of Knight-hood, he went astray in a Wilderness, where he happened to light upon a Hermitage; in which lived an old and venerable Knight, that had forsaken the World for the Love of God; and how this old Knight taught the Squire all the Points of Honour; and all that belonged to the Duty of a Knight; which is the subject Matter of all the following Chapters; where in the second Chapter, he, the old Knight shows, how he ought to receive that high Order, and how he ought first to be instructed in every Thing that belongs to it. The third contains all the Duties of a Knight. The fourth contains their Form of Examination, and how he ought to be examined before he receives the Order. The fifth contains Directions for him at the receiving of the Order, and the Form of giving it. In the sixth is explained the Signification of the Arms of Knight-hood. In the 7th he shows the many Advantages that Knights have above others, by this honourable Order; and the last shows the great Respect that ought to be shown to all of that Order, ending with these Words,

Explicit l'ordre de Chevalrie.

After this follows our Authors Translation of Dr. Bonet's Book of Government of Princes, which is a Translation of Aristotle's Politicks; and contains 40 Chapters, with a Prologue, shewing into how many Languages it had been translated, and how it was first found in the Temple of the Sun, built by Esculapius. Then follows a Translation of King Alexander the Great's Letter to Aristotle; after his

His Death
and Cha-
racter.

Conquest of Persia, with *Aristotle's Answer*, and two other Letters of King *Alexander's* and *Aristotle's*.

As for our Author, 'tis probable that he died towards the Latter End of the 14th Century; and from his Performance it appears, that he was well seen, in the Civil, Canon and Military Laws; and had he not been a Person of singular Merit and Worth, he had not raised himself to the Dignities that he attain'd to.

The Catalogue of his Works.

DR. Bonet's Books of Battles, Knight-hood and Government of Princes, translated into English, in the Year 1456, in M. S. Folio, penes me.

The Bishop of Orkney's Paper concerning the Saintclairs.

FOR that as witnist that venerabil and maist be Chronographor Martin, Penentiar and Capelane of our Lord the Pape, amangst uther curis and solicitudis of this flowand Warld; the labilitie and brevitie of tymms, maners, and of Men in this vale of teris be and considerit, it appeirith neidful to sett furth be right the Geneolegis of Progeniters, Kings, Princis, and of uthers preclare Nobils, be the quhilcks this Warld transitore is ruleit, King raigns and Princis are gydit; specialie quhilcks are believit to proced mayst liklie be Deduction and Knawlige of the Veritie of the Succession of their Forfathirs: Theirfor, to the Illustrie and mayst excellent Lord or Prince, Supreame King of Norway, and to his Successors, Princes, Chefitens, Consuls, and to all hie Personis of the said Realme; Thomas be the Grace of God, and of the Seint Apostolick, Bishop of Orkney and Zeland, &c.

THE

An. 1545:

T H E

LIFE of Mr. GEORGE WISHEART Martyr.

I Shall usher in the History of the Reformation of our Church of *Scotland* with the Life of this celebrated Reformer and Martyr, as we have the Particulars of it set down by Archbishop *Spotswood*, Mr. *Knox*, Mr. *Calderwood* and Mr. *Petrie* in their Church Histories of *Scotland*.

This Gentleman was a Son of the Laird of *Pittarrow*, in the <sup>His Parth-
tage.</sup> *Mearns*, he was born in the Reign of King *James* the Fifth, and had his Education at the University of *Aberdeen*, where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he was sent Abroad by his Parents for his further Improvement; and having travell'd through *France* and *Germany*, he came over to *England* in the Year 1543 (a), where he stay'd for some Time at the University of *Cambridge*, and return'd to his Native Country in the Year 1544. During his Travels Abroad, he embrac'd the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches; and finding upon his Return to *Scotland*, that many of all Ranks of People were of the same Mind, he openly declared himself Protestant: And coming to *Dundee*, he took upon him to instruct the People publickly in the Rules and Principles of the Reformed Religion. Cardinal *Beaton* Archbishop of St. *Andrews* being inform'd of this, wrote to the Magistrates of *Dundee* to discharge him their City: They being afraid of being brought to Trouble for sheltring of him, one Day as he was preaching to them, after Sermon, *Robert Miln*, a Man of great Power in the Town, by Order of the Magistrates, told him in the Hearing of all the People, that they desired him to withdraw from their Town, and not to trouble them any more with his Sermons, which did somewhat surprize him, considering the great Interest that he thought he had in the Town by the vast Multitudes of People that came daily to hear him. So after a little Silence, turning himself to Mr. *Miln*, he said, *God is my Witness, I mindit ever your Comfort, and not your Trouble, which to me is more grievous than to your selves; but sure I am, to reject the Word of God, and drive away his Messenger, is not the Way to save you from Trouble. When I am gone, God will send you Messengers who will not be afraid, either for Burning or Banishment; I have with Hazard of my Life remain'd amongst you, preaching the Word of Salvation, and now since you your selves refuse me, I must leave Innocence to be declar'd by God: If it be long well with you, I am*

C

not

An. 1545. not led with the Spirit of Truth, and if Trouble unexpected fall upon you, remember, this is the Cause, and turn to God by Repentance, for he is merciful. The Earl of Marischal, who was one of his Hearers that Day, offer'd him his Protection if he would go along with him; but he made Choice rather of going to the western Parts of Scotland, because he knew there were a great many that favour'd the Reformation in these Parts: He had not been long there, when the Archbishop of Glasgow, being inform'd of the great Multitudes of People that came from all the adjacent Countries to hear his Sermons, he resolv'd in Person to go into the Places he frequented, and to instruct the People of the Danger he conceived they were under of being deluded by him, and no doubt to apprehend him, if possibly he could. And upon this Design the Archbishop made a Journey to the Town of *Air*: But *He goes to the West, his Success there.* Alexander Earl of Glencairn, a Nobleman, who became afterwards one of the main Supporters of the Reformation, and a Person of great Zeal, Resolution and Expedition in whatever he projected, came with a Body of arm'd Men to the City of *Air* before him, to protect Mr. *Wishart*, and he offer'd by Force to place him in the Church where the Bishop design'd to preach upon *Sunday*: Mr. *Wishart* made rather Choice to preach at the Market Crofs, saying, *That the Bishop's Sermon would not do much Hurt*: The next *Sunday* Mr. *Wishart* being desired to preach at the Church of *Machline*, he went thither, but in the Night-time the Sheriff of *Air* had put in a Garrison of Soldiers in the Church to oppose him; upon which *Hugh Campbell* of *Kingzeaugh*, and others of the Parish who favour'd the Reformation, propos'd to enter by Force; but foreseeing the doubtful Event, he would not permit them, telling them, *It is the Word of Peace that I preach unto you, the Blood of no Man shall be shed for it this Day. Christ is as mighty in the Fields as in the Church, and he himself when he liv'd in the Flesh, preach'd oftner in the Desert, and on the Sea Side, than in the Temple of Jerusalem.* So walking alone on the Edge of the Muit on the South Side of *Machline*, he preach'd to the Multitude that flock'd about him, above three Hours; and all the Time he abode in these Parts, he taught them with good Success.

After he had stay'd in the West for a Month, he receiv'd the *He returns to Dundee.* News of the Plague's being at *Dundee*, whereupon he resolv'd to return to them, which he accordingly did; and the next Day after his Arrival, he gave Notice to the Inhabitants that he would preach to them, the Sicknes which had cut off a great many People still raging in the Town, he made Choice to preach to them upon the Head of the *East Gate*, the infected Persons standing without, and those that were free within: He made Choice for his Text the 20th Verse of *Psalm 107*, *He sent his Word and healed them, and delivered them from their Destruction.* In which Sermon, he so comforted them, that they intreated him to stay for some Time amongst them, which he willingly agreed to; and one Day as he came down from

from the *Ecu³* Gate, which was his Pulpit at that Time, one Sir ~~John Weighton~~^{An. 1545.} a Priest, being apprehended with a Weapon in his Hand, with a Design (as was suppos'd) to kill him, a great Tumult arose, and those without the Gate rushing in, cry'd to have the Murderer deliver'd to them ; but Mr. *Wiskeart* taking the Priest in his Arms, said, *He hath done no Harm, only he hath shewn us what we are to fear in Time coming,* and so preserved him from the Violence of the Mob, who had otherwise torn him to Pieces.

The Plague having ceased at *Dundee*, and he having made an Appointment with the Noblemen and Gentlemen in the West who favour'd the Reformation, to meet them at *Edinburgh*, he took his Leave of the Inhabitants of *Dundee* and went to *Montrose*, where he receiv'd a Letter from the Laird of *Kincer* in *Fife*, intreating him to come and visit him in an heavy Sickness which he was then lying under ; he presently took Journey, and being accompanied by some of the Citizens of *Montrose*, who would needs go with him a Part of the Way : He was not a Quarter of a Mile from the Town, when all of a sudden he stopt, saying to the Company, *I'm forbidden of God to go this Journey, will some of you be pleas'd to ride to yonder Place* (pointing with his Finger to a little Hill,) *and see what you'll find, for I apprehend there is a Plot against my Life :* So turning back to the Town, they who went forward to the Place, found about Threescore Horsemen to intercept them, which they having inform'd him of, he said, *I know I shall end my Life in the Hands of that Man* (meaning the Cardinal) *but it will not be after this Manner.* Two or three Days after this he took Journey to *Edinburgh*, notwithstanding that the Laird of *Dun* did all he could to dissuade him from it ; The first Night he lodg'd at *Invergourie*, two Miles from *Dundee*, where he stay'd all Night at one *James Watson's*, and rising out of his Bed in the Night-time, went to the Garden, where he continued for some Hours in Prayer, and upon his Return told one *John Watson* and *William Spalding*, who were lodged in the same Chamber with him, that his Course of Life would be quickly at an End, but that the Reformation should be carried on with such Success, that the Light of Christ's Gospel should shine in *Scotland* with as great Purity as ever it was in since the Days of the Apostles. The next Day he went to *Pert^b*, from thence to *Leith*, where he conceal'd himself for some Days. He was very much afflicted that the Lords and Gentlemen had not kept their Appointment with him ; and upon the *Sunday*, he preach'd to those who favour'd the Reformation at *Leith*, upon the Parable of the Sower, in the 13th Chapter of St. *Matthew's* Gospel : After Sermon he was advised by his Hearers to leave the Town, in case that a Search should be made for apprehending him ; he follows their Advice, sometimes staying at *Brunston*, and other times at *Langneddrie* and *Ormiston*, but every *Sunday* he preached openly in some Church or other ; his last Sermon was at *Haddingtoun*, where he received a little before Sermon a Letter

A Priest en-
deavours to
kill him, but
is prevented.

An Ambush
laid to inter-
cept him ;
but he miracu-
lously
escapes.

He goes to
Edinburgh ;
his Success
there.

from the Noblemen and Gentlemen in the West, telling him, that
 Ad. 1545. *they could not keep the Diet appointed at Edinburgh, which*
griev'd him very much ; and calling Mr. Knox to him, who was
then attending him, he said, I am weary of the World, since I per-
ceive Men to weary of God ; yet he went to the Pulpit and told
them, That Strangers should possess their Houses, and chase them
from their Habitations : He likewise told them of his own ap-
proaching Death ; and taking his Leave of them, he went to the
He goes to
Ormiston's
House, where
he is appre-
hended.
Laird of Ormiston's House, accompanied by severals, and amongst
the rest was John Knox ; but he would not suffer him to go along
with him, saying, One is enough at this Time for a Sacrifice.

That Night after Supper he entertain'd them with a long Discourse of the Happiness of God's Children ; and having caused sing the 51 Psalm, he went to Bed : About Midnight the House was beset with arm'd Men, whom the Governor of the Realm, the Earl of Arran had sent to apprehend him. *Ormiston* refusing to deliver him, the Earl of Bothwell, then Sheriff of that County, required that he might be deliver'd unto him ; and that if he did so, it should be neither in the Cardinal or Governor's Power to do him any Harm. *Ormiston* having told this to Mr. *Wisheart*, he desired him to open the Gate, saying, *The blessed Will of God be done* : So the Earl coming in, Mr. *Wisheart* said to him, *My Lord, I praise God that so Honourable a Man as you are does receive me this Night in the Presence of these Noblemen ; I am assur'd your Honour will not permit any Thing to be done unto me against the Order of the Law. I am not ignorant that all the Law which they who seek my Life, use, is nothing but a Corruption, and a Cloak to shed the Blood of God's Saints, yet I less fear to die openly, than to be murdered in secret.* The Earl answer'd, *I shall not only preserve your Body from Violence, if any be intended against you, but I will promise you upon my Honour, in Presence of these Gentlemen, that neither the Governor shall be able to harm you, and that I shall keep you in my Power, till either I make you free, or bring you back to the Place where I now receive you.*

The Earl carried Mr. *Wisheart* to *Elphinston*, where the Cardinal was expecting the Event ; and having inform'd him of all that past, and that the Lairds of *Calder*, *Brunston* and *Ormiston* were with Mr. *Wisheart* when apprehended ; a Party was immediately dispatch'd for apprehending of them likewise, and *Calder* and *Ormiston* were apprehended, and committed Prisoners to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. But *Brunston* made his Escape, and as for our Author, he was first taken to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and after that brought to the House of *Hales*, where the Earl of Bothwell liv'd, and it was a good long Time before the Earl could be prevail'd with to deliver him up, but at length he yielded, and Mr. *Wisheart* was remitted to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and shortly after Prisoner, to St. *Andrews*.

He is com-
mitted to
Prison in the
Castle of
Edinburgh.

And from
thence sent
Prisoner to
St. Andrews.

Mr. *Wiskeart* was no sooner come to St. Andrews, but the ^{Anno 1543} Cardinal wrote to the Prelates to meet upon the 27th of February 1542, in order to try him for Heresie. When the Archbishop of Glasgow came, he advised the Cardinal to seek a Commission from the Governor to some Person of Quality that might execute Justice, and free the Clergy from the Imputation of his Death: The Cardinal was pleas'd with the Advice, and no ways doubted but the Governor would grant his Desire; but by the Advice of David Hamilton of Prestoun, he not only refused to grant a Commission, but wrote to him, that he would not consent to Mr. *Wiskeart's* Death, unless by due Examination he were found guilty and deserving of it; and if he proceeded against him, and did take his Life, he would make a Protestation, and require his Blood at his Hands. This Answer having incens'd the Cardinal, he wrote to the Governor, that he needed not his Authority for trying of Hereticks, but only that Justice might be done against him, with the Consent of the Laicks, as well as the Clergy; which, since he could not obtain, he would proceed as he thought fit: And immediately he issued out an Order for citing Mr. *Wiskeart* the next Day before him. Mr. *Wiskeart* having got the Summons, said, *The Cardinal needed not summon me, for I am in his Hands, and kept fast in Irons, so that he may compel me to answer when he pleases; but to show what Men you are, 'tis well done to keep your Forms and Constitutions.*

The next Day the Cardinal and Bishōps being met in the Abbey Church, Mr. *Wiskeart* the Prisoner was presented by the Captain of the Castle; and then the Sub-Prior Mr. John Windram preached a Sermon upon the Lawfulness of punishing of Hereticks, and of putting them to Death: After Sermon Mr. *Wiskeart* being plac'd in a Seat over against John Lauder a Priest, who had a long Scroll of a Paper in his Hand, containing the Articles laid to his Charge, which being read, he was desired to answer them Article by Article: But before he would give any Answer, he bowed his Knees and made his Prayers to God; then he gave them an Account of the Doctrines which he had taught since he came to Scotland, which he said, were nothing but what was contain'd in the Ten Commands, the Twelve Articles of the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer; and that at Dundee he had preach'd upon a Part of the Epistle to the Romans. As he was proceeding, he was stopt here by his Accusers, who asked him, *How he came to usurp the Power of Preaching at his own Hand, without any lawful Calling from the Church, and was desired to give a positive Answer to this:* Upon which he appeal'd to an indifferent Judge. Lauder taking him sharply to Task for this, and for declining the Cardinal's Authority; but he told them, *That he did not condemn my Lord Cardinal, but desir'd that the Word of God might be his Judge, and some of the Temporal Estate, with some of their Lordships there present, because he was my Lord Governor's Prisoner.* But this being

He is tried
for Heresie,
and the Ma-
ter of his
Trial.

An. 1545.

ing deny'd him, the Articles that were laid to his Charge were read again : To which he returned the following Answers, as we have them in *Fox's Martyrology*, and Mr. *Knox's History*, by which the Reader will comprehend all that was laid to his Charge. As to the First, concerning his Contempt of the Church's Censure, he said, *It was better to obey God than Man, and that their Cursings or Excommunications would be turned into Blessings, according to that of the Prophet Malachi, I shall curse your Blessings, and bless your Cursings, saith the Lord.* As to the Second, of his Contempt of Church Ceremonies, he said, *The outward Service of the Body, without the inward Service of the Heart, was not a true serving of God.* As to the Third, concerning the Number of the Sacraments, he said, *That he never condescended upon the Number of the Sacraments, but only own'd such as were instituted by Christ in the Gospel.* As to the Fourth, concerning auricular Confession, he acknowledged, *That auricular Confession had no Ground in the Word of God, and consequently could be no Sacrament, but confessing our Sins to God was a Duty upon all Men.* As to the Fifth, concerning the Promises given in Baptism, he acknowledged, *That it was necessary to understand what we promis'd in the Name of the Child to God in Baptism.* To the Sixth, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he said, *That he never said any Thing concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, but what was conform to the Scriptures ; and what was laid to his Charge, was the Expression of a Jew, with whom he had a Conference as they were sailing upon the Rhine, and who upbraided the Christians for worshipping as their God a Piece of Bread that was bak'd upon the Ashes.* As to the Seventh, concerning extreme Unction, he said, *That he never either own'd or disown'd in his Preaching, whether Extreme Unction was a Sacrament or not.* As to the Eighth, concerning Holy Water, he acknowledged, *That he never taught any Thing concerning Holy Water, but that Exorcism and Conjurations were not conform to the Word of God.* As to the Ninth, concerning Holy Orders, he acknowledged, *That as to the Priesthood, he had taught according to St. John, God has made us Kings and Priests, and according to St. Peter, He hath made us the Kingly Priesthood : So that all who understand, and are perfect in the Word of God, and the true Faith of Jesus Christ, has his Power from God by his Word, which according to St. Paul is called the Power of God, and not from Men : That they who are ignorant have no Power to bind or loose, seeing they want the Instrument by which he bindeth and looseth, that is to say, the Word of God.* To the Tenth, concerning Free-Will, he acknowledged, *That those who firmly believe in Christ, had a Free-will, according to that of St. John, If the Son make you free, then shall you verily be free ; but those that believe not in Christ have no Free-will, for he that sinneth is bound to Sin.* To the Eleventh, concerning Abstinence, he acknowledged, *That as to the abstaining from Flesh upon Friday, he had taught, that nothing defileth the Man that*

that is pure and holy, according to that of St. Paul, That he who is clean, to him all Things are clean, but to the unclean all Things are unclean. To the Twelfth, concerning praying to Saints, he acknowledged, *That he disown'd praying to Saints, and taught his Hearers only to pray to God, according to that of the first Command,* ^{An. 1545.} Thou shalt honour and worship the Lord thy God with all thy Heart. As to the Thirteenth, concerning Purgatory, he acknowledged, *That he could find no Grounds for a Purgatory in all the Scriptures.* As to the Fourteenth, concerning the Vow of Chastity, he acknowledged, *That there were three Sorts of chaste Men that are blessed by the Scripture of God, those who were gelded from the Womb, those who have gelded themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven, and those who are gelded by Men; but that the Vows of Chastity taken by Priests, who have not the Gift of Chastity, exposes them to many Inconveniencies.* As to the Fifteenth, concerning General Councils, he acknowledged he was ignorant of them, but that the Word of God was the Standard of his Faith. To the Sixteenth, concerning the disowning of Churches, he absolutely deny'd it. As to the Seventeenth, concerning Fasting, he said, *That he was so far from denying it an absolute Duty, that on the contrary, he acknowledg'd it to be a good Thing both for the Soul and Body.* He likewise deny'd the Eighteenth and last Article, charging him with asserting, that the Soul was not immortal, but slept with the Body till the Day of Judgment.

After this, Sentence was pronounced against him, and he was condemn'd to be burnt alive as an Heretick, then he was sent back to the Castle, and lodg'd in the Captain's Chamber that Night, ^{.He is condamned to be burnt alive.} the greatest Part whereof he spent in Prayer. Next Morning early, two Friars were sent to him, to advertise him to prepare for Death, which after they had done, they ask'd him, if he would confess himself: He told them, that he had nothing to do with them, but that he would be glad to speak to the learn'd Man who preach'd the Day before: Upon this the Sub-prior was sent to him, and having conferr'd with him a good Time, he ask'd Mr. Wisheart if he would receive the Sacrament. To which he answered, most willingly, if I may have it administrated according to Christ's Institution in both kinds. Upon this the Sub-Prior went to the Clergy, and told them that he had conferr'd with the Prisoner, who had solemnly affirm'd to him that he was free from all the Crimes that were laid to his Charge, and that he had not done this out of any Desire of obtaining his Life, but to vindicate his Innocence. This so incens'd the Cardinal and Clergy, who had condemned him, that they told him, he had favour'd too much that Way himself. Then the Sub-Prior asked them, if they would permit him to give the Sacrament to the Prisoner. After they conferr'd among themselves about this, it was agreed that he should not have the Benefit of the Sacrament, it not being reasonable that an obstinate Heretick condemn'd by the Church should have any spiritual Benefit.

*An. 1545.
He takes the
Sacrament to
himself.*

When Mr. *Wiskeart* heard they had deny'd him the Benefit of the Sacrament, he resolv'd to take it of himself: So the Captain going to Breakfast, and asking Mr. *Wiskeart* if he would take Part with him, he answered, very willingly, because, he perceiv'd that he was a good Man, and one that feared God: The Table being covered, and the Bread brought, he requir'd their Attention, and spoke upon the Institution of the Sacrament above half an Hour; then he blessed the Bread, broke it, and distribute it to them; likewise having blessed the Wine, he delivered the Cup to them, exhorting them to remember with Thankfulness the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ in this his Communion with them; and so concluding with a Thanksgiving, he withdrew to his Chamber, desiring them to remember him in their Prayers.

*His Death
and Charac-
ter.*

Not long after this, two Executioners came to him, one of whom apparel'd him in a black Sute of Linen, the other fastned some Bags of Powder to all the Parts of his Body; then they brought him to an outer Room, where he was commanded to stay till all Things were in Readiness; and when all was prepar'd, he was led forth with his Hands tied behind his Back, with a Guard of Soldiers to the Place of Execution, where a Scaffold was erected, in the midst of which was a great Pole, to which he was tied, and over against him was all the Cannon of the Castle planted, in case any should have attempted to relieve him. The forepart of the Tower which looked to the Place of Execution was hung with rich Tapestry and Cushions for the Cardinal and Clergy, who would needs be present at his Execution. Having mounted the Scaffold, he address'd himself to the People, exhorting them not to be shaken in their Faith by the Manner of his Death, but to remain stedfast in the same, as he had taught it to them; upon which he fell upon his Knees and prayed: Then being tied to the Stake, cried aloud, *O Saviour of the World have Mercy upon me: Father of Heaven, I commend my Spirit unto thy Holy Hands.* The Executioners having kindled the Fire, the Powder that was fastned to his Body immediately kindled. The Captain of the Castle, who stood near to him, perceiving that he was still alive, comforted him, and desired him to recommend his Soul to God: To which Mr. *Wiskeart* reply'd, *This Flame has scorched my Body, but has not daunted my Spirit; but, he who from yonder high Place beholdeth us with such Pride, shall in a few Days lie in the same, as ignominiously, as he is now seen proudly to rest himself:* After which one of the Executioners drawing the Cord that was tied about his Neck, stopt his Breath, so that he spoke no more: And the Fire encreasing, his Body was quickly reduced to Ashes, upon the 2d Day of March 1545. All our Protestant Historians have given very large Accounts of this Gentleman's dying Speeches and Behaviour, wherein they have represented him, as a Person, on whom God had bestowed the same Gifts and Graces that he had bestowed upon his ancient Prophets. And Mr. *Knox* says, *That he was the most worthy*

worthy Man of his Age, and one on whom God had bestowed such ^{An. 1545.} Graces as was never heard within this Realm; yea and are rare to be found yet in any Man; notwithstanding this great Light of God, that since his Days hath shined on us, he was not only singularly learned, as well in all godly Knowledge, as in all honest human Science, but also he was so clearly illuminated with the Spirit of Prophecy, that he saw not only Things pertaining to himself, but also Things, as some Towns, and the whole Realm afterwards felt, which he forespake, not in Secret, but in the Audience of many.

But notwithstanding of all those high Encomiums, others have given but a very bad Character of him; and it is but just that we should hear, and impartially examine what they have said, that the Reader may be fully instructed to form an exact Judgment of him: And in the *First Place* they say, That Mr. *Knox*, who gives this favourable Account of him, and from whom all the rest of the Historians have copied it, being his intimate Friend and Companion, and a Man of no Faith or Credit in his Narratives of the Matters of Fact in these Times, what he says of him is not much to be relied upon. *2dly*, That he (by his own Confession) was one of those that joyn'd with the Disturbers of the Government; and by his Examination it plainly appears, that he most impiously took upon him the Administration of the Sacraments, and all the other Parts of the Sacerdotal Office, without ever being ordain'd, or having the Imposition of Hands: And if we may believe *Dempster*, he was a Man of no Letters, but of great Forwardness and Impudence. *3dly*, That it is no strange Thing to see all Sectarians claiming to their pretended Enthusiastical Prophets, and going to Death with Resolution, and Raptures of Devotion, in Defence of very unaccountable Doctrines, and such as are destructive not only to the Fundamentals of Christianity, but likewise to the very Essence and Constitution of all human Society. *4thly*, They say, That all his Prophecies proceeded from his closse Correspondence and Intelligence with the *English*, and those of his own Party, such as the taking of the Town of *Haddintoun* by the *English*, the Prophecy about the Ambush that was laid for him as he was going to *Fife*, and that there was no Plague in *Scotland* in the Year 1544, otherwise, that Bishop *Leslie*, who liv'd at that Time, and who wrote the History of these Times, would not have omitted such a memorable Piece of Calamity, that it was no strange Thing for him to be speaking always of his approaching Death, since he knew that the Governor of the Realm and the Cardinal had made constant Search for him; and that he could not escape if once he fell in their Hands: And in one Word, That the whole of his Prophecies consisted of an admirable Faculty, that he had in making his Intelligence pass for Prophecies amongst the Vulgar. But, *Lastly*, What is most heavy upon him, is their Accusation against him, of having a main Hand in contriving the Cardinal's Murder, which *Dempster* says, was the Ground he proceeded upon in his Prophecy

A.D. 1545.

against the Cardinal at his Death : And I have seen in the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh, what seems to confirm this : For when the Earl of Hartford resided at Newcastle as Lieutenant of the North of England, the Lords of the Reformation, who were then Pensionaries to the King of England, sent Mr. Wisheart with a Proposal of killing the Cardinal, as we find by the Earl of Hartford's Letter to King Henry, dated April 17th, 1544. (b) Wherein he has these Words, *This Day arrived from Scotland Mr. Wisheart, who brought me a Letter from my Lord Brimston, which I send your Highness herewith, and according to his Requests I have taken Order of the Repair of the said Mr. Wisheart to your Majesty, for the Delivery of such Letters as he hath to your Majesty from the Lord Brimston ; and also for the said Declaration of his Credance, which, as I can perceive by him, consisteth of two Points ; one in the Laird of Grange, late Treasurer of Scotland, and the Master of Rothes, the Earl of Rothes his eldest Son, and John Charters, who would attempt either to apprehend or slay the Cardinal at some Time when he should pass through the Fife Land, as he doth sundry Times to St. Andrews ; and in case they can so apprehend him, will deliver him up to your Majesty ; which Attempt, he says, they would enterprize if they knew your Majesty's Pleasure therein : And what Supportation and Maintenance your Majesty will minister unto them after the Execution of the same, in case they should be pursu'd afterwards by any other Enemits.*

The Ac-
count of his
Works.

Dempster tells us, That Mr. Wisheart wrote a Book against Quintin Kennedy Abbot of Cross-Regal, and Uncle to the Lord Caxills, and another upon the Lord's Supper, from the Writings of Luther ; and Knox says, he wrote some Things in Prison, which his Enemies destroy'd : But we have nothing now extant of his that I know of, but some Extracts of Sermons and Conferences in Fox's Martyrology, Knox his History, and our other Historians.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **T**hemata Fidei contra Quintinum Kennedum.
- II. **D**e Cœna Domini ex Luthero.
- III. **E**xtracts of Sermons and Conferences. Vid. Fox's *Martyrology*, Knox, Spotswood, &c.

T H E

(b) Vide Sit Ralph Sad. Bib. J. C. C. Ed.

An. 1546.

T H E

LIFE of DAVID BEATON, Cardinal *Sancti Stephani in monte Cælio,* and Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.

THIS Prelate was descended from an Ancient Family in the Shire of *Fife*, being a Son of the Laird ^{His Parents, and Education.} of *Balfour's*; He was born in the Reign of King *James* the Fourth, had his Education at the University of *St. Andrews*, where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he was sent over by his Parents to the University of *Paris*, where he studied Theology for several Years (*a*). He entred into Holy Orders, and had several Benefices bestowed upon him; and being a Gentleman of a bright and lively Spirit, became a great Favourite of King *James* the Fifth's; who sent him over as his Ambassador to *Francis* King of *France*, and Pope *Paul* the Third. In which Negotiation he acquit himself so well, to the Satisfaction of them all, that each of them upon his Return, bestowed upon him the Marks of their Favour. For Pope *Paul* the Third made him *Cardinal Sancti Stephani in Monte Cælio* on the 13th of the *Kalends* of *January* 1538. *Francis* King of *France* promoted him to the Bishoprick of *Meropois*, being consecrated upon the Fifth of *December* 1537. And upon the Death of his Uncle *James Beaton* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, King *James* the Fifth promoted him to that See: And the Pope, as a further Mark of his Favour, made him *Legatus a Latere* in the Year 1539. Archbishop *Spotswood* says, that he likewise succeeded his Uncle in the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, but the learned Dr. *Jameson* in his M. S. Notes upon Bishop *Spotswood's* History in my Custody, shews that his Uncle gave him the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock* in the Year 1544, reserving only to himself the half of the Rents: And upon the 16th of *July* the same Year: One Mr. *John Gibson* Bishop of *Libarna* or *Libraria in partibus infidelium*, had a Power to Exercise his Episcopal Office in the Diocess of *St. Andrews*, with Consent of the Cardinal, and a Pension of 200 Pound *Scots* out of the Rents of the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews*.

He is sent Ambassador to France, and promoted to several Dignities.

This Prelate was no sooner promoted to the See of *St. Andrews*, but to testifie his Zeal to the *Roman* See, and his Benefactor Pope *Paul* the Third, he made it his Business to persecute with Fire and Sword those of the Reformed Religion; and for that End he brought alongs with him to *St. Andrews*, the Earls of *Huntly*,
E 2 *Arran*,

(*a*) *Vide Spots. Lib. 6. p. 68. 69. 81. Lef. Lib. 10. p. 487. Dempf. Lib. 2. p. 88. Dr. Jameson's Notes upon Spots. pene.*

An. 1546. *Arran, Marishal and Montrose; Lords, Fleeming, Lindsay, Erskine and Seaton, Gavin Arch-Bishop of Glasgow Chancellor, William Bishop of Aberdeen, Henry Bishop of Galloway, John Bishop of Brechin, and William Bishop of Dumblain, Abbots of Melross, Dumfermling, Lindores and Kinloss, and a great Number of Priors, Deans and Doctors of Theology:* These having met in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews, and the Cardinal being plac'd in a Chair above the rest, told them of the great Danger the Catholick Church was in, by the Proceedings of King *Henry the Eighth in England*, and by the great Increase of Heresie in *Scotland*, yea even in the King's Court, where it met with a too favourable Reception, and that none was more industrious in spreading these Heretical Doctrines than Sir *John Borthwick*; and therefore had caus'd him to be cited before them, for maintaining the following Heretical Doctrines. 1. That the Pope had no greater Authority over Christians, than any other Bishop or Prelate, 2. That Indulgences and Pardons granted by the Pope were of no Force or Effect, but devilish, to amuse the People, and deceive poor ignorant Souls. 3. That Bishops, Priests and other Clergymen may lawfully marry. 4. That the Heresies commonly called the Heresies of *England*, and their new Liturgy was to be commended by all good Christians, and to be embrac'd by them; but in this Article our Ecclesiastical Historians are certainly in a Mistake, for there was no new Liturgy before that of *Edward the Sixth*. 5. That the People of *Scotland* are blinded by their Clergy, and profess not the true Faith. 6. That Church-men ought not to enjoy any Temporalities. 7. That the King ought to convert the superfluous Rents of the Church into other pious Uses. 8. That the Church of *Scotland* ought to be reformed after the same manner, as that of *England* was. 9. That the Canon Law was of no Force, being contrary to the Law of God. 10. That Orders of Friars and Monks should be abolished, as has been done in *England*. 11. That he had openly called the Pope a *Simoniack*, for that he had sold spiritual Things. 12. That he did read Heretical Books, and the New Testament in *English*, with some Treatises written by *Melancthon Oecolompadius*, and other Hereticks, and that he not only read them himself, but distribute them amongst others. And *Lastly*, That he openly disown'd the Authority of the *Roman See*.

These Articles being read, and he not compearing, nor any for him, he was taken as a confest Heretick, and condemn'd as an Heresiarch, for so the Sentence bears. His Goods were order'd to be confiscate, himself burnt in Effigie, if he could not be otherwise apprehended, and all manner of Persons inhibited to entertain him, or converse with him, under the Pain of Excommunication or Forfeiture: And this Sentence was past against him upon the 28th of May 1540, and the same Day his Picture was burnt in the open Market-Place of St. Andrews, and two Days after, at Edinburgh. Sir *John Borthwick* hearing how they had proceeded against

He persecutes the Protestants.

against him, fled into *England*, where he was kindly receiv'd by ^{An. 1546.} King *Henry the Eighth*, who sent him Ambassador to the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, to make a League betwixt him and them against the Pope. This Gentleman wrote an Apology for himself, which Mr. *Knox* has inserted in his *Martyrology*; and for his Learning, Piety and Valour, Dr. *Johnston* has inserted him amongst our *Scots Heroes* with the following Encomium (a).

JOHANNES BORTHUICUS

Eques clarissimus, tam charus JACOBO V. Regi ob eximias virtutes, quam invisus Sacerdotum ordini ob veram pietatem fuit. Ob cuius sinceram professionem absens damnatus est: Bona in fiscum relata: Effigies post varia ludibria igne cremata Andreapoli 29 Maii, Anno Christi 1540. Cui damnationi doctissimam Apologiam opposuit, qua extat in monumentis Martyrum. Multis annis postea superstes, senex placida morte obiit.

*Seu peragenda foret mihi res ingentibus ausis,
Seu fors intrepidis dura ferenda animis,
Utrumque addidici hoc, audere ingentia in armis;
Et ferre invictis aspra & acerba animis
Nec mihi cura mei est usquam, curam anteit omnem
Una poli, & pura Religionis amor.
Mille notant probris caput hoc crudelibus Hostes
Absentique cremant ignibus effigiem.
De capite, O fatui! vobis fas ludere tantum.
De me qui statuat arbiter alter erit.*

An Interview being propos'd at *York* betwixt King *Henry the Eighth* and King *James the Fifth*, his Nephew; to which both Princes having agreed, the Cardinal and Clergy being afraid that King *Henry* might prevail with his Nephew to take the same Measures that he had done in *England*, dissuaded him from it, which was the Cause of a bloody War betwixt the two Nations, and the Occasion of that incomparable Prince's Death, as I have shown at Length in the 2d Volume of this Work, in the Life of that Prince: King *James the Fifth* was no sooner dead, but the Cardinal did suborn a Priest called *Henry Balfour*, to forge the King's last Will, whereby it was declar'd that he had committed to the Cardinal, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntly* and *Murray*, the Government of the Realm during his Daughter's Minority; and this he caused to be proclaim'd over the Market Cross of *Edinburgh* on the *Munday* after the King's Death; but the rest of the Nobility having met, and finding that the King was not in a Condition to grant a Warrant for forming of a Testament, they made Choice of *James Earl of Arran* to be Governour of the Realm during the Queen's Minority.

The Cardinal
dissuaded
King James
from meeting
with his
Uncle at
York.

He forged
the King's
last Will.

Anno 1546. In the Beginning of the Year 1543, a Proposal being made by King *Henry the Eighth*, of a Match betwixt the Prince of *Wales* his eldest Son, and the Infant Queen of *Scotland*; the Governour and Nobility who relish'd the Proposal, being afraid that the Cardinal and Clergy would oppose this Match, they committed the Cardinal Prisoner to the Castle of *Dalkeith*, and from thence he was remov'd to *St. Andrews*. The Match with *England* being violently oppos'd by the Queen Mother, and a great Part of the Nobility, it was agreed amongst them that the Cardinal should be set at Liberty, and the Lord *Seaton* undertook to do it, and accordingly did effectuate the same; and they all met at *Linlithgow* upon the 24th Day of *July*, where they enter'd into a Bond, whereby they obliged themselves to stand by one another with their Lives and Fortunes, in Opposition to the Match with *England*. For the Cardinal and Clergy plainly foresaw, that if the Match with *England* did prove effectual, it would necessarily bring on such a Reformation in *Scotland* as had been made in *England*; and therefore they appointed a present Collection to be made of as much Money as each Clergy-man could conveniently allow; and the inferior Clergy were appointed to preach in their Sermons against the Match with *England*, as tending to the Ruin of the Catholick Religion. The Nobility who had not so much Religion in their View, as the breaking of the Ancient League with *France*, which they and their Predecessors had often sworn to keep violably, they oppose it upon that Account; besides, they thought that such a Match must needs tend to the Glory and Happiness of *England*, and to the Ruin of *Scotland*; which by this, from an independent Kingdom, would dwindle into a Tributary Province.

Upon the 4th of *September* the Governour came to *Stirling* to be Witness to the Queen's Coronation, and to be reconcil'd to the Queen Mother and Cardinal; for by this Time he found that the King of *England* had never any real Design of a Match betwixt the Queen and the Prince of *Wales*, but only to see if he could get the Infant Queen in his Custody, as evidently appears from Sir *Ralph Sadler's* Letters in the Lawyers Library at *Edinburgh*. The Coronation of the Queen was perform'd with great Pomp and Solemnity upon the 4th Day of *September*; and at this Time, our Historians say, that the Governour forsook the reformed Religion, and turn'd Catholick again: Upon which he received Absolution from the Cardinal; but the Truth is, he was never Protestant: And that for which the Cardinal gave him Absolution, was, that he knew of, and might have hinder'd the killing of a Friar at *Dundee*, as we learn from a Letter from Sir *Ralph Sadler* to King *Henry*, dated upon the 5th of *September* this Year. The Cardinal having thus establish'd his Authority as much as ever, he resolv'd to begin where he left off, in prosecuting those of the Reformed Religion; but taking the Governor alongs with him, they came to *Perth*, where, upon the Delation of one Friar *Spence*; *Robert Lamb*, *William Anderson*, *James*

*His cruel
Proceedings
against the
Protestants.*

James Ranald, James Hunter, and Helen Stirk his Wife, were apprehended, examin'd, and found guilty, and all of them hang'd, ^{An. 1546.} *except the poor Woman who was drown'd. Sir Henry Elder, Walter Piper, and Laurence Bullar, with some other Burgesses were banish'd. The Lord Ruthven Provost of the Town was put out of his Office as a Favourer of the Reformers. From Perth the Cardinal went to Angus and the Mearns; where he likewise made a vigorous Inquisition, and then return'd to Edinburgh, where he caus'd apprehend Mr. Wisheart, and burnt him at St. Andrews, as we have shown in his Life.*

These vigorous Proceedings of his so incens'd those who favour'd the Reformation against him, that they resolv'd to murder him : ^{A Plot is laid to murder him.} This had been propos'd to the Earl of Angus, and his Brother Sir George Douglas long before by King Henry the Eighth; and they had employed Mr. Wisheart in the Affair ; but Mr. Wisheart being apprehended and put to Death, they became more incens'd against the Cardinal than ever ; and immediately dispatch'd one John Henry, and another called Wilson for King Henry's further Instructions, as we learn from a Minute to the Earl of Hartford, dated May 27th, which is as follows : (a) *After our hearty Commendation to your good Lordship; whereas the Queen's Majesty hath presently dispatch'd John Henry, Scotsman, and Wilson, who were sent unto her Highness from the Master of Rothes, and others in Scotland with Credences; and have also appointed his Majesty's Trustee Mr. Holerost and John Rogers to pass with them into Scotland, for such Purposes, and to such Ends, as by Instructions which you shall receive herewith may more at large appear unto them. These be to advertise your Lordship, That her Highness considering that it shall be very hard for them to pass surely to the End of their Journey by Land, have will'd us to signify to you, that her Highness Pleasure is, that you shall cause a convenient Vessel for their sure Transporting and Convoyance to the Mouth of the River Tay, to be secretly prepar'd and furnish'd with as much Diligence as you may.*

They had not the Patience to wait till these Gentlemen return'd, but agreed amongst themselves to meet privately at St. Andrews upon the 28th of May, and upon the 29th they met about three ^{The manner of his Death.} of the Clokk in the Morning in the Abbey Church-Yard, all Things succeeded as they could have wish'd (b). Young Grange at his first coming found the Gates of the Castle open, and entring with Six who attended him, entertain'd the Porter, by asking him if the Cardinal was asleep, and how soon he would rise, and such like Questions: In the mean Time the Master of Rothes, and two with him, came and ask'd the same Questions ; but the Porter was noways afraid of him, knowing him to be in great Favour with the Cardinal, who had always entertain'd him as one of his Bosom Friends ; but when he saw Mr. John Leslie, with two, or as Knox has it, four with him, whom he knew to be his Master's Enemies, he immediately,

(a) Vide Sir Rap. Sed. Letters ubi sup. (b) Vid. Spm. P. 83. Knox P. 71.

Anno 1546.

run to secure the Bridge, being afraid of some bad Design; but they stopt him, took the Keys from him, and secur'd the Passage; then appointing four of the Company to secure the Chamber where the Cardinal lay, that he might not be advertis'd of what they were adoing, they went into the several Chambers in which his Servants lay asleep, and calling them by their Names, for they were all known to them, they put Fifty of his ordinary Servants, besides the Workmen, Masons and Wrights, who were reckon'd above an hundred (for he was then fortifying the Castle) to the Gates, permitting none to stay within but the Governour's Son, whom they thought fit to detain for their own Security: And all this was done with so little Noise, that the Cardinal did not hear them, till they knock'd at his Door; then he ask'd, Who was there? *John Leslie*, the Earl of *Rothes*'s Brother, answer'd, My Name is *Leslie*: Which *Leslie*, said the Cardinal, is that *Norman*? It was answer'd, That he must open to those that were thiere: Whereupon he made fast the Doors, and refused to admit them. Then they called for Fire, which when the Cardinal heard, he capitulated with them, and open'd the Door, upon their Promise that they would do him no Harm. Upon which they rushing in upon him, most barbarously murdered him, without any Resistance. The Tumult was great in the City upon the Rumour that the Castle was taken, but the People immediately run to Arms; and such as favour'd the Cardinal made all the haste they could, intending to scale the Walls: But when it was told them, that he was dead whom they thought to help, their Hearts cool'd; yet the People still calling for a Sight of the Cardinal, they brought the Corps to the very same Place where he sat beholding Mr. *Wisheart*'s Execution. This is the Account that Arch-Bishop *Spotswood* gives of this Affair; but Mr. *Knox* in his History most villainously and wickedly making a Jest of it, relates it thus;

" Many Purposes were devis'd how that wicked Man might have been taken away, but all failed, till Friday the 28th of May, " Anno 1546, when the aforesaid *Norman* came at Night to " St. Andrews, *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grange* younger was in the " Town before waiting upon the Purpose; last came *John Leslie*, " as aforesaid, who was most suspected. What Conclusion they took " that Night, it was not known, but Saturday in the Morning, the " 29th of May, were they in sundry Companies in the Abbey " Church-Yard, not far distant from the Castle, first the Gates being " open, and the Draw-Bridge let down for receiving of Lime and " Stones, and other Things necessary for Building, (for *Babylon* " was almost finished) First, we say, assay'd *William Kirkcaldie* of " *Grange* younger, and with him Six Persons; and getting Entry, " held Purpose with the Porter, If my Lord was waking, who an- " swered, No; and so it was indeed, for he had been busy at his " Accounts with his Mistris, *Marion Ogilvie* that Night, who was " espy'd to depart from him by the privy Postern that Morning; " and

" and therefore Quietness, after the Rules of Physick, and a Morning Sleep was requisite for my Lord. While the said *William*^{An. 1546.} and the Porter talked, and his Servants made them to look to the Work and Workmen, approached *Norman Leslie* with his Company; and because they were in great Number, they easily got Entry. They advance to the midst of the Court, and immediately came *John Leslie* with his Company somewhat rudely, and Four Persons with him: The Porter fearing, would have drawn the Bridge, but the said *John* being enter'd thereon, stay'd it, and leapt in; and while the Porter made him for Defence, his Head was broken, the Keys taken from him, and he cast into the Ditch, and so the Place was seiz'd. The Shout ariseth, the Workmen, to the Number of more than an hundred, run off the Walls, and were without Hurt put forth at the Wicket-Gate: The first Thing that ever was done, *William Kirkcaldy* took the Gate of privy Postern, fearing, least the Fox should have escaped; then go the rest to the Gentlemen's Chambers, and without Violence done to any Man, they put more than Fifty Persons to the Gate: The Number that enterpriz'd, and did this, was but Sixteen Persons. The Cardinal wakered with the Shouts, ask'd from his Window, What meant that Noise? It was answered, that *Norman Leslie* had taken his Castle, which understood, he run to the Postern; but perceiving the Passage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his Chamber, took his Two-handed Sword, and caused his Chamberlain cast Chests, and other Impediments to the Door: In this mean Time came *John Leslie* unto it, and bids open. The Cardinal asking, Who calls? He answered, My Name is *Leslie*: He demanded, Is that *Norman*? The other saith, Nay, my Name is *John*. I will have *Norman*, saith the Cardinal, for he is my Friend. Content your self with such as are here, for other you shall have none. There were with the said *John*, *James Melvil*, a Man familiarly acquainted with Mr. *George Wishart*, and *Peter Carmichael* a stout Gentleman. In this mean Time, while they force at the Door, the Cardinal hides a Box of Gold under the Coals that were laid in the secret Corner. At length he ask'd, Will you save my Life? The said *John* answer'd, It may be that we will: Nay, saith the Cardinal, Swear unto me by God's Wounds, and I will open to you: Then answered the said *John*, What is said is unsaid; and so cried, Fire, Fire, for the Door was very strong: And so was brought a Chimney full of burning Coals, which perceiv'd, the Cardinal or his Chamberlain (it is uncertain which) opened the Door, and the Cardinal sat down in a Chair, and cry'd, I am a Priest, I am Priest, you will not slay me, The said *John Leslie*, according to his former Vows, struck him first once or twice, and so did the said *Peter*, but *James Melvil*, a Man of Nature most gentle, and most modest, perceiving them both in Choler, withdrew them, and said, That this Work and Judg'ment of God, although it be secret, ought

An. 1546.

" to be done with greater Gravity ; and presenting unto him the Point of the Sword, said, *Repent thee of thy former wicked Life, but especially thy shedding of the Blood of that notable Instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart ; which albeit the Flame of fire consumed before Men, yet it cries for Vengeance upon thee ; and we from God are sent to revenge it ; for here before my God, I protest, That neither the Hatred of thy Person, the Love of thy Riches, nor the Fear of any Trouble thou could do me in particular, mov'd, or moveth me to strike thee, but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate Enemy against Christ Jesus and his Holy Gospel :* And so he struck him twice or thrice through with a stog Sword, and so he fell ; never a Word out of his Mouth, but that, *I am a Priest, fie, fie, all is gone.* While they were thus busied with the Cardinal, the Fray rose in the Town, the Provost assembles the Commonality, and comes to the House Side, cried, *What have you done with my Lord Cardinal ? Where is my Lord Cardinal ? Have you slain my Lord Cardinal ?* They that were within answered gently, Best it were for you to return to your own Houses, for the Man you call the Cardinal has received his Reward, and in his own Person will trouble the World no more ; but then more enragedly they cried, *We shall never depart till we see him :* So he was brought to the East-Block-Houle-Head, and shown dead over the Wall to the faithless Multitude, which would not believe before they saw ; and so they departed without *Requiem eternam, or Requiescat in pace* sung for his Soul. Now because the Weather was hot, for it was *May*, as you have heard, and his Funerals could not suddenly be prepar'd, it was thought best to keep him from stinking, to give him great Salt enough, a Cope of Lead, and a Corner in the Bottom of the Sea-Tower (a Place where many of God's Children have been imprisoned before) to wait what Exequies his Brethren the Bishops would prepare for him : These Things we write merrily." An excellent Subject for a Christian's Mirth ! Many Reflections might be made to expose the Ridiculousness and Impiety of this Relation, if the bare Narrative it self did not sufficiently expose the Author and his Party, who value themselves so much upon their murdering Principles : But that we may see how just God is in his Judgments, against Murderers, it is to be observed, that all that had an Hand in this Murder, came to an untimely Death.

Dempster says (*a*), *That Leslie the principal Actor in this Affair, meaning the Master of Rothes, after the Cardinal was dead, in the Manner above related, That he piss'd in his Mouth, for which the just Judgment of God came over him :* For being killed by a Fall from his Horse, his Horse piss'd in his Mouth : But that this is a meer Calumny, will appear from the following Narrative of his Death, as we have it related from an Eye-witness : He being obliged to fly the Kingdom for this Murder, he had a Pension for the good Service

(*a*) *Dempst. ubi sup.*

Service he had done, all King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, and King *Edward* the Sixth, as all the rest of the Murderers had. But upon the Death of King *Edward* the Sixth, it was stopt upon this Occasion, at the Agreement of the Peace betwixt the Three Nations of *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, he had been set at Liberty from the Confinement he was under. He came privately to *Scotland*, but the Governor having got Notice of it, he was obliged to fly to *Denmark*; and finding himself not safe in that Country, he came over to *England*, at the Time of King *Edward* the Sixth's Death, to receive what was owing him of his Pension: But Lady *Jean Gray*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s eldest Daughter having possessed her self of the Third of *England*, which she held not above Ten Days, *Mary*, King *Edward*'s eldest Sister was owned and proclaimed Queen, and reestablished the *Romish* Religion; upon which the Duke of *Northfolk* in open Council opposed the paying any more the *Scots* Pensioners; which was not only agreed to, but all of them ordered to remove out of *England* against such a Day: Upon this *Norman Leslie* sent the Laird of *Brunston* over to *Henry* King of *France* (*a*), with a Profer of his Service in his War against the Emperor: The King of *France* knowing him to be a brave Man, accepted of his Service; and during the Time that he served, he behaved himself with exceeding great Valour, even to the very last Act of his Life, which happen'd thus (*b*), *The Constable of France having besieged the City of Reny, and the Emperor having come to their Relief*, *Norman Leslie Master of Rothes* (says my Author) won great Reputation, for with Thirty Scotsmen he made up an Hill upon a fair gray Gelding; he had above his Coat of black Velvet, his Coat of Armour with two broad white Crosses, the one before, and the other behind, with Sleeves of Mail, and a red Bonnet upon his Head, whereby he was known and seen afar off by the Constable, the Duke of Anguin, and the Prince of Conde, where, with his Thirty he charged upon Sixty of their Horsemen with Culverings, followed but with Seven of his Number: He in our Sight struck Five of them from their Horses with his Spear, before it broke, then he drew his Sword, and run in amongst them, not valuing their continual shooting, to the Admiration of all the Beholders: He slew divers of them, and at length, when he saw a Company of Spearmen coming down against him, he gave his Horse the Spurs, who carried him to the Constable, and there fell down dead, for he had many Shots, and worthy Norman was also shot in divers Parts, whereof he died Fifteen Days after: He was first carried to the King's own Tent, where the Duke of Anguin, and Prince of Conde told his Majesty, That *Hector of Troy* was not more valiant than the said Norman; whom the said King would see dressed by his own Chyrurgeons, and made great Moan for him; and so did the Constable, and all the rest of the Princes; but no Man made more Lamentation than the Laird of Grange, who came to the Camp the next Day after, from a quiet

(*a*) *Vid. Lesl. Lib. 10. P. 321.* (*b*) *Sir James Melville's Memoirs, P. 17.*

An. 1546.

Road, whether he had been commanded. Now to return to the Cardinal.

The Cardinal's Character, and Account of his Works.

It must be acknowledged, That he was a Man of an unlimited Ambition, endued with good natural Parts, and well seen in all the Parts of Literature, but of a very irregular and dissolute Life, being much addicted to the Pleasures of the Fair Sex, even after his Advancement to the Priesthood: And I have by me a Contract of Marriage, dated April 10th, 1546, at St. Andrews, betwixt his Daughter Margaret Beaton and the Master of Crawford, he himself consenting and agreeing to the said Contract on the one Hand, and the Earl of Crawford on the other. He was likewise altogether inexcusable for putting to Death so many poor People for their Religion, he himself being Witness to the burning and hanging of them, which shewed that he was naturally of a cruel and inhuman Temper: On the other Hand, the Popish Writers give him very high Elogiums. And since we have given the different Sentiments of our Protestant Writers concerning him, it is but just that we should give an Account what they have said for him in Dempster's Words, who tells us, that he wrote *An Account of his Negotiations with the French King and the Pope*; *The Book of St. Peter's Supremacy over the rest of the Apostles*, which William Barclay the famous Lawyer had seen, and, *A Collection of Letters to several Persons of Note and Distinction*. So I shall conclude his Life with Dempster's Character of him.

David Betonus Sanct Andreanus adolescens bonarum artium causa peregrinatione suscepta, adolescens Parisiis studuit, vir factus, Legatus ad Franciscum Galliarum Regem, & Paulum III. præclare de Religione Catholica & sua Patria meritus, Cardinalis creatus est Presbyter sub titulo S. Stephani in Cœlio Monte, Creatio incidit in XII. Kalend Januar. Anno MDXXXVIII. Paulus Jovius in Descript. Scotiæ. Fifa regio occurrit insignis S. Andreæ urbe, sacrorum primatu, & Gymnasiī authoritate, portuque clarissima, cui hodie præst David Betonus purpurei galeri dignitate, vita splendore, ac ingenii gravitate illustris. Tantus hic Antistes a Sicariis Hæreticis in cubiculo suo strangulatus est, percussori nomen præcipuo Læsleus, qui in os defuncti minxit, ornatumque cadaver Cardinalitiis insigniis parieti appensum variis contumeliis affecerunt sacrilegi; a quibus Deus postea debitas pœnas exegit, nam nullus nefariorum percussorum non violenta morte extinctus est, & Leslaus sternace equo dejectus interiit, memorabili sane exemplo Equus in volutantis os meiens, divina vindicta certam licet dilatam aliquandiu severitatem ostendit. Edward Hallus, Lib. 8. de duarum familiar: Unione, Actum deinde sequenti Anno de tam indigna cæde vindicanda Jacob. August. Thuanus, Lib. III. Historiarum. Sed frustra, exinde enim res Ecclesiastica retro in dies ferri ac Hæreticis vires crescere. Hujus sunt.

*De Legationibus suis, Lib. I.
De Primitu Petri. Lib. I. vidit G. Barclaius.
Epistola ad diversos Lib. I.*



An. 1546.

*Martyrium passus est die 28th Maii, Anno Salut. MDXLVI. a
Rege Franciæ Miropiensi Episcopatu donatus. Sanguis occisi a lapi-
dibus fenestra elui delerique nequit.*

THE

LIFE of *FLORENCE WILSON*,
Professor of the *Belles-Lettres* at *Carpentras* ^{An. 1547.}
in *Italy*.

FLORENCE WILSON, so well known in the Republic of Letters, by his Latin Name of *Florentius Volusenus*, was born at *Elgin*, in the County or Shire of *Murray*, of an honest Parentage; having learned his Grammar at *Elgin*, he was sent by his Parents to the University of *Aberdeen*, where having finished the Course of his Studies in Philosophy, he went to *England*, where he had the good Fortune to be introduced to Cardinal *Wolsey*, who finding him a Youth of bright Parts, made him Tutor or Preceptor to his Nephew, with whom he went over to *Paris*, and continued in that Station till the Death of the Cardinal, which happened upon the 30th of November 1530. After this he became acquainted with Cardinal *Bellai* Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, a great Encourager of Learning and learned Men, he himself being one of the learnedest Men of his Age, and whom; if we may believe *Michael de L'Hopital* Chancellor of *France*; and a good Judge in these Matters, he wrote the Latin in Prose with as great Elegancy as *Cicero*, and in Verse with as great Majesty and charming Loftiness as *Maro* (a):

His Paren-
tage and
Education.

He is made
Preceptor to
Cardinal
Wolsey's
Nephew.

*Salve (says he) Pieridum Musarum dulcis alumne,
Mignus constrictis pedibus, magnisque solutis,
Autor eo vincens Ciceronem, Virgiliumque.*

To a Person so well seen in Literature, our Author, who was one of the best Scholars of his Age, could not but be very acceptable, and accordingly we find, that that Cardinal had a Design of making him Professor Royal of the Greek and Latin Languages at *Paris*; but he falling into Disgrace with the King of *France*, by the Intrigues of the Cardinal *de Lorain*, Mr. *Wilson* was not only disappointed in this, but lost a yearly Pension which he had from

H

these.

(a) *Vid. Volucens de Tranquillitate anim. Decept. Lib. 19. P. 669. Michael de L'Hopital, Lib. 1.*

Anno 1547. these two Cardinals, yet to show his Gratitude to his Patron the Cardinal *de Bellai*, he served him with the same Firmness and

He enters Assiduity when he was under a Cloud, as when he was in the bright Sun-shine of his Prosperity ; and the Cardinal going to *Rome*, he would needs accompany him ; but in their Journey he fell sick at

Avignon, where he was obliged to stay till he recovered his Health.

He becomes acquainted with Cardinal Sadolet.

At this Time Cardinal *Sadolet* Bishop of *Carpentras* was fam'd over all *Europe* for his great Parts, and Love to all Persons of Learning, and particularly for his Liberality in supporting them under their Difficulties : So our Author had no sooner recovered his Health, but he went to visit this illustrious *Macenas*, who in one of his Epistles tells us (*a*), That, at that Time towards the Evening, he was studying in his Library, when the Porter acquainted him that a Stranger was calling for him, and according to his usual Civility to all Strangers, he gave him immediate Access : And having asked him; What his Business was with him at that Time of the Night ? and some other Questions of that Nature ; He answered him so pointedly and discreetly, and in such a charming Stile of Eloquence, that the Cardinal, who was loath to quit his Studies, could not resist the Temptation of discoursing further with him : So closing the Book upon which he was reading, he turned himself towards him, and asked him, What Country Man he was ? What was his Profession ? And, What brought him to *Italy* ? To this Mr. *Wilson* replied, That by Birth he was a *Scots* Man, one of the most northerly Nations in the World ; where then (says the Cardinal) had you your Education ? being extremely surpriz'd at the Elegancy of his Latin. To this his Answer was, That he had his Education in his own Country, but going over to *Paris*, he taught the Greek and Latin to Cardinal *Wolsey's* Nephew for some Years, and upon the Death of that Cardinal, he was supported in his Studies by the Cardinal *de Bellai* and *Lorain*, who gave him a yearly Pension ; that he came to *Italy* with Cardinal *de Bellai*, but falling sick at *Avignon*, he had not the Opportunity of going with him to *Rome*. Then the Cardinal asked him, What had brought him to *Carpentras* ? Mr. *Wilson* answered, That it was to see him, who had rendred himself so famous over the World by his learned Writings : And that he had been informed at *Avignon*, that he was desirous to have one who could teach the Latin and Greek to the Children of that City, which he offered to do, not that he was desirous of such a troublesom Employment, but that he might have the Honour of serving him in any Station he pleased to name. The next Day early in the Morning, the Cardinal went to the Consuls of the City, and acquainted them of all that had past betwixt him and our Author, and what a mighty Esteem he had for him ; and therefore desired the Favour of them, that they would dine with him and Mr. *Wilson*, that they themselves might be

(*a*) Vid. Ep. 3. ad Paulum Sadoletum,

be Witnesses to his great Learning ; he likewise invited a Physician An 1547.
to Dinner with him, who was esteemed one of the learnedest Men
of that City : After Dinner the Cardinal engag'd Mr. Wilson in a
Dispute upon some Points of Philosophy with this Physician, in
which he acquit himself to Admiration ; and the Cardinal takes
particular Notice of one Argument that he had propos'd to the
Physician, which so perplex'd him, that he could find no Answer to
it ; but Mr. Wilson, says he, asking Permission to give his Opinion
of it, gave a most learned and satisfactory Answer. And in one
Word, all of them were so well pleased with him, that they imme-
diately made Choice of him to be their Professor in the Greek and Who makes
him Professor
of the Belles
Lettres at
Carpentras.
Latin Languages, allowing him an hundred Pistoles a Year for his
Salary. This is the Substance of what this Illustrious Cardinal
acquaints his Friend *Paul Sadolet* of, in one of his Letters to him :
The same Cardinal in one of his Letters to the Cardinal of *Lorain*,
recommends our Author after a most obliging Manner, and after
he has acquainted him of his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Phi-
losophy, he is very earnest with him to renew and continue the
Pension which he had settled upon him at *Paris*, as appears from
the 16th Epistle of the 6th Book of Cardinal Sadolet's Letters, where
he has these Words, *Non putavi molestum tibi me facturum si cum
hominem, tibi commendasssem, quem in primis dignum tua benevolen-
tia esse arbitror.* Florentius Volusenus, natione Scotus, *Elegantia
morum & Literis Latinissimus : De quo homine Jane agendum pacis
tecum est, quippe qui tibi probe notus sit, & tua bonitatis ope ac sub-
sidio literarum Studiis Lutetiae aliquantum tempus operam dederit.*
*Is cum superioribus mensibus urbis Romæ visunda studio flagrans, de
tua voluntate, cum Collega tuo Joanne Bellaio, viro ornatissimo, in
viam se dedisset, atque Avenionem usque esset pervectus : ibi adversa
valetudine & inopia rerum necessiarum subsistere est compulsus :*
*pauloque post ad me se contulit. Quem ego, quanquam pertenuis &
magnis rei familiaris difficultatibus affectus, jucunde tamen comiterque
acepi, cognitoque mox hominis ingenio, & natura ingenua liberalique
perspecta, etiam in honore deinde habui. — Et paulo post. — Sed ut
eo redeam unde diverti ; Florentius mecum nunc Carpentoracti est,
maximoque animo & incredibili assiduitate optimis literis, præser-
timque Philosophia dat operam : mihi in quotidiana consuetudine
admodum jucundus & gratus est. Te porro dominum & patronum
prædicat ipse ac profitetur. — Eum ergo tua fidei, bonitati liberali-
tatique commendo : & abs te vehementer peto, ut quando ipse non
minus hic studia doctrina persequitur, quam si Lutetiae esset, velis pro
tua præstanti liberalique natura, eam mercedem annuam illi salvam
abs te esse, quam jampridem constituisti ; hoc cum tua amplitudine,
generisque tui ac virtutis gloria maxime dignum est, tum mihi certe
satturus es gratissimum. — 1536.*

It was during this Time that our Author compos'd his excellent An Account
of his Book
of the Tran-
quility of the
Mind.
Book upon the Tranquility of the Mind, which he wrote by Way of
Dialogue betwixt himself, *Francis Michael a Patrician of Luca,* Quality of the
Mind.

An. 1547. and *Demetrius Caracalla*; in the Beginning he tells him, that before he went from his Native Country, he was one Day walking upon the Banks of the River *Lossie*, with his intimate Friend Mr. *John Ogilvie* Rector of the Church of *Croden*, a Man of excellent Learning: They took the Occasion to talk of an happy Life from these Words of *Horace*.

*Qui fit Mecenas ut nemo quam sibi sortem
Seu ratio dederit, seu fors objecerit, illa
Contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?*
Whence comes (my Lord) this general Discontent,
Why all dislike the State that Chance hath sent,
Or their own Choice procure, why all repent?
Horatius, Sat. I.

But reserving it to the next Day, they parted; and the next Morning our Author tells of a Dream that he had that Night, wherein he thought that he saw a magnificent Temple, and coming nigh to the Gates, he perceives a venerable old Man like *Democritus*, or some of the Ancient Sages of *Greece*: and asking him, To whom that stately Edifice belonged? For to him it seem'd consecrated to some God: The venerable old Man answered him in Latin, but with a *Grecian Accent*, that he was not deceived, and desired him to look to the Inscription above the Door, where he read in Greek,

The TEMPLE of TRANQUILITY.

Then asking him, if he might be permitted to enter into that sacred Place. He told him, that it was a difficult Thing; but finding that he had an Inclination to the Ways of Virtue, he would do him that Favour; and taking him by the Hand, he led him into the Porch of the Temple, supported by eight Pillars of curious Workmanship; upon each of which there were *Grecian Inscriptions*: Then the old Man addressing himself to him, told him, that before he entred into the Temple of Tranquility, that it was necessary that he should make a Commentary upon each of these Inscriptions that were engraved upon the Pillars, which if he kept well in Mind, he might have an easy Access to the Temple, which our Author having promised to do, he led him to the first Pillar, beginning at the left Hand. And here our Author gives us all these Inscriptions in *Greek*, which I shall render into *English* for the Reader's Instruction and Satisfaction.

On the First was, *There is not a more glorious Study than to accomplish our selves with what is truly Accomplishing.*

On the Second, *We ought to be instructed in the Knowledge of what is truly Good.*

On the Third, *That we are not to look upon Things that are none of ours, (or at the Disposal of Fortune) as if they were our own.*

On the Fourth, *'Tis in vain, and below us to seek for Peace from external Things.*

On

On the Fifth, *Never to think of our selves, please our selves, or despise others too much.*

On the Sixth, *Since you are the Servant, and not the Master of Providence, obey willingly and cheerfully.*

On the Seventh, *Rather wish your self what you are, than any Thing else, and upon this Account esteem your self happy.*

On the Eighth and Last, *Use Exercise and Converse, but above all, examine strictly your self.*

After this the old Man desir'd him to look to the Inscription upon the Frontis-piece of the Temple, where he read these Words,

Blessed are they who dwell in this House.

On the Entry to the Church were two Pillars, on one of which was engraven, *Know thy self.* And on the other, *Know God.*

Upon the Arch which join'd these two Pillars was the Image of a God-like young Man with a Crown of Thorns upon his Head, and his Side, Hands and Feet bearing the Scars of Wounds, and his whole Body all over bloody, and towards his Head descending (as it were) from the Heavens, these Words,

This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear you him.

Below his Feet were engraven these Words,

I am the Way, the Truth and the Life.

This is the Description that our Author gives us of the *Chanoinry Cathedral Church of Elgin*, under the Notion of the Temple of Tranquility: And our Author's Book is nothing but a Commentary drawn from the wise Sayings and Writings of the Ancient Moralists, *Grecians, Latins* and Fathers of the Church, and is so judiciously done, that it is justly esteem'd by the Learned, and a masterly Performance of its Kind.

At Length, after our Author had taught the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy for several Years in *Italy*, he took a Longing for his own Country, and wrote a Letter to Cardinal *Sadolet*, giving him an Account of his Designs, and asking his Advice how he should behave himself in relation to the Disputes and Differences that were then in Agitation in his own Country, concerning the Matters of Religion: Upon which the Cardinal returned him a long Letter (*a*), Part of which I shall here insert, as containing the Sentiments that that learned Prelate had of our Author's real Worth and Probity.

Eum (says he) qui superioribus diebus tuas ad me attulit litteras, testimonio tuo adductus, libenter vidi: opemque illi & studium meum detuli; ut multum apud me valuisse commendationem tuam facile intelligere potuerit. Nec te tua sane, quam de me habes sefellit opinio. Sumus enim, semperque suimus, ad bene de doctis & probis hominibus merendum, si minus opibus & facultatibus instructi, at certe natura studioque propensi ac parati. Te quidem, quem & optimis artibus eruditum, & in his de religione dissensionibus optime sentientem semper judicavimus, eo quo debemus studio atque amore prosequimur. Itaque quod sententiam exquiris nostram, quam viam, cum in patria tua

(a) Vid. Epist. 13. Lib. 16.

*confiteris, qua maximas de Religione contentiones esse scribis, insistere
debeas : Nos id tibi consilii dabimus, quod & amore nostro erga te,
& virtute & pietate tua dignum sit : Quod tamen a te jam pridem
captum esse minime dubitamus ****. Sed hæc, ut voluntati tue
obsequerer, non quod te putarem de his rebus non optime & sentire &
tecum statuisse, jam attigi. Tu velim benevolentiam erga me tuam
conserveras : Tantumque de animo & voluntate mea tibi pollicare ac
spondeas, quantum virtus & probitas & vetus tuum erga me studium
postulat. Vale, Romæ, 1546.*

His Death
and Charac-
ter. Our Author being upon his Return to Scotland, sickned at Viene
in Dauphiny, and died in the Beginning of the Year 1547.

Thus died *Florence Wilson*, a Man highly esteemed for his Knowledge in the Latin and Greek Languages, which he wrote and spoke to Admiration ; as likewise for his great Knowledge in Philosophy, and his admirable Vein in Poetry, which gain'd him not only the Esteem of four of the learnedest and greatest Cardinals of his Age, but of all the learned Men in Europe in his Time. Our Buchanan has honoured his Ashes with the following Epitaph ;

*Hic musis Volusene jaces charissime ripam
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria ?
Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus que foret altrix
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos.*

Dempster tells us, That he wrote a Book upon Aristotle's Philosophy, and calls his Book *De animi Tranquillitate, De Consolatione*, alluding to Boetius's Book *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. And in the Catalogue of Thuanus's Library, there is a Theological Book of his mentioned, said to be printed by Sebastian Grypheus in the Year 1539. And the first Edition of our Author's Book, upon the Tranquility of the Mind, was published by the same Grypheus, in which there are several Mistakes, but many more in the Editions of the Hague and Leyden ; all which are corrected in the Edinburgh Edition by Mr. Freebairn, 1707.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **D**e animi Tranquillitate, Lugd. 1543. & Edin. 1707. in 8vo.
- II. Poemata, Lond. 1619. 4to.
- III. Commentatio quadam Theologica qua eadem precatio est, in Aphorismos dijuncta, per Sebas. Gryph. 8vo. 1539. vid. Cat. Lib. Thuan.
- IV. Philosophia Aristotelica Synopsis, Lib. 4

T H E

An. 1553.

LIFE of Sir DAVID LINDSAY of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms.

SIR David Lindsay of the Mount, so called from his paternal Inheritance near Coupar in the Shire of Fife where he was born, in the Reign of King James IV. was descended from an ancient Family, and had his Education at the University of St. Andrews, where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in Philosophy, for his further Improvement, his Parents sent him Abroad ; and having travelled (as he himself tells us) through England, France, Italy and Germany, he returned to his native Country about the Year 1514. Not long after his Return, he was made one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bed-Chamber, and the Care of the young Prince, King James V. was committed to him, as a Person well seen in all the Customs, Manners and Languages of the Nations through which he had travelled ; and consequently the fittest Person in the Nation to be about the young Prince : And how careful and diligent he was in the Trust committed to him, we learn in the Epistle prefixt to his Dream, where, addressing himself to the King, he says,

*When thou was young, I bare thee in my Arm
Full tenderly, till thou began to gang,
And in thy Bed oft happit thee full warm,
With Lute in Hand, did sweetly to thee sang:*

And in his Complaint to the King, he intreats his Majesty to consider, that he had rewarded many,

*That were full far to seek
When I lay nightly by thy Cheek.
I take the Queen's Grace, thy Mother,
My Lord Chancellour, and many other,
Thy Nurse and thy old Mistris,
I take them all to bear Witness.
Old Willie Dullie, were he alive,
My Life full well he could descrive,
Who, as a Chapman bears his Pack,
I bare thy Grace upon my Back.
The first Syllabes that thou didst mute
Was Da, da, Linie : upon the Lute
Thee plaid I twenty Springs perqueer,
Which were great Pleasure for to hear.
From Play thou never letst me rest,
But Ginkertoun thou lov'd ay best ;
And when thou cameſt from the School,
Then I behov'd to piay the Fool.*

 In his younger Years he was advanced to several honourable Employments, being made Lyon King at Arms, Steward of the Household, Purse-master, Treasurer, Usher and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the King; all which we learn from himself, in the following Lines, prefixt to his Dream, and address to the King.

He is pre-
ferred to se-
veral Em-
ployments.
An. 1533.

----- Since thy Birth, I have continuallie
Been exercis'd, and ay to thy Pleasure,
And sometimes Steward, Capper and Carver,
Thy Purse-master, and secret Treasurer,
Thyn Usher ay since thy Nativitie,
And thy Chamber's chief Cubicular,
Which to this Hour hath kept me late
Living be the blessed Trinitie;
That such a wretched Worm hath made so able,
To such a Prince to be so agreeable.

He is dis-
graced for
avouring
the Refor-
mation. All which Places he was deprived of in the Year 1533, saving that of Lyon King at Arms, which he enjoy'd till his Death. This we likewise learn from himself in his Complaint to the King, where he says,

Albeit I stand in great Doubtance,
Whom I shall blame for my Mischance;
Whether Saturnus Crueltie
Reigning in my Nativitie
By bad Aspects, which work Vengeance,
Or other heavenly Influence:
Or if it be predestinate,
In Court to be unfortunate,
Which had so long in Service been
Continually with King and Queen:
And entring to thy Majestie
The Day of thy Nativitie.
Where, tho' my Friends been abham'd,
And with my Foes I am defam'd:
Seeing that I am not regarded,
And with my Brethren of Court rewarded.

Our Historians say, That the Cause of our Author's Disgrace, was the Favours that he bore to the Reformers, and the Reformation, and the bitter Invectives that he made against the Clergy, which are to be found in the most of all his Works. After the Death of King James V. our Author became a Favourite of the Earl of Arran, who was made Governour of the Kingdom; but by Means of his Brother the Abbot of Paisley, afterwards Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, he was quickly turn'd out of his Favours. After which he retired to his Country Seat, where he spent the Remnant of his Days in innocent Diversions of a Country Life.

This Gentleman has obliged his Country with several Writings, of which I shall give the Reader a brief Account, most of which are all in *Burlesque Rythmes* in the printed Edition of his Works.

They

They are thus placed, *A Dialogue of the miserable Estate of the World, betwixt Experience and the Courtiers, divided into four Books, or four Monarchies.* *The Testament and Complaint of our Sovereign Lord King James V's Papingo.* *His Dreams, directed to his Sovereign Lord King James V.* *His Complaint unto the King's Grace.* *The Tragedy of David Beaton Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.* *The Deploration of the Death of Queen Magdalen.* *An Answer to the King's Flyting,* *The Complaint and Confession of Bash the King's old Hound, directed to Batic and his Companions.* *A Supplication to the King's Grace, in contempt of side Tails and muzzle Faces.* *Katie's Confession.* *The Justing betwixt James Watson and John Barbour, Servitors to King James V.* All these are in Verse, and have been several Times printed; but the oldest that I have seen, is that in the Year 1540, but the last is that of Glasgow 1696. The Dialogue betwixt *Experience* and the *Courtiers* was printed at Copenhagen 1552 in 4to, a Year before his Death: Besides all these we have mentioned, there is likewise in Print a Satyr upon the Three Estates in Commendation of Virtue, and Vituperation of Vice, printed at Edinburgh by Andrew Hart, 1602, in 8vo. We have likewise several Works of his in Manuscripts, the chief of which are some Fragments of Plays acted at *Coupar*, on the Castle-Hill, betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, a Collection of Matters belonging to the *Scots Court of Honour*, in Folio, among Sir James Balfour's Manuscripts in the Lawyers Library, Instructions to be observed by Officers at Arms within the Kingdom of Scotland, in Folio, *ibidem*. And *Lindsay of Pitscottie* tells us, That he wrote the History of *Scotland*, which I suppose is now lost. We have still extant the History, and Testament of Esquire *Meldrum*, which he published without putting his Name to it. This Gentleman died towards the latter End of the Year 1553, being very aged. He was a great Master of the *Greek, Latin, French, Italian and German Languages*, a good Historian, well seen in Herauldry, and one of the most celebrated English Poets of his Time: He was well acquainted with the Poets that lived in that Age, but especially with those of his own Country, of whom he gives the following Account in his Preface to the Complaint of the *Papingo*.

*His Death
and Char-
acter.*

*Who can now the Works counterfeit
Of Kennedy, with Terms aureat
Of wise Durbar, who Language had at large,
As may be seen into his golden Targe.
Quintin, Mercer, Roul, Hay, Henderson and Holland,
Tho' they be dead, their Works are live and,
Which to rehearse, make Readers to rejoice.
Alace for once that Laing was in this Land,
Of Eloquence the flowing balmy Strand:
And in our English Rhethorick the Rose,
As of Rubies the Carbuncle is choise.*

A. 1553.

*And as Phæbus doth Cynthia precel,
So Gavin Douglass, Bishop of Dunkell :
And when he was into this Land alive,
Above vulgar Poets Prerogative,
Both in Practick, Speculation.
I say no more, good Readers may discrive
By his worthy Works more than five :
And specially the true Translation
Of Virgil, which has been Consolation,
To cunning Men, to know his great Ingine,
As well his natural Science, as Divine.
And in the Court been present in these Days
That Ballads, Brieves, lustily and layes,
Which to our Prince daily they do present.
Who can say more than Sir James English says,
In Ballads, Farces, and in pleasant Plays ?
But Culross hath his Pen made impotent,
Rid in Cunning, and Patrick right prudent ;
And Stewart, who desires a stately Style,
Full order'd Works daylie doth Compile.
Stewart of Lorn will carp most curiously,
Galbreith, Kinloch, when they list them apply,
Into that Art, are crafty of Ingine.
But now of late has start up beastly
A cunning Clerk, which writeth craftily,
A Plant of Poets, call'd Ballantin,
Whose ornat Writs my Wit cannot defyne ;
Get he into the Court Authority,
He will precel Quintin and Kennedy.*

By what we have cited of our Author's Poetry, the Reader may judge of it ; but he has the Honour of being the first who introduced dramatick Poetry into Scotland, he having not only compos'd several Tragedies and Comedies, but likewise was a principal Actor himself in them, tho' he understood little or nothing of the Rules of the Theatre, his Comedies and other Poems being rather Lectures of Debauchery than Virtue ; but wrote after such a facetious Manner, that they afforded Abundance of Mirth. Some Fragment of these Comedies we have still extant in Manuscripts in a curious Collection of Scots Poems belonging to Mr. William Carmichael, Brother to the Right Honourable, the Earl of Hyndford, of which we shall give a more particular Account afterwards ; one of them is Pag. 164, where we find these Words, *Here begins the Proclamation of the Play made by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Knight in the Play-Field, in the Year of God 1515.* Another is Pag. 168, where we find these Words, *Here begins Sir David Lindsay's Play, made in the Green-Side beside Edinburgh, whilk I write (says the Transcriber) but shortly be interludes, leavan the grave Matters thereof, because the samen Abuse is well reform'd in Scotland.* Besides these, we have

have still a MS. a very fair Collection of Matters relating to the *Scots Court of Honour*, in *Folia*, and Injunctions to be observ'd by Officers at Arms within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in *Folio*, in the same Library. Dr. *Johnston* (a) in his Inscriptions upon the *Scots Heroes*, has the following Epigram upon our Author, with which I shall conclude his Life and Character.

A.D. 1553.
*Melliflui cantu, Syren dulcissima, qualem
 Scotigenæ Aonides & recinunt & amant,
 Delicia regum, tituloque ac nomine regis
 Hoc fuerat nato, quod fuit ante patri
 Quam Musis charus, quam diis quoque regibus olim
 Tam vera placuit religione Deo.*

(a) *Vid. Johnston Heroes*, p. 27.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **A** Dialogue of the miserable Estate of the World, betwixt Experience and the Courtier, divided into four Books, or four Monarchies.
- II. The Testament and Complaint of our Sovereign Lord King James the Fifth's Papingo.
- III. His Dream, directed to his Sovereign Lord King James the Fifth.
- IV. His Complaint unto the King's Grace.
- V. The Tragedy of David Beaton Cardinal and Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.
- VI. Declaration of the Death of Queen Magdalen.
- VII. An Answer to the King's Flyting.
- VIII. The Complaint and Confession of Bash the King's old Hound, directed to Batie and his Companions.
- IX. A Supplication to the King's Grace, in Contempt of side Tails and muzzle Faces.
- X. Katie's Confession.
- XI. The Justing between James Watson and John Barbour, Servitors to King James the Fifth. All these are in Verse, and as I have observed in his Life, have been several Times printed, but the oldest that of Edinburgh, 1540, in 8vo. The Dialogue betwixt Experience and the Courtier, was printed at Copenhagen in 4to, in 1552.
- XII. A Satyr upon the Three Estates, in Commendation of Virtue, and Vituperation of Vice, printed at Edinbugh by Andrew Hart, 1602, in 8vo.
- XIII. Some Fragments of Plays acted at Coupar, on the Castle-Hill, and betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, in Mr. William Carmichael's MS. Collection of Scots Poems, Pag. 164 and 168.

 XIV. *The History and Testament of Esquire Meldrum at Edinburgh, 1602, 8vo.*

XV. *A Collection of Matters belonging to the Scots Court of Honour in MS. in Folio, among Sir James Balfour's Manuscripts in the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh.*

XVI. *Injunctions to be observed by Officers at Arms within the Kingdom of Scotland, in Folio, ibidem.*

XVII. *The History of Scotland, MS.*

T H E

LIFE of Sir JAMES INGLIS, Knight.

His Birth,
Parentage
and Educa-
tion.

THIS Gentleman was descended from an Ancient Family in the Shire of *Fife*, where he was born in the Reign of King *James IV*. He had his Education at the University of *St. Andrews*, where, he had finished the Course of his Studies, he was sent by his Parents, for his further Improvement, over to *Paris*, and returned to *Scotland* in the Reign of King *James V*. Into whose Favour he ingratiate himself by his Knowledge in Poetry, having compos'd several Tragedies, Comedies, and other Poems that were very highly applauded by the best Judges of that Age. Upon the Death of King *James V*. he join'd with the *French* Faction, in Opposition to the projected Marriage betwixt the Infant Queen of *Scotland*, and the Prince of *Wales*.

He is made
Captain of a
Troop of
Horse.

The Duke of *Somerset* the Protector of *England*, having, under this Pretence, invaded *Scotland* with an Army of ten thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, thirteen hundred Pioniers and Artificers, and fifty Pieces of Brass Ordnances (a), accompanied with the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord *Gray of Wilton*, Sir *Francis Brian*, and many other Persons of Note. The Earl of *Arran* Governour of *Scotland* immediately raised an Army of Thirty thousand Foot, besides a considerable Body of Horse; of which our Author had the Honour of commanding a Troop.

He is knighted
for his
Valour.

The Governour having encamp'd with this Army at *Inverask*, in View of the *English* Army, there were daily Skirmishes betwixt them, in which our Author behav'd himself with such Courage, that the Governour Knighted him in the Field for his Valour. The *Scots* having had frequently the Advantage over the *English*, because they knew the Ground better than they did, it was agreed to in a Council of War, that they should always skirmish with them, till they should oblige them to leave the Country: On the other Hand, the *English* finding that they could gain no Advantage by their frequent Skirmishes,

(a) Vid. *Drake, Hist. Angl. Scot.* p. 278. *Goodwin, Annal. ad annum 1547.* *Speed, &c.*

Skirmishes, resolved to engage the *Scots* in a pitch't Battle. For this Purpose, the Duke of *Somerset* sent out the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Gray* with a considerable Body of light Horsemen, who were met by the Lord *Hume* and our Author, with an equal Number of Men and Horse under their Command, upon the 9th Day of September, 1547, and they fought it with great Bravery on both Sides, till Night parted them. The *English* lost above a thousand Men, and Sir *Ralph Bulmar*, *Thomas Gower* and *Robert Crouch*, who were Commanders of the *English* Troops, were taken Prisoners. The *Scots* had above 800 Men killed and taken Prisoners. The Lord *Hume* was sorely wounded, and sent to *Edinburgh*, and his Son was taken Prisoner, with several Gentlemen of the Name of *Maxwell*: Both Parties boasting of the Advantage of this Day's Action, the Earl of *Huntly* sent an Herauld to the Duke of *Somerset* with this Proposal, That for the preventing of the shedding of more Christian Blood, he would fight upon the Peril of the Cause, either with twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or in a single Combat by themselves Man to Man. The Duke of *Somerset* would not accept of this Offer, but return'd an Herauld with Offers of Peace, providing they would agree to the Marriage. In the mean Time the *English* made all the haste they could to gain the Advantage of an Hill called *Pinten-clough*, and by that Means to force the *Scots* to a Battle; which the Governour perceiving, he divided his Army into three Bodies: The Van Guard was commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, the Rear Guard by the Earl of *Huntly*, and the main Body by the Governour and the Earl of *Argyle*. The Earl of *Angus* with the van Guard hasted furiously forward, to gain the Advantage of the Ground, which they did, but were almost breathless, and out of Order, they having run rather than march'd all the Way; besides, as they past amongst the Sea Shoar, a Piece of Ordnance discharged from a Galley of the *English* Fleet then lying upon that Coast, killed four and twenty of their Men, amongst whom was the Lord *Graham*'s eldest Son, which put them in some Confusion: Yet notwithstanding of all this, the two Armies approaching near to one another at a Place called *Edmiston-edge*, near to *Musselburgh*, the Earl of *Angus* advancing towards them (as we have said) with a more than ordinary Pace. The Duke of *Somerset* perceiving this, commanded the Lord *Gray* with the Cavalry, not to charge them till such Time as he could bring up the Infantry; but they were so warmly received by the Earl of *Angus*, whose Men were all armed with Pikes and Targets, that they were forc'd to give Way, and beat back to the main Body of the Army with such Fury, that they run over a great many of their own Infantry: In this Action were killed of the *English*, Captain *Shelley*, Captain *Ratcliff*, and a great many Persons of Note, and the Lord *Gray* dangerously wounded in the Mouth with a Pike: Several Standards were taken by the *Scots*, and the King of *England*'s Standard, born by Sir *Andrew Flamucke*, was seiz'd upon; but that Knight being well mounted upon a good Horse, grappled so with

Ann. 1547

his Enemy, that he made his Escape, carrying away the upper Part of the Standard, leaving the lower Part with his Antagonist. The *Scots* being too much puff'd up with this Advantage, fell upon the *English* with greater Fury than ever, without observing their Ranks, or any Manner of Order, which the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving, rally'd their Men, attacked them with light Horsemen and Archers, and firing hotly upon them with their Cannon from the Hill of *Pinten-clough*, they were forced at last to give Way; upon which the *English* gave a great Shout, crying out, *They flee, they flee*; and those of the *Scots* who were of the *English* Faëtion, took this Opportunity of throwing down their Arms, crying out aloud, *All is lost, all is lost*; which so terrify'd the main Body of the Army, most of them being undisciplin'd and new levied Men, that they turn'd their Backs and fled; yet the Highlanders made a very noble Resistance, but at length were over-powered with Numbers of Horse, and obliged likewise to retreat. In this Battle the *Scots* lost about 8000 Men, who were killed upon the Field, and amongst these were the Apparent Heirs and Representatives of the noble Families of *Erskin*, *Ogilvie*, *Fleeming*, *Livingstoun*, *Meffan*, *Ruthen* and *Ross*: And the *English*, contrary to all the Laws of Honour, put most cruelly and inhumanly to Death the Masters of *Erskin* and *Buchan*, after they had delivered themselves up Prisoners of War: The Earl of *Huntly* Lord High Chancellor, the Lord *Yester*, and about a thousand more were made Prisoners. The next Day, being the 11th of September 1547, the *English* Army march'd streight to *Leith*, where they burnt the Town, killed and massacred all the Monks and Friars they met with. The Governour, with his Brother the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* (a). The Earls of *Angus*, *Cassils* and *Rothes* having made their Escape to *Edinburgh*, removed the Earl of *Bothwell* from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where he was kept Prisoner for corresponding with the *English*, and took him along with them to *Stirling*, and our Author went over to *Fife*, where he spent the Remnant of his Life in the innocent Amusements of a Country Life; during which Time, he compos'd several Treatises both in Verse and Prose, of which we have still extant one, called *Scotland's Complaint*, printed at St. *Andrews* in 1548. In the *Preface* or *Prologue*, as he calls it, of this Book, he excuses himself for his homely Stile, the Love of his Country only having induc'd him to appear in Publick in the common Language of the Country that was best understood by the Vulgar, without affecting Words borrowed from other Languages; his Words are, *Zit noch less, I hope, that wise Men will repute my Ignorance for ane mortifiat Prudence be Reason of my good Intention that procedis fra ane affective ardant favoir that I hase enys born toward this afflitit Realm, qubilk is my native Cuntry. Now nou heir I exhort all Philosophours, Historiographours and Oratours of our Scottish Nation to support, and till excuse my barbir, agrest Termis;*

(a) Vid. *Leffy de gestis Scot.* Lib. 10.

Termis, for I thocht it nocht necessair till haf fardit and lardit this ^{An. 1534} Tracteit vitht exquisite Termeis quhilkes are nocht daly usit, but rather I haf usit domestic Scottish Langage maist intilligibl for the vulgare Pepil. There hes bene divers Translatours and Compilairs in ald Times that tuk grat Plesur to contrafait their ulgar Langage, mixand their Purposis vitht uncoutht exquisit Termis droyn, or raither to say mair formarly, reuyn fra Lataing, and sume of them tuk Pleseir to gar on wrod of there Purpos to be full of Syllabis half an Myle of lentcht. And at the Conclusion of his Preface he says, That if this meets with a favourable Reception, he will publish several other Things. His Book is divided into XX Chapters. In the I Chapter he shews, That the Changes of Monarchies arises from their Wickedness, which God in his Justice punishes, and not from Chance of Fortune, as some ignorant People imagine ; and here he laments the great Losse the Nation had sustain'd at the Battle of *Pinkie*, which seem'd to threaten, as if God design'd for their Punishment, to subject them to their old inveterate Enemies the *Englisch*. In the II Chapter, He shews from the sacred Scriptures the Threatnings of God's Vengeance against wicked and obstinate People. In the III He shews, That God executes his Judgments against the Nation ; we are not to attribute it to the Valour of their Enemies, but to his permissive Power, and this (lays he) is now the Case betwixt *England* and *Scotland* ; and he holds, that God will permit some other foreign Nation to raze them from the Face of the Earth for the unjust Wars that they have raised through *Christendom* for these 600 Years bygone. In the IV Chapter, He applies the 3d Chapter of the Prophet *Isaiah* to the present State of the *Scots* Nation. In the V Chapter, He gives various Opinions of the Philosophers concerning the World and its Duration ; and in his own Opinion he says, That after the Supputation of *Elias*, as Mr. *John Carrion* has observ'd, the World has but 452 Years to last, because it was but to endure 6000 Years, of which there is 548 Years already past : And this is according to an ancient Tradition amongst the *Jews*, that the World shall only last 6000 Years, 2000 before the Law, 2000 under the Law, and 2000 under the Gospel. The VI Chapter is a poetical Digression of the Author, which he calls, *An Monolog-recreatyve of the Actor* : In this Chapter he says, That being fatigu'd with his Studies, he retired himself to a Forest upon the 6th Day of *June*, and placing himself at the Foot of a Mountain on the Banks of a pleasant River, he describes in poetical Termis the various Beauties of the Field in that Season of the Year ; then he gives an Account of the several Cries of the Beasts, the Chirpings and musical Notes of the Birds of the Forest : In taking a View of the Ocean, he sees a Galley weighing Anchor, and fighting another, and describes the whole Battle and Management of the Ship in the Terms of the Seamen : After this he says, he was diverted with the Sight of the Shepherds Wives and Children ; gives an Account of their rural Performances, making one of them entertain

An. 1554. the rest with a Discourse of the Happiness and Greatness of the Shepherd's Lite; then he describes to them the glorious Fabricks of the Heavens, which they daily have in View; and then he lays down the whole Principles of Astronomy, and an Explanation of the most common *Phanomena* in Nature, such as Thunders and Lightnings, Hail, Snow and Rain, Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, &c. Then one of the Shepherd's Wives, to whom these long Philosophical and Mathematical Lectures were no ways agreeable, makes a Proposal to every one of them to tell a Tale, which they immediately agreed to: And here our Author gives an Account of the Fables and Stories the Country People then used to divert themselves with: After which each of the Shepherds sung a Song, which our Author here enumerates. And since they discover what were then the most esteem'd Scots Poems, I shall give an Account of them in his own Words. The 1st is, *The Briers binds me fair*. The 2d, *Still under the Leyvis grene*. The 3d, *Couthume thc Rashis grene*. The 4th, *Allace I vyt your twa feyr Ene*. The 5th, *Goete you gude Day vit Boy*. The 6th, *Lady help your Prisoneir*. The 7th, *King Williams Note*. 8th, *The lange no wee nou*. 9th, *The Cheapel Valk*. 10th, *Fay that is none*. 11th, *Skald a Bellis nou*. 12th, *The Aberdens nou Brum*. 13th, *Brum on tul*. 14th, *Allone I reipt in great Distress*. 15th, *Tortee Solee Lemendous*. 16th, *Bille vil thu cum by a Bute and belt the in Saint Francis Cord*. 17th, *The Frog cam to the Myl Disr*. 18th, *Gillquibiskar*. 19th, *Rycht forily musing in my Mynd*. 20th, *God sen the Duc had bydden in France, and Delaubawte had never cum hame*. 21st, *Al musing of Meruillir a mys hef I gone*. 22d, *Mistres fayr Zeril so sayt*. 23d, *O lusty Maye with Flora Queen*. 24th, *O Myrle Hart bay this is my Sang*. 25th, *The Battel of Hayrlau*. 26th, *The Huntis of Cheuit*. 27th, *Sal I go wit zon to Rumbolo fayr*. 28th, *Greit is my Sorou*. 29th, *Turn the suit Ville to me*. 30th, *My Lufe is lyan sick, send him Joy, send him Joy*. 31st, *Fayr Lufe len thou me thy Minit Joy*. 32d, *The Parsle and the Mongumtrye met that Day, that gentil Day*. 33d, *My Lufe is laid upon an Knycht*. 34th, *Allace the samen sueit Face*. 35th, *In an myrthful Morrow my Hart leuit on the Lad*. And several others which our Author says he has forgot: After this, says he, the Shepherds went to the dancing, and he names all their Dances. The Shepherds having gone home with their Flocks, our Author's next Diversion was to contemplat Herbs in the Fields, of which he gives the following Account. There, says he, *I saw an Erb callit Barba Aron, quhilk was gude remeid for Emeroides in the Fundament*; *I sua Virmet that vas gude for an febil Stomak, and Sourikks that vas gude for the black Gulset*; *I sua mony green Seggis, that are gude to provoke the Flouris of Women*; *I saw Vater-lillie, quhilk is a Remeid contar Gonoria*; *I sua Tansy, that is gude to purge the Neiris and Enerfodes that consumeis the Ventosites of the Stomak*; *I sua Mugwart, quhilk is gude for the Suffocations of an Vomans Bayrn-bed*; *I sua Reyton, the Decotion of wick is Remeid for an fair Hajd*; *I sua Belis*

Betis, that is gude contrar a Constipation; *I sua Botage*, that is ~~gude~~^{A.D. 1514.} to comfort the Hart; *I sua Commayne*, quibilk is gude for ane scabit Mouth; *I sua Hemp*, that coagules the Flux of the Sperm; *I sua Mayden-Hayt*, of the quibilk an Sirrup made of it, is Remeid contrar the Infection of the Melt; *I sua Celidone*, quibilk is gude to help the Sight of the Ene; and Cippresses, that is gude for the Fluxis of the Bellye; *I sua Fumeterrie*, that tempris an height Lyver; *I sua Brume*, that provoks ane Persone to vomit ald Fume; *I sua Roshetis*, that provoks Men to sleep; *I sua Yslope*, that is gude to purge congelit Flame of the Lychtnes; *I sua mony other Herbs*. After this our Author falls asleep. And in the VII Chapter gives us an Account of a Dream that he had, wherein he saw the afflicted Lady, Dame *Scotia*, with her Three Sons, the Three Estates of *Scotland*, whose lamentable Condition he describes. In the VIII Chapter he shows how the afflicted Lady reproved her Three Sons for their Cowardice and Wickedness. In the IX Chapter he shows how the afflicted Lady exhorted her Children to take Example from divers Countries that God had relieved from the Slavery of their Enemies. In the X Chapter he shows how much the *English* rely upon *Merlin's* Prophecies, which promised the Conquest of *Scotland* to them; but he cites a Prophecy out of one of their own Histories, called, *The Polychronicon*, wherein 'tis said, That *England* shall be first conquered by the *Danes*, then by the *Saxons*, then by the *Normans*, lastly by the *Scots*; after which thiere shall be but one Monarchy, and live under one Prince. In the XI Chapter, he shows how the pretended Kings of *England* have no just Title to the Realm of *England*, either by Election or Succession, and how treacherously they have dealt with the *Welch* and *Irish*. The XII Chapter is upon the same Subject. In the XIII Chapter he shows the Familiarity and good Correspondence that was kept betwixt some of the *Scots* and *English* Nobility and Gentry, was the Cause of the Country's being betrayed: For, says our Author, 'tis an old *Scots* Proverb, *Ane hyrand Damysale, and ane spekand Castel neuyr end with Honour*. That is to say, That a Lady that listens and intertwains the Proposals of a Lover, she is in as fair a Way to be gain'd as a Castle that keeps a Correspondence with an Enemy. In the XIV Chapter, our Author shows from History how Traitors have been always punish'd, even by those who engag'd them in the Treafon. In the XV Chapter, he shows the lamentable Condition of the afflicted Lady's Third Son, the Commons. In the XVI Chapter he shows how the afflicted Lady answers her youngest Son, by upbraiding him with his insolent and factious Temper; and her two eldest Sons, for their Negligence in defending her Honour and Person. In the XVII Chapter, he shows what Faults the Lady laid to the Charge of her eldest Son, the Nobility and Gentry. The XVIII and XIX Chapters shows the Faults that he laid to her second Son, the Clergy. In the last Chapter he concludes with her Exhortation to her Three Sons, that they should stand firm together against her


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her and their Enemies, otherwise they would bring Ruin and Misery on them both.

 His Death
and Chas-
tisement.

This Gentleman died at *Culross* in the Year 1554. Sir *David Lindsay* of the *Mount*, as we have seen in his Life, reckons him one of the best Poets of that Age; and by his *Complaint* it appears that he was well seen in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Historians; for in every Chapter of this Book, all that he says is illustrated by various Examples taken from the *Grecian* and *Roman* Historians: By the same Book it likewise appears that he was a good Mathematician and Philosopher, a most faithful and loyal Subject, and a great Lover of his Country.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **P**oems, consisting of Songs, Ballads, Plays and Farces, in MS.
- II. Scotland's *Complaint against her Three Sons, the Nobility, Clergy and Commons*, imprinted at St. Andrews, in 8vo.

T H E

LIFE of the Reverend Father in GOD, *ROBERT REID*, Bishop of Orkney.

 His Birth
and Educa-
tion.

 He is made
Bishop of
Orkney, and
preferred to
several Digni-
ties.

THIS learned Prelate was born in the Reign of King James IV. and had his Education at the University of Aberdeen; where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he went over to the University of Paris, where he studied Theology, and the Civil and Canon Law: Having entred into Holy Orders, he returned to his native Country, and was preferred to the Bishoprick of Orkney (a), being nominated thereto in the Year 1540, and admitted in the Consistory upon the 20th of July 1541. He had likewise bestowed upon him several other Dignities both in Church and State, being made by King James V. one of the Lords of the Privy Council, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and President to the Session; in all which Stations, he discharged his Duty with great Exactness and Fidelity: And he was no less serviceable to his Nation in publick Negotiations Abroad, than in these honourable Stations at Home, having perform'd several Embassies with great Success to the Popes *Adrian VI.* *Clement VII.* and *Paul III.* by which the learned Dr.

Jameson

(a) Vid. Jamelton's Notes upon Spotswood's *Feas Inc.*

Jameſon makes it appear, that his first Embassy to *Rome* must have been in the Year 1522, or 1523. Pope *Adrian* dying this last Year, after he had possessed the Popedom only one Year, eight Months and six Days. Our Author's next Embassy to *Rome* was betwixt the Years 1523 and 1534. For in that Year died Pope *Clement VII.* after he sat ten Years, ten Months, and seven Days. And his last Embassy to Pope *Paul III.* was betwixt the Years 1534 and 1549. For then Pope *Paul III.* died, having possessed the Papal Chair eighteen Years and twenty eight Days. King *James V.* sent our learned Prelate likewise Ambassadour to *Henry VIII.* King of *England*; but that which we are to consider him most for here, is as being a Person of extraordinary Learning and Piety, and a great Encourager of it in others, as we learn from one that was well acquainted with him (a), if we consider the Acts of Charity and Mercy that he did in his own Diocese, it must be owned that he was one of the most worthy Prelates that ever posseſſt that See; for he caused build a most stately Tower to the north End of his Palace, where his Statue is yet to be seen engraven. (b) He enlarged the Cathedral Church, added three Pillars to the former Fabrick, and beautify'd the Entry with a magnificent Porch: He built St. *Olau's* Church in *Kirkwall*, and a large Court of Buildings, to be a College for instructing of the Youth in these and the adjacent Isles, in Grammar, Philosophy and Mathematicks. He made a new Erection and Foundation of the Chapter, consisting of seven Dignities, whereof the first was a Provost, to whom, under the Bishop, the Correction of the Canons, Prebends and Chaplains belonged; and he had allotted to him the Prebendary of the *Holy Trinity*, and Vicarage of *Randalshaw*, with the Maintenances of the Church of *Burray*. The second was an Arch-Deacon, who would govern the People according to the Canon Law, and to him was given the Arch-Deacon's ancient Rights, the Vicarage of *Brisa*, and Chaplainry of St. *Olau's* within the Cathedral Church of *Kirkwall*; together with the Stipend and Maintenance of the Church of *Hura*. The third was a Precentor, who was to rule and direct the singing Boys in the Quire, and to him was given the Prebendary of *Orphire*, and Vicarage of *Stennis*. The fourth was a Chancellor, who was to be learn'd in both the Laws, and bound to read the Canon-Law publickly in the Chapter, to look to the preserving and mending the Books of the Quire and Register, to keep the Key and Seal of the Library; and to him was given the Prebendary of St. *Mary* in *Sanda*, and Vicarage of *Sanda*. The fifth was a Treasurer, who kept the Treasury of the Church, the sacred Vestments, the Bread, Wine, Wax, Oil, and what else was necessary for the Lights of the Church; and to him was given the Rectory of St. *Nicolas* in *Stronza*, and Vicarage of *Stronza*. The sixth was a Sub-Deacon, who supplied the Place of the Provost in his Absence, for amending the Defects of the Chapter, and to exerce the Office of Butler to the Bishop; and

(a) Vid. *Siſons Adam. Scn.* (b) Vid. *Dr. Wallac. Descript. of Orkney.*

An. 1558. to him was given the Parsonage of *Hoy*, and Vicarage of *Waes*. And the last was a Sub-Chantor, who was bound to play upon the Organs each Lord's Day, and Festivals, and to supply the Place of the Chantor in his Absence ; and to him was given the Prebendary of St. *Colme*.

He erected likewise seven other Canons and Prebends ; the first was the Prebend of the *Holy Cross*, who was a special Keeper of holy Things under the Treasurer, took care of the Clock, and of the ringing of the Bells at the Canonical Hours, and that no Nastiness should be in the Church, but that the Floor should be cleanly swept, and that all Things should be kept in Decency and Order ; and to him was given the Parsonage of *Cross-Kirk in Sanda*. The second was the Prebend of St. *Mary*, who took care of the Roof and Windows of the Cathedral, by helping them when there was need ; and to him was given the Chaplainry of St. *Mary*, and the Vicarage of *Evy*. The third was the Prebend of St. *Magnus*, who was Confessor to the Bishop's Household, Provost, Canons, Chaplains and their Servants in the Time of *Esther*, and to administrate the Sacrament unto them ; and to him was given the Prebendary of St. *Magnus*. The fourth was the Prebend of St. *John* the Evangelist. The fifth was the Prebend of St. *Laurence* : The sixth was the Prebend of St. *Katharin* : And the seventh was the Prebend of St. *Duthack*. To which seven Prebendaries he assigned and allotted (besides these Churches of which they bore the Titles) the Rents and Revenues of the Parsonages of St. *Colme in Waes*, and of the *Holy Cross in Westra* ; as also the Vicarages of the Parish Churches of *Sandwick* and *Stromnes*, with their Pertinents for their daily Subsistence ; besides all these Canonries he erected likewise thirteen Chaplainries, of which the first was Master of the Grammar-School, and Chaplain of St. *Peter's*. The second was Master of the Singing-School, and Chaplain of St. *Augustin*. The third was *Stallarius*, or the Bishop's Quirister. The fourth the Provost's Quirister. The fifth the Arch-Deacon's. The sixth the Precentor's. The seventh the Chancellor's. The eighth the Treasurer's. The ninth the Sub-Deacons. The tenth the Prebend's of the *Holy Cross*. The eleventh, the Prebend's of St. *Mary*. The twelfth, the Prebend's of St. *Katharin*. And the last, the Chaplain's of the *Holy Cross*. And every one of these Quiristers had Twenty four *Meileis*, or Bolts of Corn, and ten Merks of Money for their yearly Subsistence, besides their daily Distributions which he appointed to be rais'd from the Vicarage of the Cathedral Church, and from the Foundation of *Thomas* Bishop of *Orkney*, and of the twelve Pounds *Sterling* mortified by King *James III.* and *James IV.*

The Office of these Quiristers was to sing Mass Evening and Morning by Turns, to which he added a Sacrist who was to ring the Bells, light the Lamps, carry in Water and Fire to the Church, and to go before the Procession with a white Rod ; and for this he had the accustom'd Revenue, together with fourty Shillings *Sterling* from

from the Bishop yearly : He likewise ordained six Boys to be Taper-bearers, and to sing the Responsories and Verses in the Quire, as they were to be ordered by the Chantor ; of these six singing Boys, the first was to be nominated by the Bishop ; the second by the Prebend of St. *Magnus* ; the third by the Prebend of St. *John* the Evangelist ; the fourth by the Prebend of St. *Laurence* ; the fifth by the Prebend of St. *Katharin* ; and the sixth by the Prebend of St. *Duthack*. And every one of them (besides their Maintenance) had twenty Shilling Scots yearly, and to every one of the foresaid Dignities, Canons and Prebends he assigned certain Lands in *Kirkwall* for their Mansions : The Charter of which Erection is still extant, and dated at *Kirkwall* upon the 28th of *October*, 1544. He likewise left his noble Library, consisting of a most valuable and numerous Collection of Books in all the Sciences and Languages, to the Abbacy of *Kinloss*, of which he had been Abbot in his younger Years. He gave liberal Allowances to four of his Nephews, whom he sent to the University of *Paris*, who were all of them afterwards great Ornaments to their Country. He likewise settled two considerable Funds to be given yearly, the one for the Maintenance of Gentlemens Sons at the Universities of *Aberdeen*, St. *Andrews* and *Glasgow*, that had good Spirits, but had not whereupon to prosecute their Studies : The other was for the Education of young Gentlewomen, who were left unprovided for by their Parents.

In the Year 1557, the King of *France* having sent a Letter to the Three Estates of Parliament in *Scotland*, desiring that the Marriage should be consummated betwixt the *Dauphin* of *France* and the young Queen. The Parliament having accordingly met for that End, they made Choice of our excellent Prelate, with *James* Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, *David* Bishop of *Ross*, Secretary of State, *James* Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Queen's Bastard Brother, *George* Earl of *Rothes*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassils*, *James* Lord *Fleeming*, *George* Lord *Seton*, and *John* *Erskin* of *Dun*, Provost of *Montrose*, to negotiate this great Affair. These Noblemen and Gentlemen having embark'd at *Leith* in the Month of *February*, 1558, by a great Tempest, one of their Ships that carried their Horses, was Shipwrack'd at St. *Ebbs-Head*, and another, wherein our Prelate and the Earl of *Rothes* were, with all the Furniture for the Marriage (which was very rich and sumptuous) was shipwrack'd upon the Coasts of *France*, nigh to *Bulloign*, the Earl and our Prelate hardly escaping in the Ship's Boat : The rest of the Fleet arrived safely at *Bulloign*, from whence all of them went streight to *Paris*, where they were nobly receiv'd and entertain'd by the *French* King ; and after the Solemnities of the Marriage were over, returning for *Scotland*, our excellent Prelate died suddenly at *Diepe*, upon the 14th of *September*, 1558.

He is sent
over by the
Parliament
to France.

His Death
and Cha-
racter.

Adam Elder, a Monk of *Kinloss*, and Tutor to one of our Bishop's Nephews at the University of *Paris*, in a Latin Sermon upon St. *Bernard*, makes a Comparison betwixt our Prelate and that Saint,

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and tells us, that he was one of the most eloquent Persons of his Age, either on the Bench, or in the Pulpit, being always agreeable, instructive and nervous in his Reasonings; that his Exhortations were pressing, his Admonitions serious, and his Threatnings, tho' they were accompanied with unexpressible Vehemence and Force, yet were so temper'd with Meekness, that it plainly appear'd to every one, that it was nothing of a Chagrin of Temper, or an insulting and domineering Humour, but for their Instruction and Salvation that made him do it: That he was a severe Disciplinarian, that no Man in the Age he lived in, knew the Civil and Canon Law better than he did; that he was charitable beyond Expression. Then addressing himself to his Nephew, he concludes his Character in these Words, *Non enim est necesse jam tibi enumerare alia plurima charitatis opera, in quibus exercetur ejus beneficentia, veluti est pauperum inedia simul & annis oppresorum, corporali alimonia pia sublevatio, puellarum, quibus tenuiores sunt fortunæ quam ut possint exsolvere dotem, honesta in matrimonium collocatio; Generosorum pectorum adolescentolorum complurium in studio literario munificentissima enutritio.* And speaking of his Love to Letters, he says, *Prorsus nihil denique optimis libris unquam præponit, qui quanto plura eaque optima cuncti generis meliorum literarum volumina, nullis parcens sumptibus hic quotidie diligenter congerit tanto pauciora semper se habere & palam coram doctis dicere solet & estimat; & hujusmodi multa que dinumerare longum esset.* We have nothing of this learned Prelate's Writings, but a Description of the *Orkney Islands*, the Verity of which was sworn to by him and his Prebends, to satisfy the King of *Denmark*, at whose Desire it was undertaken; and this is still extant in MS. and consists of about a Quair of Paper in *Folio*, and was in the Custody of the Reverend Mr. *Robert Norrie* Minister at *Lockoway* near *Forfar*. I have likewise in my Custody a MS. Genealogy of the Family of the *Sinclairs*, sent by this Prelate to the King of *Denmark*; which is all that I know of his that is extant. So I shall conclude his Life with the following Verses, compos'd by the above-mentioned *Adam Elder*.

Quid tentem angusto perstringere carmine laudes

Quas nulla eloquii vis celebrare queat.

Clarus es eloquio, cælo dignissime Præful,

Antiqua generis nobilitate viges,

Commixtumque gregem pacis, relevasque jacentem,

Exemplo dicens ad meliora tuo;

Ac velut exoriens terris sol discutit umbras,

Illustras radiis pectora caca tuis.

Hortaris tardos, objurgas, corripis omnes,

In mala præcipites quos vetus error agit.

Pauperibus tua tecta patent, tua prompta voluntas,

Atque bonis semper dextera larga tua est.

Nemo lupos melius sacræ ab ovilibus arcet,

Ne Christi lanient diripiante gregem.

Ergo

*Ergo pia ob studia, & magna, duroisque labores,
Ille Deus pacis, det tibi pace frui.
Concedatque tuis succedant omnia votis,
Et bona successus adjurvet aura tuos.*

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The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *A Geographical Description of the Islands of Orkney.*
- II. *A Genealogical and Historical Account of the Family of the Sinclairs :* Both these were wrote at the Desire of the King of Denmark, and still extant in MS.

The Life of Mr. PATRICK COCKBURN, Professor of the Oriental Languages at Paris, and Minister of Haddingtoun.

THIS Gentleman was a Son of the Laird of *Lingtoun's* in the *Mers* (a), and had his Education at the University of *St. Andrews*; where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he applied himself to the Study of the Oriental Languages and Theology: And having entred into Holy Orders, he went over to the University of *Paris*, where he taught the Oriental Languages for several Years with great Applause. In the Year 1551 he publish'd a Book upon the Usefulness and Excellency of the Word of God; and the next Year at the same Place he published another concerning the vulgar Phrase and Stile of the sacred Scriptures: These two Books having brought him under the Suspicion of favouring the Opinions of the Reformers, he was obliged to leave the University of *Paris*, and return to *Scotland*, where he embrac'd the Reformation, and taught the Languages for some Years at *St. Andrews*: And in the Year 1555 he published at *St. Andrews* some pious Meditations upon the Lord's Prayer; after this he was made Minister at *Haddingtoun*, and was the first of the Reformed Religion who preached in that Place.

His Birth and Education.

He is made Professor of the Oriental Languages at Paris.

Returns to Scotland, and embraces the Reformation.

An Account of his Works

Besides the Writings which our Author published during his own Life, he left behind him in MS. a Book upon the Apostles Creed, a Book upon Justification, and a Catechism: To which *Dempster* adds a Book upon the Sin against the Holy Ghost, a Book of Epistles, and a Book of Orations: But I shall only take Notice of his Book upon the Apostles Creed, and according to my propos'd and usual Method, give the Reader a brief History of this Creed, which our Author proposes as the only Standard of our Faith.

The common or vulgar Opinion is, That the Creed which goes now under the Name of the Apostles, was composed by them, but the Criticks are not agreed either as to the Time when they did it, their Manner of doing it, or their Design in doing it. And, First, As to the Time, some think, with *Ruffinus* (a) and *Isidor*, That it was compos'd the same Year in which our Saviour died, a little Time after the Descent of the Holy Ghost: But Cardinal *Baronius*, and others (b) are of Opinion, That they composed it in the second Year of the Empire of *Claudius*, a little before they separate; but both these Opinions are but Conjectures. In the second and third Centuries we find almost as many different Creeds, as there were different Authors. Thus St. *Irenaeus* has one, *Book 1. Cap. 2.* and another, *Book 2. Cap. 1.* *Tertullian* has three different ones in his Book of *Prescriptions*, in his Book against *Praxeus*, and in his Book concerning the vailing of Virgins. *Origen* has likewise two different ones (c). And all of them differing from the Vulgar, which is now received both by the Church of *Rome*, and the Reform'd Churches. And in the 4th Century, *Ruffinus* has compar'd the three different Creeds, or Symbols of the Church of *Aquileia*, the Eastern Church, and the Western Church, and shows in what they differ; and how all of them differ from the Vulgar, will appear by the following Table.

(a) Vid. *Ruff. Expo. Symb. Isid. Lib. 2. de Off. Cap. 22.* (b) Vid. *Baron. ad annum.* (c) Vid. *Sacr. Hist Lib 1. Sozom. Lib. 2.*

The Four ancient *Creeds of the Christian Church* compared together.

The VULGAR.

I. Believe in God the Father, Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth.

II. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.

III. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

IV. Suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, crucified, dead and buried, he descended into Hell.

V. The third Day he rose from the dead.

VI. He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty;

VII. From thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.

VIII. I believe in the Holy Ghost.

IX. The Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints.

X. The Remission of Sins.

XI. The Resurrection of the Flesh.

XII. Life everlasting. Amen.

The AQUILEIAN.

I. Believe in one God, the Father Almighty.

II. And in Christ Jesus his only Son our Lord.

III. Who was born of the Holy Ghost by the Virgin Mary.

IV. Crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, descended into Hell.

V:

The same.

VI. He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right Hand of God the Father,

VII. The same.

VIII. And in the Holy Ghost.

IX. I believe in the Holy Church.

X. The same.

XI. The Resurrection of this Flesh.

XII. Wanting.

The EASTERN.

I. Believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Invisible and Impassible.

II. And in our only Lord Jesus Christ his Son.

III. The same with that of Aquileia.

IV. Crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, and buried.

V:

The same.

VI. The same with that of Aquileia.

VII. The same.

VIII. The same with that of Aquileia.

IX. The same with that of Aquileia.

X. The same.

XI. The same with the Vulgar.

XII. Wanting.

The WESTERN.

I. Believe in God the Father Almighty.

II. And in Christ Jesus his only Son our Lord.

III. The same with that of Aquileia.

IV. The same with the Eastern.

V:

The same.

VI. The same with that of Aquileia.

VII. The same.

VIII. The same with that of Aquileia.

IX. The same with that of Aquileia.

X. The same.

XI. The same with the Vulgar.

XII. Wanting.

Now

Now all of these Creeds are said to be the true Apostolick Creed : And, *First*, As to the *Western Church*, *Ruffinus* in his Preface to his Exposition, says, That the Church of *Rome* kept close to the Apostles Creed, without the least Variation ; and according to that every one was baptized ; but in all the rest of the Churches several other Things were added, because of the new Heresies that had sprung up amongst them ; whereas at *Rome* there never having been any Heresies, there was no Necessity of any Variation. His Words are, *Illud non importune commonendum puto, quod in diversis, Ecclesiis aliqua in his verbis inveniuntur adjecta ; in Ecclesia tamen urbis Romæ, hoc non deprehenditur factum, quod ego propterea esse arbitror, quod neque Heresis ulla illuc sumpsi exordium : Et mos ibi servatur antiquus, eos qui gratiam Baptismi suscepunt sunt publice, id est, Fidelium populo audiente, symbolum reddere, & utique ad-jectionem unius saltus sermonis eorum qui præcesserunt in Fide non admittit auditus, in ceteris autem locis, quantum intelligi datur, propter nonnullos Hereticos addita quedam videntur per quæ novellæ doctrinæ sensus crederetur excludi : nos tamen illum ordinem sequimur quem in Aquileiensi Ecclesia per Lavacri gratiam suscepimus.* And St. *Ambrose* in his 8th Epistle to *Siricus* says, That the Apostolick Creed, which the Church of *Rome* has always inviolably preserved, is the Standard of our Belief. *Credatur* (says he) *Symbolo Apostolorum quod Ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit & ser-
vat.* And *Vigilius Tapensis*, in his 4th Book against *Eutichius*, wrote in the 5th Century, says, That *Rome* delivered the Apostolical Creed to the Faithful, before and after the Church of *Nice*, always in the same Manner. *Roma* (says he) *& antequam Nicena Synodus convenerat, a temporibus Apostolorum usque ad nunc ita fidibus Symbolum tradidit*

Amongst the *Spaniards* in the 7th Century, we find the Apostles Creed delivered in a different Manner from that of the *Western* Creed, in *Etherius*, Bishop of *Uxam's* Book against *Elipandus*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, who has it thus :

“ I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our God, and our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin *Mary*, suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, crucified and buried ; descended into Hell, on the third Day he arose alive from the dead, ascended into Heaven, and sits at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty ; from whence he is to come to judge the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church, the Remission of all our Sins, the Resurrection of the Flesh, and Life eternal. *Amen.* ”

Behold (says he) the Apostolick Faith in which we are baptized, which we believe and profess. *Ecce fidem Apostolicam in qua baptizati sumus, quam credimus & tenemus.* But both this and the ancient *Roman* Creed differ from the Creed now received as the Apostles Creed in the Church of *Rome*. Then as to the *Eastern* Churches this is a greater Variety of different Creeds, the most

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ancient of which is that of *Jerusalem*, compated by *Ruffinus*, with the *Western* and *Aquileian* as above: Another is set down by St. *Cyrill* in his Catechisms; thus,

“ I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Ages; the true God, by whom all Things were made, who was incarnate and made Man, crucified and buried; he arose the third Day from the dead, and ascended into Heaven, and sits at the right Hand of the Father, and is to come in Glory to judge the Quick and the Dead; of whose Reign there is no End: And in one Holy Ghost the Paraclet, who spake by the Prophets, and in one Baptism of Repentance for the Remission of Sins; and in one Holy Catholick Church; and in the Resurrection of the Flesh; and in Life eternal.

St. *Jerom* in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, assures us, That St. *Cyril* compos'd his Catechisms which he taught to the Catechumens in his Youth, 70 Years after the Rise of the *Manichean* Heresie, so that this Creed was what was received and taught at *Jerusalem* about the Year of our Lord 350. The Council of *Nice* having met in the Month of *July*, in the Year 325, *Arius* a Presbyter in the Church of *Alexandria*, presented the Fathers of that Council with the following Creed of the Church of *Alexandria* (a).

“ We believe one God the Father Almighty, and in our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, begotten of him before all Ages, the God-Word by whom all Things both in Heaven and Earth were made, who came and was incarnate, and suffered and rose again, and ascended into Heaven, and is to come again to judge the Quick and the Dead: And in the Holy Ghost: And in the Resurrection of the Flesh: And in the Kingdom of Heaven: And in the Catholick Church of God, which is from the one End of the Earth to the other.

Eusebius Bishop of *Cesarea* (b) presented the Fathers of the same Council with the following Creed of the Church of *Palestine*, telling them, That it was what they had received from the Bishops that preceeded them, and what they were taught at their Initiation in the Christian Religion, what they received at their Baptism, what they learned from the sacred Scriptures, and what both Bishops and Presbyters taught to their People: Which is as follows,

“ We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Maker of all Things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son of God, the First-born of all Creatures, begotten of the Father before all Ages, and by whom all Things were made; who for our Salvation was incarnate, and conversed amongst Men, and suffered and rose again upon the third Day,

“ and

(a) *Vid. Sac. Hist. Lib. 1. Sozom. Lib. 2.* (b) *Euseb. Epist. ad Cesar. inter Opera, Tosc. 1, Pag. 48. Edit. Comeli.*

" and ascended to the Father, and is to come again in Glory, to
 " judge the Quick and the Dead : And we believe in one Holy
 " Ghost.

This Creed, or Confession of Faith was unanimously received by the Emperor *Constantin* (a), and the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, but for a clearer Refutation of the *Arrian* Heresie, which was then sprung up, they proposed it to the Churches, with these Interpolations.

" We believe in one God, the Father Almighty; the Maker of all Things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of his Father; the only Son that is of the same Substance with the Father; God of God; Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten, not made; consubstantial with the Father, by whom all Things were made that are in the Heavens, and that are in the Earth; who for us Men; and for our Salvation, descended; was incarnate and made Man, suffered and rose again upon the third Day, ascended into Heaven, to come again to judge the Quick and the Dead: And in the Holy Ghost.

The Fathers of this Council proceeded no further at this Time than this Confession of the Trinity, because *Eusebius* had gone no further in his Creed or Confession of Faith, and that the *Arrian* Heresie which was then in Agitation, required no more at that Time, afterwards we find a much larger Confession of their Faith in *Epiphanius* (b), as follows,

" We believe in God the Father Almighty; Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God; begotten of his Father before all Worlds, consubstantial with the Father; very God of very God; Light of Light; begotten, not made; of one Substance with the Father; by whom all Things were made that are in the Heavens and in the Earth; who for us Men, and for our Salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*; and was made Man, and was crucified also for us under *Pontius Pilate*; he suffered and was buried, and the third Day he arose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right Hand of the Father; and he shall come again with Glory, to judge both the Quick and the Dead; whose Kingdom shall have no End: And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life who proceedeth from the Father; who, with the Father and the Son together, is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the Prophets, and in one Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church: We acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins: We expect the Resurrection of the dead, and the Life of the World to come. Amen". This Faith, saith *Epiphanius*, was delivered by the holy Apostles in the Church, and in the Holy City embraced by all the

An. 1559. Bishops, being above 310 in Number; and the same *Epiphanius* tells us, that the Book in which he inserts this Creed was composid in the Year 374.

These are all the ancient Creeds or Confessions of Faith made use of in the first four Centuries, for the *Athanasian* Creed was not known till the 6th Century, and was probably, as the learned Father *Quesnel* has shown, the Work of *Vigilius Tappensis*: The following Ages of the Church have imitated the Council of *Nice*, by adding always new Articles against the Heresies that arose in each Age; but our Author makes that of the Apostles as vulgarly received the Standard of our Faith, and has left us a very learned Commentary upon each Article.

*His Death
and Charac-
ters.* Mr. Cockburn having attained to a great Age, died at *Hadding-*
town in the Beginning of the Year 1559. *Dempster* says, That he
was so well seen in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew Languages, that
there were but few either in *France* or in *Europe* that could equal
him; he taught with great Fame and Applause, as we have said,
the Oriental Languages in the University of *Paris*; and by the
Writings he has left behind him, it appears that he was not only
well skilled in them, but likewise in the Writings of the Fathers
and Schoolmen: And as he was by far the learnedst among the
Scots Reformers, so he was the moderateſt, being a great Enemy
to the violent and rebellious Methods that his Brethren were en-
gaged in.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **O** Ratio de Utilitate & Excellentia verbi Dei, Par. 1557 in 8vo.
- II. De vulgari sacra Scriptura Phrasis, Par. 1552. in 8vo.
- III. In orationem Dominicam pia Meditatio, S. Andreæ 1555, in 12mo.
- IV. In Symbolum Apostolicum Comment. Lond. 1561, in 4to.
- V. De Justificatione.
- VI. Catechismus.
- VII. De peccato in Spiritum Sanctum.
- VIII. Epistola.
- IX. Orationes.

THE
LIFE of QUINTIN KENNEDY
Abbot of Cross-Raguel.



HIS learned Gentleman was descended from the noble and ancient Family of the *Kennedies* in Carrick; his Father was *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Cassils*, and his Mother Lady *Isabella Campbell*, Daughter of *Archibald Earl of Argyle* (a). He was born in the Reign of King *James V.* and had his Education at the University of *Glasgow*; where, after he had finished his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he was sent by his Parents to the University of *Paris*, where he studied Theology, and the Civil and Canon Law. And having entred into Holy Orders, he return'd to his native Country, and was made Prior of *Whithorn*, and Abbot and Commendator of *Cross-Raguel* in *Galloway*.

The Reformation happening about this Time, our Author being one of the learnedest Persons amongst the *Romish* Clergy in *Scotland*; he undertook the Defence of their Cause against the Reformers; and published in the Year 1558, a Book concerning the Judge of Controversies, without the Name of the Printer, or the Place where it was printed: About the Year 1561 *Spotswod* says (b), That he published a Cathechism, which was answered by *John Knox*; he had likewise several Conferences with Mr. *Wiseheart*, Mr. *Davidson*, Mr. *Willox* and Mr. *Knox*: And *George Con* in his Twofold State of Religion amongst the *Scots*, says (c), That our Author for three Days maintain'd a publick Dispute in Defence of the Catholick Religion, for which he was imprison'd in the Year 1562; and he had not escaped with his Life, had it not been for his Family and Quality: And this *Spotswod* acknowledges in these Words, *The Author* (says he) speaking of our Abbot, *in regard of his Age and Quality of Birth* (*for he was of the House of Caflils*) *was thought fit to be overseen*.

Of all our Author's Writings, I have only seen his Book of the Judge of Controversies in 4to, in the Black Saxon Letter, the Title of which runs thus, *Ane compendius Tractive conform to the Scripturis of Almychtie God, Ressoun and Authority, declaring the nerrest and only Way, to establishe the Conscience of ane Christiane Man, in all Matters (quhilks ar in Debate) concerning Faith and Religion, sett furth be Maister Quintin Kennedy, Commendator of the Abbay of Crosraguel, and dedicat to his dearest and best belisiffit Nepuo, Gilbert Mester of Cassillis. In the Zeir of God, Ane thousand fyve houndreth fifty aught Zeris.* ^{To Account} of his Works

P

His

(a) MS. Genealogy of the Nobility of Scotland, p. 16; (b) Vld. Lib. 4 Pag. 183. (c) Lib. 2. Pag. 136.

An. 1564. His other Works, according to *Dempster* (a), are, *A Book upon the Sacrifice of the Mass*, *A Book against the Lutherians*, *Fourteen Heads of a Controversie against George Wishart*: All these Books (says he) are printed: But there are still extant in MS. his *Answer to John Davidson's Book*, a Book upon *Abstinence*, a Book upon the *Marriage of the Clergy*, a Book concerning the *Use of Images*, *A Challenge given to Willox upon the 25th of March 1562*, *An Expostulation concerning the Fraud and Impiety of John Knox*, *An Oration upon the Obedience that is due to superior Powers*, spoke upon the last Day of *August*, 1562, and a Book upon the *Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist*. His Book upon the *Judge of Controversies* contains 18 Chapters, wherein he treats of all the Controversies betwixt the Church of *Rome* and the Reformed Churches; but his main Drift is to show the many Inconveniencies that would arise from making the Scripture the Judge of Controversies, or our own private Judgment and Opinion; and therefore he strenuously Labours to have the Decision of the Church the sole Judge of all Controversies in Religion, according to the express Precept of the Gospel, *He that will not give ear unto the Church, let him be Anathema Maranatha*. And this Infallibility of the Church he establishes in the Decision of the General Councils, and then proceeds to acquaint his Reader what these General Councils are, and upon what Occasions they were called; but for fear of increasing the Bulk of his Book too much, he proceeds no further than the first four General Councils, and then proceeds to common Topicks used in the Controversies betwixt the Papists and Protestants; but we shall only trouble the Reader with the List of the General Councils after our Author's Method.

A List of the General Councils, and upon what Design they were called. The 1st, was that of the Apostles mentioned in the 15th Chapter of the *Acts*, in the Year of our Lord 51, against those who committed Fornication, did eat Blood, Things strangled, and Things offered to Idols. But our Author makes not this the first Council, but that of *Nice*.

The 2d, was the first Council of *Nice*, a City in *Bithynia*, called by the Emperor *Constantin*, towards the Month of *July*, 325, consisting of about 300 or 318 Bishops, against *Arrius* a Presbyter of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, who affirmed, That the Word or the Son of God was created out of nothing, that he is not equal, and of the same Nature with his Father; that there was a Time in which the Son of God was not, and that the Father could not then be called his Father. Our Author forbears to make mention of this Heresie of *Arrius*, because (says he) the Age we live in, is too apt to receive and embrace new and dangerous Opinions.

The 3d, is the Council of *Constantinople*, held in the Years 381, 382 and 383, against the *Eunomians*, *Anomians*, *Arrians*, *Eudoxians*, *Semiarians*, *Marcellians*, *Photinians*, *Apollinaris*, and others that denied the Holy Ghost, whom they called the Lord enlivening that

that proceeds from the Father, and who ought to be adored and glorified with the Father, and the Son, who spoke by the Prophets.

The 4th, is the Council of *Ephesus*, called by the Emperor *Theodosius* the younger, in the Year 431, against *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who affirmed, That the Title, *Mother of God*, could not properly be given to the Virgin *Mary*.

The 5th, is the Council of *Chalcedon*, called in the Year 451, against *Eutychius* a Priest in *Constantinople*, who affirmed, That there was but one Nature in Jesus Christ.

The 6th, is the second General Council of *Constantinople*, called by the Emperor *Justinian*, upon *May 3d, 553*, against the *Three Chapters*; of which we have given an Account in the first Volume of this Work, in the Life of St. *Columbanus*.

The 7th, is the third General Council of *Constantinople*; called by the Emperor *Constantin Pogonatus* in the Year 680, against the *Monothelites*, who affirmed, That there was but one Operation, or but one Will in Jesus Christ, proceeding from the Word. The 5th and 6th General Councils by the common Computation from the first Council of *Nice*, having made no Canons for the Discipline of the Church, the Emperor *Justinian* the second called a Council in the Year 692, for renewing the ancient Canons concerning the Discipline of the Church, and by the Addition of some new ones, to make a Body of Canon Law of the Ecclesiasticks of the Eastern Churches. This Council met at *Constantinople*, in the Tower of the Emperor's Palace, called *Trulle*, from whence it is called the Council of *Trulle*. There were present the Four Patriarchs of the East, and an hundred and eight other Bishops, upon which it's acknowledged as a Council by the Eastern, but not by the Western Churches; and because it was called for a Supplement to the fifth and sixth General Councils, and therefore is named, The Council of *Quini-sexta*.

The 8th, is the second General Council of *Nice*, called in the Year 786 by the Empress *Irene*, against the *Iconoclasts*, or those who deny'd the worshipping of Images.

The 9th, is the fourth General Council of *Constantinople*, called by the Emperor *Basil*, in the 7th Year of his Empire, and the 2d of *Constantin's*, in the Year of our Lord 869, in Favours of the Patriarch St. *Ignatius*, against *Photius*, who had usurped the Patriarchal Throne.

The 10th, is the fifth General Council of *Constantinople* for restoring of *Photius*, called by the same Emperor *Basil*, in the Year 879, consisting of 383 Bishops.

The 11th, is the first General Council of *Lateran*, approving of the The Treaty of Investitures betwixt Pope *Calixtus* and the Emperor *Henry V.* of which we have given an Account in the first Volume of this Work, in the Life of *David Scot*, Historiographer to the said Emperor; it sat down in the Month of *March, 1123*.

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The 12th, is the second General Council of *Lateran*, called under Pope *Innocent II.* in the Month of *April*, 1139, consisting of about 1000 Bishops, against several Abuses that had crept into the Church, and declaring null and void all the Ordinations made by his Predecessor *Peter de Leon*, and all other Hereticks and Schismatics.

The 13th, is the General Council of *Lateran*, under Pope *Alexander III.* for reforming several Abuses, maintaining the Immunities of the Church, and against the *Albigenses*, who maintained several of the Doctrines, for which the Church of *Rome* now condemns the Protestants ; it began upon the 2d Day of *March*, 1179, and consisted of about 300 Bishops.

The 14th, is the fourth General Council of *Lateran*, which met in the Month of *November*, 1215, under Pope *Innocent III.* for conquering of the Holy Land, and reforming several Abuses in the Church ; it consisted of 112 Bishops in Person, near 800 mitred Abbots and Priors, and a great many Deputes.

The 15th, is the first General Council of *Lions*, held under *Innocent IV.* in the Year 1245, in which the Emperor *Frederick* was depos'd, and Orders given for assisting the Empire of *Constantinople* against the *Grecians*, and the Empire of *Germany* against the *Tartars*, and the Recovery of the Holy Land from the *Saracens*.

The 16th, is the second General Council of *Lions*, under Pope *Gregory X.* which sat down upon the 7th Day of *May*, 1274, for reuniting the Eastern and Western Churches, for reforming the Discipline of the Church, and the recovering of the Holy Land ; it consisted of the Pope, the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, 500 Bishops, 70 mitred Abbots, and 1000 other inferior Prelates, besides the Ambassadors of the Emperor *Palaologus*, these of the Emperor of *Germany*, the Kings of *France* and *Sicily*.

The 17th, is the Council of *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, called by Pope *Clement V.* in the Month of *October*, 1311, against the Order of the Templars ; of which we have given an Account in the first Volume of this Work, in the Life of *Simon White* ; it consisted of near 300 Arch-Bishops and Bishops.

The 18th, is the Council of *Constance*, called by the Emperor *Sigismund*, for taking away the Schism and the Popedom ; it sat down upon the 1st of *November*, 1414, in which Pope *Gregory XII.* willingly demitted.

The 19th, is the Council of *Florence*, for reuniting the *Grecian* and *Latin* Churches under Pope *Eugenius IV.* it sat down upon the 22d of *February*, 1439.

The 20th, was the 5th General Council of *Lateran*, begun under Pope *Julius II.* in the Year 1511, against the Proceedings of a Council at *Pisa*, called by *Lewis King of France* in the Year 1511.

The 21st, is the Council of *Trent*, called against *Luther* and *Calvin*, and the other Reformers ; of which we have given an Account

Account in part in the second Volume of this Work, in the Life of ^{An. 1564} Arch-Bishop *Wanckop*, and shall finish the remaining Part of the History in this Volumie, in the Life of *Adam Newton*; it sat down upon the 13th of December 1545, was transferred to *Bologna* the 21st of April 1547, and after an Interruption recommend'd upon the 1st of September 1551 at *Trent*, it was again suspended upon the 18th of April 1552, and recommend'd for the third Time upon the 18th of January 1562, was continued and finish'd upon the 3d Day of December 1563. And these are all the Councils that our Author would have all Christians submit to in the Controversies amongst them, as being the only Judge of Controversies, as representing the Church of Christ, "to whose Decision we ought to submit by the Command of Christ himself; but the Council of *Trent* to this very Day is not own'd by the *Gallican* Church, and it was only concluded a Year before our Author's Death, which happen'd upon the 22d Day of *August* 1564. His Death

It cannot be deny'd but that as this Author was one of the noblest and learnedest Men of his Party, so he was a most violent Opposer of the Principles and Practices of the Reformers, for which he is highly commended by the Writers of the *Romish* Church at that Time. For *Dempster* says (a), That as he was a great Promoter of Learning, so with a great and noble Mind he resisted the Growth of Heretie in *Scotland* by his Disputes and Writings, omitting nothing that might advance the Catholick Faith. His Words are, *Quintinus Kennedius Comitis Cassilissæ Frater, Crucis Regalis Abbas, ingens literatorum fautor magno & nobili animo, Heretici in Scotia nascenti familiaribus colloquiis & scriptis restitit, nihil omittens quo Catholicam fidem strenue propugnaret.* And Bishop *Leslie* says (b), That the Reformers finding him to be a Man that was as conspicuous for his Virtue and Learning, as for his Nobility and Birth, and that by no Means they could check or alter his Faith; they provoked him to a Dispute, which he had for three Days with Mr. *Knox* in the West, by which he confirmed severals in their Faith; and even the Reformers themselves were so angry with Mr. *Knox*'s Performance, that he was obliged in his own Vindication to publish the Dispute full of Lies and Calumnies, to take off the Taie of his Ignorance that he had shown in that Conference. And then he tells us, That this worthy Man, whose Virtues will be recorded in all Ages, besides many other Things, published two Books full of Learning from the Writings of the Fathers, Councils and sacred Scriptures, the one concerning the Authority of Councils, the other concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass. The first against *John Davidson*, and the other against *George Hay*, both of them Ministers. Bishop *Leslie*'s Words are,

Unde (says he, speaking of the Disputes betwixt the Papists and the Reformers) *Quintinum Kennedium Comitis Cassilissæ Fratrem virum non solum nobilitate sed doctrina virtuteque per insignem, cum nullo modo a fidei integritate abduci possit, in palestram solemque vocant,*

Q

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vocant, sed trium dierum frequenti disputatione quam cum Knoxio publice in occidente habuit, effectum est, ut pii sanctique viri confirmarentur, ac ipsi sectarii Knoxio incensi redderentur, quod provinciam quam suscepereat Calvinilimi defendendi, melius non exornasset. Quare Knoxius, ut quam contraxerat disputatione in illam suis commentis, nigris, mendaciis interspersam typis excudendam curat. Kennedyus hic, vir plane dignus, cuius virtutes omnium etatum commendatione celebrentur duos (præter alia opuscula) edidit libros, exquisitissima doctorum Conciliorum, Scripturarum doctrina resertos; unum de Conciliorum auctoritate, alterum de publico Ecclesiæ Sacrificio, e quibus illum Joannes Davidsonus, hunc Georgius Haicus sectarii ministri ita refutarunt, ut Catholica veritas inde magis dilucescat iis quorum mentes Heresios malitiaque tenebris plane non fuerint obvolutæ.

On the other Hand, the Reformers had represented our Author as a Person but very meanly seen in all the Parts of Literature, and especially in Controversies of Religion; and had it not been for his Birth and Quality (as we learn from Arch-Bishop Spotswood) he had certainly undergone the same Fate with the rest of the Popish Clergy at that Time. Neither did they cease to calumniate his Memory after his Death, an Instance of which we have amongst Arch-Bishop Adamson's Poems, who compos'd the following Epitaph upon our Author.

EPITAPHIUM ABBATIS CROSS-RAGUEL.

1564

Væ mihi quod Papæ dederam nomenque fidemque
Væ mihi quod Christi strenuus hostis eram:
Væ vobis Papistæ omnes, nisi tempore vita
Vos Christum amplexi Pontificem fugitis.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **A** Ne compendius Tractive conform to the Scripturis of Almightytie God, Ressoun and Authority, declaring the nerrest and only Way, to establiche the Conscience of ane Christiane Man, in all Matters (quhilks ar in Debate) concerning Faith and Religion, sett furth be Maister Quintin Kennedy, Commenderator of the Abbay of Crofaguel, and dedicat to his dearest and best beluiffit Nepuo, Gilbert Mester of Cassillis. In the Zeir of God, Ane thousand fyve houndreth fifty aught Zeris Without the Name of the Printer or Place.
- II. *De Publico Ecclesiæ Sacrificio.*
- III. *Contra errores Germanorum in Fidei capita quatuordecem defensa contra Georgium Sophocardium.*
- IV. *Responsio ad Joannis Davidsoni opus.*
- V. *De*

V. *De vetitorum abstinentia.*
VI. *De illicito Presbyterorum matrimonio.*
VII. *De cultu imaginum.*
VIII. *Palinodia Willexio reddita, xxix Martii, MDLXII.*
IX. *Quarimonia super Knoxii fraude & impietate.*
X. *Oratio pro obedientia Supremis potestatibus habita die ultima Augusti, MDLXII.*
XI. *De praesentia corporis in Sacramento altaris.*



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I am apt to believe, that in this Catalogue, *Dempster*, from Bishop *Leslie's* Words, has made five Books out of two.

T H E

L I F E of PATRICK RUTHVEN, Lord Ruthven.

THIS Nobleman was Son to *William Lord Ruthven*, and *Janet Haliburton*, one of the three Daughters and Coheiresses of *Patrick Haliburton* His Birth and Parentage. *Lord Dirlton*: His Father was one of the Lords of the Congregation, for so were the Nobility who espous'd the Cause of the Reformation then called: He was likewise Lord Privy Seal, and a Person of great Note amongst them. Our Author was born in the Year 1520, in the Reign of King *James V.* He had his Education at the University of St. Andrews; His Education and Travels. where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he was sent over to *France* by his Parents; and having stayed there for some Years, upon his return to his native Country, he was married to *Lady Jean Douglas*, Daughter to *Archibald Earl of Angus*, with whom he had two Sons and two Daughters; the eldest Daughter *Isobel* was married to *James Colvil of Easter-Weems*, and the other, *Jean*, was first married to *Henry Stewart Lord Methven*, and afterward to *Andrew Earl of Rothes*. He had likewise eight Sisters, who were all of them honourably married, *Katharin* to *Colin Campbell of Glenurchie*; *Barbara*, to *Patrick Lord Gray*; *Cecilia*, to *Sir John Weems of Weems*; *Janet*, to *John Crichton of Strathurd*; *Lilias*, to *David Lord Drummond*; *Margaret*, to *Sir James Johnston of Elphinstoun*; *Elizabeth*, to *Wood of Bonnington*; and *Christian* married to *Mr. Willian Lundin of Lundin*. Supported by these noble powerful Families, he was very much respected by all Ranks and Degrees of People: And naturally affecting Popularity, he join'd the Populace against his Royal Mistris *Queen Mary*, and became one of the most active Persons in the Nation against her: An eminent Instance of which he He turns Rebel to the Queen, gave

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gave in the contriving of *David Rizzi's* Murder, as we have it under his own Hand, in a Narrative of that Affair, of which I received the authentick Manuscript at *London* in 1712, from the Bishop of *Sarum* instead of a defamatory Libel, which he design'd to have given me against the Memory of that illustrious Prince: The Substance of which is as follows.

*He writes
the History
of Rizzi's
Murder.*

*An Account
of this His-
tory.*

The rebellious Nobility who oppos'd Queen *Mary's* Measures, and who had been all along supported by Queen *Elizabeth* in their wicked and treasonable Practices, about the Beginning of the Year 1566, drew up an Address to Queen *Elizabeth* for her Assistance; upon which she called a Cabin-Council, to consult what Method was most proper to be taken for satisfying of them: Some were for arming them with Men and Money (*a*), but that Process was rejected, because it might involve the Two Nations in a War; several other Expedients were propos'd, which were likewise rejected: At length Secretary *Cecil*, and Sir *Thomas Randolph* propos'd, That the Apple of Discord should be thrown betwixt the Queen and her Husband, the Lord *Darnly*, by fomenting Jealousies and Suspicions betwixt them; by which Means either the one or the other, if not both, should become a Prey to them: And the Earl of *Morton*, who was a faithful Friend, was pitched upon as the Man to whom they should commit the whole Management of that Affair. This hellish Project succeeded to Admiration; for hitherto there had been nothing but an intire Love betwixt the Queen and her Husband. But *Morton* no sooner got his Instructions, but these Halcyon Days of Peace and Love betwixt them, were turned into Bitterness and Sorrow; which was brought about after this Manner.

There came in Company to the Court of *Scotland*, with the Ambassador of *Savoy*, one *David Rizzi*, of the Country of *Piemont* in *Italy*, who was a good Musician, but well advanced in Years, lean, and extremely deform'd, as those who were well acquainted with him describe him (*b*). At this Time the Queen had three Valentines of her Chamber, who sung three Parts, but she wanted a Bass to sing the Fourth; her Majesty having got notice of this Man, as one fit to sing a fourth Part in *Consort*, he was employ'd in that Station for some Time; but in regard of his great Age, she remov'd him from that, and made him her Secretary for the *French* and *Italian* Languages, in both which he was admirably well skilled: Being a Fellow of a very bright Spirit, and a great Favourer of the *Hamiltons*, he advised the Queen to recal the Duke of *Chattel Herald*, being then in Banishment. For this the King became highly incens'd against him, there being a mortal Enmity betwixt the Families of *Lennox* and *Hamilton*. *Morton* perceiving this, told the King, that it was not to be imagined, how much the Nobility were incensed with the Queen's Familiarity with *Rizzi*, a Stranger, and Fellow of no Birth, while she neglected her ancient Nobility, and was only governed by his Council: Whereas his Majesty being by Birth the first

(*a*) Vid. *Blackwood Martyr de la Royn de la Escosse*, Chap. 5. Pag. 75. (*b*) Vid. Chap. 6.

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first Prince of the Blood, and now Husband to the Queen, he ought to have the sole Government in his Hands. *Morton* finding that the King was pleased with this Proposal, being naturally proud and ambitious, he proceeded further, and told him, That it was against the Laws of God and Man, that Women should have the Government, and far less that a Wife should have Power of governing over an Husband, whom, by the Law of God, she is bound to obey: Therefore he advised him to claim the Matrimonial Crown, as the Queen's Husband, and to assume the Government in his own Person. On the other Hand, he told the Queen, That he suspected her Husband the King had such a Design, and that he being but young, rash and inconsiderate, if she should grant him the Matrimonial Crown as her Husband, that lie would certainly take upon himself the sole Government, and enslave the Nation, and her, who was the only true, lawful and undoubted Sovereign; to the Court of *England*, he being born amongst them, and a meer Servant of theirs. Not long after this, the King demanded the Matrimonial Crown, which the Queen absolutely refused to give him; upon which he immediately suspected that *Rizio* had advised her to it, and goes immediately to *Morton*, to whom he communicate his Conjecture. *Morton* improving this, confirms him in his Suspicion, and the more to incense him against *Rizio*, he plainly told him, that altho' *Rizio* was but an ugly mean Fellow, yet Women are sometimes very unaccountable in their Amours, and it was loudly rumour'd abroad, that *Rizio* and the Queen were too familiar. This, says *Cauſſin* (a), made the overheaded Youth become in a manner furious, racked with the two Fiends of Jealousie and Ambition, the one representing to his disturbed Imagination, that he passed for a King in Fancy only, and that he had but an imaginary Throne: And the other, that a Slave was a Partner of his Bed, which made these Heats of Love, which the excellent Beauties of the Queen had raised in his Breast, to burst forth in a Flame, which had many dismal Effects. And the first of these was the Death of his imaginary Rival, the old deform'd and decrepit *Rizio*, a Suspicion which was so ridiculous; that *Cambden* in his Animadversions upon *Thuan's History*, who has copied all that he has of Queen *Mary* from *Buchanan*, mentions this, and other Particulars which he has concerning *Rizio's* Murder, as so many Instances of his inveterate Malice against his Sovereign, which he has evidently demonstrated to be false: But the best Account we can have of this, is from our Author, who tells us, That the King being firmly resolved to be revenged upon *Rizio*, upon the 10th Day of February he sent to him his Cousin *George Douglas*, Son to *Archibald Earl of Angus*, to acquaint him, that *David Rizio* had offended him in several Things, and lately in dissuading the Queen from giving him the Matrimonial Crown, which she had often promised him, and for which he was resolved to be avenged; and therefore earnestly

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intreated

(a) *Vid. Coulton's Life of Queen Mary.*

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intreated his Advice, as the Man he put the most Trust in, in the Nation. My Lord tells us then, that he was in the 46th Year of his Age, and labouring under a Consumption of the Neers, and an Inflammation of the Liver, as he was told by his Physicians, and so weak, that he could hardly walk through his Chamber ; upon the 12th of February, his Lordship having called Mr. Douglas to him, told him, *That he would give the King no Advice, because he knew his youthful Temper was such, that he was capable of receiving no Advice in such an important Affair : for severals of the Nobility having formerly given him Advices, tending to his Honour and Interest, yet the first Thing that he did, was to reveal them to the Queen, for which they were disgrac'd : So that before he gave him Council or Advice in that Affair, he behooved to have some Proofs of his being capable of keeping a Secret.*

Mr. Douglass having reported this Answer to the King, the King called for a Bible, and swore upon it, *That he should never reveal my Lord Ruthven's Advice to the Queen.* Upon which Mr. Douglas return'd, and gave his Lordship an Account of what the King had done, yet for Eight Days Time my Lord Ruthven would give him no Advice ; altho' he had sent Mr. Douglas to him three or four Times a Day : At length upon the 20th Day of February, his Lordship sent the King Word that he would give him his Advice, providing that he would give his Consent to the recalling of the Earls of Argile, Glencairn, Murray, Rthes, Lords, Boyd, Ochiltree, Laird of Pitcarro and Grange, with the rest of the Barons now banished for the Word of God in Ireland, for so his Lordship is pleased to term their Rebellion ; to this the King agreed, providing likewise that his Lordship would ensure him that they would stand by him, and further him in all his Designs and Affairs ; upon this his Lordship desired the King to make what Terms and Articles he pleased for his Security, and that he should cause it to be subscribed by the said Earls, Lords and Barons ; upon which the King sent his Lordship a Scroll of what Articles he would have subscribed by them : And on the other Hand, he sent a Scroll to the King, of what Articles he would have subscribed by the King for their Security ; and having put in Form, and amended the King's Articles, they were subscribed by both Parties.

The Lords and Barons by their Articles bind themselves, *1mo,* To be the King's most faithful Subjects, and that they will join with the said Prince in all his Affairs, Causes and Quarrels against whomsoever it be, to the outmost of their Power, and shall be Friends to his Friends, and Enemies to his Enemies, and neither spare their Livings, Lands, Goods or Possessions.

2do, They do consent and bind themselves, That after their Return, in the first, and all other succeeding Parliaments, they shall vote and agree to his having the Matrimonial Crown during his Life, and to oppose all those that should oppose him in this.

3to, They

3^{to}, They bind and oblige themselves (failzieing Heirs of the Queen's Body) to maintain his just Title to the Crown of Scotland, with their Lives and Fortunes as he should command them.

4^{to}, That they should maintain and supply him to the outmost of their Power, with Lives and Fortunes, in support of their Religion, as now established by Law.

5^{to}, As they own themselves his faithful and obedient Subjects, so they bind themselves to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes in all Things that may be to the Advancement of his Honour.

6^{to}, That they themselves shall endeavour and solicite their Friends in *England* to join with, in procuring from the Queen of *England* the Liberation of his Majesty's Mother and Brother, and that they may have Liberty either to stay in *England*, or go to *Scotland*, with their Servants and Moveables, as they shall think fit.

7^{mo}, That they and their Friends shall interpose with the Queen of *England*, for giving her Friendship and Assistance against all Foreign Princes that should oppose him and his Designs.

On the other Hand, The King bound and obliged himself in the Articles that he subcribed, *First*, That he shall endeavour to procure them a Remission of all Crimes bypass, of wharsoever Quality or Condition they were of; and if this cannot be obtained at the first, it shall be done, when by their Assistance he obtains the Matrimonial Crown, and in the mean Time to stop all Proces against them, and upon their Return to receive them as loving Subjects, burying all that is past in Oblivion.

2^{dly}, That he shall with all his Power oppose their being accused or forfeited in Parliament, and that he will protest against such a Parliament, and assist the saids Earls, Lords and Barons, against all their Enemies.

3^{dly}, That upon their Arrival they should be immediately restored to their Fortunes, and that if any Opposition should be mad σ against them in the taking Possession of their Fortunes, he shall assist them with all his Power.

4^{thly}, He consent's to their using their Religion now established by Law, and upon their Return to give his Consent to the Establishment of the same, and Concurrence in opposing all them that offered to disturb them in the Exercise of the same.

5^{thly}, That he will stand by them as faithful and loyal Subjects in all their just Causes, Actions and Quarrels.

These Preliminaries being agreed to, the next Thing was to agree to the Method that the King was to take in his Revenge against *Rizzio*, and the Question being put, the King proposed the murdering of him, but our Author and the Earl of *Morton* opposed this, and would have him try'd legally before a Parliament for his Misdemeanours, and they doubted not but by their Interest they would get him to be hanged: But the King told them plainly,

Anno 1566. that if they would not do it, he would do it himself, if it were in the Queen's own Bed-chamber, and it was no great Difficulty to bring over these two noble Lords to his Measures, *For they advertised all their Friends to be in readiness upon the 8th and 9th Days of March, to assist the King in what he was to command them, according to certain Articles agreed to betwixt him and the banisht'd Lords, and that then they should have their Religion freely establisht according to Christ's Book,* This was a very odd way of establishing Religion by an open Violation of one of its most sacred Precepts : But the Thing was resolv'd upon, and *George Douglas* having acquainted the King of it, he told him that it was the Opinion of the Lords, that he should be dispatch'd either in his own Chamber in the Morning, or as he was going thro' the Close ; but to none of those would the King give his Consent, because at no Time it could be better done than at the Time of Supper when he was sitting with her Majesty at Table, and in her Presence, that she might be Witness to his Punishment for the Affront that he had put upon him : For if they attempted to do it in his Chamber, it was hardly practicable ; because he sat late at Night with her Majesty upon Busines, and sometime lay in the Cabinet next to their Apartment, and sometimes in her own Chamber, and sometimes with an Italian Gentleman called Seignior *Francisco*, all which Apartments had several back Doors and Windows at which he might make his Escape, which would ruin all ; to this they immediately agreed, because the Queen being then big with Child, it was probable that it would make her part with it, and endanger her Life whom they mortally hated : So it was agreed amongst them that the Earl of *Morton*, the Lord *Ruthven* our Author, and the Lord *Lindsay*, should have ready so many Men in their Houses, where they were to stay till the King should send them word, that the Earl of *Morton* should come up to the King's outer Chamber, and a Company with him, that the Lord *Ruthven* our Heroe in the Tragedy, should come through the King's secreter Chamber by a private Passage to the Queen's, which should be open'd to him by the King, and that the King should be entertaining the Queen whilst her Majesty was at Supper, and that the rest of the Barons and Gentles should wait in the Close or Area of the Palace, for defending the Gate in Case of any Opposition.

The Conspirators considering that the King was but a young Prince, who had for the Partner of his Bed one of the most beautiful Princesses in the World, by whose Terms he might be induc'd to deny all that was done, and to lay the whole Blame upon them ; they thought fit to get as great Security of him as they could, and therefore drew up a Bond in his Name to the Earls, Barons, Free-holders, Merchants and Crafts-men, declaring, that what was to be done, was entirely his own Contrivance, and bound and oblig'd himself, his Heirs and Successors, and their Successors to keep them free from all Trouble for the taking and executing of *David Rizio*

Rizio in the Queen's Presence; or otherwise; which Bond is set down at length, and subscribed with the King's own Hand at Edin-^{An. 1566.}burgh, the first Day of March.

Upon Saturday, being 19th Day of March, all Things were put in Execution according to the above-mentioned Project: And our Author tells us, That he found the Queen at Supper, with the Countess of Argyle, David Rizio, and the King with his Hands about the Queen's Wast; after some Discourse with the Queen, wherein he laid several Things to Rizio's Charge, especially his advising her to refuse her Husband the Matrimonial Crown, he demanded that she would deliver him up to his Mercy, and desired the King to take her Majesty in his Arms, and to convoy her to her outer Chamber. The Queen struck with Amazement at the Proposal, immediately rose up and stood betwixt them; Rizio taking hold of the Pleats of her Majesty's Garment, Arthur Erskin the Abbot of Holy-Rood-House, the Laird of Creeth, Master of the Household, her Majesty's Apothecary, and one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber, went to seize the Lord Ruthven our Author; upon which his Lordship drew his Dagger, and his Attendants rushing into the Room, they overturned the Table with the Meat and Candles, and his Lordship taking the Queen in his Arms, put her in the King's Arms, desiring her not to be afraid, for there was no Harm designed against her, but only against Rizio, whom they immediately seized upon, and dragging him out of the Room, they murdered him at the Door of her outer Chamber; after which the Queen desired the Earl of Morton, the Lord Lindsay, and Arthur Erskin to bring her a little black Coffer from Rizio's Chamber, supposed to be full of Papers wrote in Cyphers to foreign Princes, which they accordingly did; and the Earl of Morton appointed the Lord Semple to take care of all the rest of the Things that were in his Chamber. Her Majesty having upbraided the King her Husband for this barbarous and inhuman Treatment of her, she next addressed her self to our Author, telling him, That it seemed his Sicknes was not very deadly, otherwise he would not be guilty of such a barbarous Action, if he believ'd in a future State: To which his Lordship replied, That he would not for all that he was worth in the World that her Majesty were as much indisposed as he was. *Well, well, (says she) my Lord, if I suffer an Abortion by this, so that the Child in my Belly do not revenge my Quarrel, yet I hope that I have such Friends as may do it, either upon you or yours.* To which his Lordship answered, *Your Majesty's Friends are too great to take notice of such a mean Person as I am, especially since I had no Design against your Majesty's Person; and that all I have done is by the King your Husband's Command, which the King owned before her.* And this is the Account which his Lordship gives us of this abominable Action, in which he had so great a Hand, and which he represents as done for the Glory of God, and the establishing of the Protestant Religion.

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Blackwood (a) tells us, That when his Lordship came in to the Queen's Chamber; he had an Head-piece and a Coat of Armour upon him; and when he looked upon the Queen with a threatening, and ghastly look, because he had been long sick, she said, *My Lord, it seems you come not hither upon any good Design.* To which he answered, *That he had no Design against her, but against that Villain*, pointing to her Secretary with his Finger; and that whilst he held the Queen by the Garment, crying, *Giustitia, Giustitia, Justice, Justice*, his Lordship gave him a Wound over the Queen's Shoulder; and that his eldest Son, or as others reported, *Andrew Ker of Fadownside* held a Pistol to her Belly, threatening her with opprobrious Language to be her Death, if she offered to make any Resistance: But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain that he was most barbarously treated. And *Blackwood* says, That he had sixty mortal Wounds given him by different Daggers. But to return to our Author's Account of this Action, he says, That whilst the King and he were reasoning with the Queen, there came one knocking fast at the Chamber Door, to acquaint them that the Earls of *Huntly, Athol, Bothwel, Caithness and Sutherland*, with the Lords, *Fleeming, Livingston, Secretary Lithington*, the Comptroller, the Laird of *Grant* and their Servants were fighting in the Closs with the Earl of *Morton* and his Party; upon which the King was going to join *Morton*; but our Author stopping him, desired him to take care of the Queen, and he hoped in a little Time by joining *Morton*, to quell the Rabble below; and indeed any one of their Parties was superior to these noble Lords; and he tells us, that before he came to the Foot of the Stair, they had forced them to shelter themselves in their several Apartments; upon which our Author went up to the Earl of *Bothwel's* Chamber, where he found the Earl of *Huntly, Sutherland, Caithness*, the Laird of *Grant*, and divers others, to whom he told, that what was done, was by the King's Command; that a Parliament had been called in order to the trying the banish'd Lords, but the Parliament was not to sit, that these Lords would be at the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House* before Day, and since he knew that there were some Differences betwixt *Huntly* and *Argyle*, and betwixt *Bothwel* and *Murray*, he gave his Hand to them, that all should be taken away amongst them: After this he went to the Earl of *Athol's* Chamber, accompanied with the Earls of *Caithness and Sutherland*, and the Laird of *Grant*; he found with them the Comptroller, the Secretary, Mr. *James Balfour*, and several others: After the Ceremony of Salutation was over, there having been a great Intimacy betwixt *Athol* and *Ruthven*, *Athol* upbraided him for concealing it from him: His Lordship told him, that all was the King's Contrivance, and that he had promised Secrecy to him; then *Athol* desired to procure a Pass for him and those that were with him, that they might go to the Country till Affairs were settled, which he promised to do; in the mean Time, whilst

whilst he was with *Athol*, *Huntly* and *Bothwel*, they reflecting upon the returning of the banished Lords that Night, and on the Harred they bore to them, thought it fit to make their Escape out of a laigh Window. Not long after this, the Provost of *Edinburgh*, with a Number of the Inhabitants in Arms, came to the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House* to assist the Queen, but the King calling out to them at a Window, told them that both the Queen and he were in good Health, and what was done, was done by his Command, upon which they returned to their respective Dwellings.

Whilst our Author was talking with my Lord *Athol* and his Company, the King told the Queen that he had sent for the banished Lords, upon which she told him that it was none of her Fault that they were not sent for long before, and desired him to mind how warmly he opposed her giving the Duke of *Chatelherault* a Remission. Our Author having returned to the Queen's Chamber, he tells us, *That the Queen asked him what was the Reason, that he had now so great a Love for the Earl of Murray, since he might remember how great an Enemy he was to him, which he acknowledged, but said, that in Obedience to God's Command, he heartily forgave all Men.* Which was a strange piece of Impudence, when his Hands were not washed from the innocent Blood of a Stranger, whom he had kill'd in his Revenge, after which he gives an Account of the King and his own insolent Behaviour to the Queen, in Vindication of themselves, which highly incensed her against them both, but finding that it might tend to her Prejudice, to vent her Passion, she turned Sick, and desired them to leave her with the Ladies of her Bed-chamber, which they did.

When the King was come to his Chamber, the Lord *Ruthven* desired a Pass for the Earl of *Athol* and those that were with him, at the first the King refused him, unless they would give a Bond under their Hands to return when called by him: But at length he was prevail'd upon, by *Ruthven's* engaging for their Fidelity, and *Athol* being brought to the King's Chamber, upon his Promise of returning whenever the King or Queen called him, he was permitted to go Home, but refused a sight of the Queen, so taking his leave of the King, he went straight Home, accompany'd with the Earls of *Sutherland* and *Caithness*, the Master of *Caithness*, the Secretary, the Comptroller Mr. *James Balfour*, the Laird of *Grant* and several others. The same Night, the King without the Consent or Advice of the Queen, issued out a Writ subscribed under his Hand, commanding such Persons in *Edinburgh*, as he had appointed for that Effect, to see, that under Night none should be permitted to be upon the Street but Protestants; and the next Day being Sunday the 10th of March, he discharged the Meeting of the Parliament, and commanded all Earls, Prelates, Lords, Barons, Commissioners of Burrows and others, that were called to the said Parliament, to depart out of *Edinburgh*, within the Space of three Hours after the Publication of this, over the Mercat-Cross

An. 1566. of Edinburgh, under the Penalty of losing their Lives and Fortunes.

That Night the Queen thought to have made her Escape, walking for the most part of the Night in her Chamber, but the King had caused lock all the Gates, and committed the Charge of the Tower Gate, and all the other privy Passages about the Palace to our Author, who caus'd them to be carefully watch'd all that Night, and under the silence of the Night *Rizio's* Body was dragged to the Porter's Lodge, where the Porter and his Associates insulting over his dead and mangled Body, they stript it naked, and pulling the King's Dagger out of his Side, which he forgot to pull out of him, they committed a Thousand Insolencies upon the dead Corps.

The next Morning about Eighth of the Clock, the King went to the Queen's Bed-chamber, where they fell a reasoning concerning the Murder and harsh Treatment that he had shown to her, in confining her a clos Prisoner, and in the heat of her Passion she let some Tears drop from her Eyes, which so softned the King's Heart, that he granted her the Liberty of calling what Ladies she pleased to name to attend her; when he returned to his Chamber, he told *Morton* and *Ruthven* what he had done, and both of them told him, that they doubted not, but that she would employ these Ladies to acquaint her Friends of her Condition, and therefore advised him to retract his Promise to her: About Dinner-time the Queen felt some Pains, so that she feared an Abortion, and called for her Mid-wife; and the King being sent for, she challenged him for the Breach of his Promise; upon which he immediately sent word to *Morton* and *Ruthven* (without whose Advice he durst do nothing) to acquaint them of the Queen's Condition, and allowed every one that pleased Access to her Majesty. But she being informed that my Lord *Ruthven* had some bad Design against her, she sent for *John Semple*, Son to the Lord *Semple*, and having told him what she was afraid of, she sent him to my Lord *Ruthven*, to ask him, if he had any bad Design against her; which he openly disowned to Mr. *Semple*, who found him at Dinner: But when the King returned to his Chamber about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, his Lordship told him, that he was informed that the Queen had only feigned that she was in Danger, and that she designed to make her Escape amongst the Throng of the Women, as they were parting with her: Upon this the King gave him Orders to put Sentinels to her Doors, who were to take a narrow Inspection of every one as they passed out of the Chamber.

About 7 or 8 of the Clock at Night the banished Lords arrived from *England*, and were received at the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House* by the King, *Morton* and *Ruthven*, with great Demonstrations of Joy: And after they had conferred for some Time together, the Earl of *Murray* parting with the King, went to the Earl of *Morton's* Apartment; where, as they were going to Supper, the Queen having got

got notice of his Arrival, she sent for him; and having received him very kindly, he returned, after some Converse with her, to *Morton's Apartment*, where he lodged all that Night: The same very Night the King was very earnest with the Queen to be reconciled to him, which she at length was brought to, providing that he would cause remove all the Sentries and Guards that were set over her, and that none should be suffered to lodge in her Apartments, but themselves and their Attendants; this he complied with: But when he acquainted the Lords *Morton* and *Ruthven* of this, they being afraid of the fatal Consequences that might happen to them, if ever they were reconciled again, they upbraided him with Effeminacy; yet he persisted in his Resolution and Promise to the Queen, and our noble Lord was obliged to remove to the King's Wardrobe, where he lay all that Night: About six a Clock in the Morning the King went to the Queen's Bed-chamber, and finding her asleep, he sat upon her Bed-side till she awak'd, and then earnestly intreated that she would pardon the banish'd Lords; this she agreed to: And when the King told *Morton* and *Ruthven* of it, they endeavoured to dissuade him from believing her; but by this Time she had entirely regained the King's Heart and Affection to her: After Dinner the banish'd Lords, with the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Ruthven*, were brought to the Queen's outer Chamber by the King, who went to ask her if she would come to them, or if he should bring them to her: She resolving to go to them, was led by the King to the outer Chamber, where they falling down upon their Knees, there was a Speech made in their Behalf by the Earl of *Morton*, and then every one of them apologized for themselves; after which the Queen told them, *That all of them could not but know, that she was never blood-thirsty after any of her Subjects Lives, nor coveted any of their Estates, and that she pardoned all of them for what they had done, and hoped they would be better Subjects in all Time coming.* But *Morton*, *Lindsay*, *Ruthven*, and the other Murderers of *Rizzio* not thinking that this was sufficient for them, drew up certain Articles to be subscribed by the King and Queen, which the Queen promised to do; in the mean Time, the Queen required that the King should cause all to remove out of the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House*, who had no immediate Dependence upon her, and that her Guards and Servants should only have the Command of the Palace, since all Things were now agreed amongst them. This was violently oppos'd by the Conspirators; but the King was resolved to grant whatever she required of him; upon which the Lord *Ruthven* protested, that all the Blood-shed that should follow thereupon should fall upon the King and his Posterity, and not upon theirs: After which all of them went out of the Palace, and supped that Night at *Morton's House*; after Supper they directed Mr. *Archibald Douglas* to the King, to see if the Queen and he had subscribed those Articles they had given him, according to his Promise; but the Queen by this Time having made her Husband sensible of the horrid Crime of

A.D. 1566. the Murderers, and how much it would reflect upon his Honour to countenance them, he sent them word that the Queen was indisposed and gone to Bed, and could not subscribe them till to Morrow : On the other Hand, the Queen sent my Lord *Traquair* to see what they were doing, under the Pretence of a Visit to the Earl of *Murray*, upon which all of them immediately went to their several Lodgings. The next Day, which was *Tuesday* the 12th of *March*, about one of the Clock in the Morning, the King and Queen slipt out privately at a back Door from the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House*, where they were met by *Arthur Erskine*, Captain of her Guards, and about seven Persons more, who convoyed them to the Castle of *Dumbar* : The Lords having got notice of this, agreed among themselves, that one of their Number should be sent to their Majesties, requiring them to subscribe the Articles, and that the Earl of *Murray* should write in their Favours ; and the Lord *Semple* was the Person condescended upon to carry the Message to them ; but the Queen being now at Liberty, absolutely refus'd to pardon the Conspirators, and issued out a Proclamation, commanding all her loving Subjects in the adjacent Countries, to meet her at *Haddington* upon the 17th and 18th Days of *March* in Arms, for the Defence of her Person, none being exempt betwixt 16 and 70. And Orders were sent to the Lord *Erskine*, Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to fire upon the Town, if the Conspirators did not immediately depart out of it ; and at the same Time a Proclamation was made over the Cross of *Edinburgh*, declaring the King innocent and free of the Murder. And upon *Saturday* being the 22d of *March*, the Queen caused summon upon six Days to compair before her Majesty's Privy Council, under pain of High-Treason, the Earl of *Morton*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Lord *Lindsay*, the Master of *Ruthven*, the Laird of *Ormiston*, the Laird of *Brimstoun*, the Laird of *Calder*, *Andrew Ker* of *Fidowsfide*, the Laird of *Hatton*, the Laird of *Erfstoun*, *Alexander Ruthven* Brother to the Lord *Ruthven*, *Patrick Murray* of *Tippermuir*, *Douglas* of *Wittingham*, Mr. *Archibald Douglas* his Brother, *George Douglas*, *Lindsay* of *Prestoun*, *Thomas Scot*, the Laird of *Cambusmhat*, *Douglas* of *Lochleven*, *James Jaffrey* of *Sheerhall*, *Adam Erskine* Commendator of *Cambuskenneth*, the Laird of *Moncrief*, the Fiar of *Kars*, *Patrick Wood* of *Bonnington*, Mr. *James McGill* Clerk Register and their Complices. The Conspirators finding that their Party was too weak for the Queen's, for by this Time the Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwel* and *Athol* had join'd the Queen with a considerable Body of Men, some of them fled to *England*, and others to *Argyle* Shire, the Queen marching with her Forces to *Edinburgh*, a strict Enquiry was made after the Murderers, and our noble Lord says, *That it was so strict and severe, that it would have pitied any godly Heart to have seen it*, as if the punishing of Murderers were against the Law of God.

The King had a Remission given him, and it was declared high Treason for any one to speak of his having had a Hand in it. Mt. James McGill and severals of the Citizens of Edinburgh fled to the Highlands, and the Office of Clerk Register was conferred upon Sir James Balfour. Thomas Scot Sheriff-Depute of Perth, and Servant to the Lord Ruthven, with Sir Henry Harris sometime a Priest, being apprehended, after Tryal were convicted, hang'd and quarter'd. William Harlaw and John Moubray Burgesses of Edinburgh, were convicted and brought to the Place of Execution, but pardoned. Many of the rest for Noncompearance were denounced Traytors and Murderers, but most of them she afterwards pardoned, and restored to their Estates. The Earl of Morton, Ruthven and Lindsay fled to England, where our noble Lord composed his historical Narration of all these Transactions, which he wrote at Berwick, and died towards the latter end of the same Year.

This noble Man was a Person of great Sagacity and Penetration, dating in whatever he projected, a great Hypocrite and Dissembler, who stuck at nothing to serve the Interest^{of} of his Party; and so zealous in the advancing of the Work of the Reformation, that it made him forget his Duty to his God and his Sovereign, and perhaps no Age has produced the instance of one who acknowledged himself to be guilty of a Fact which all mankind must acknowledge to be Murder, and to vindicate the same under the specious Pretence of Godliness, and for the establishing of the Protestant Religion.

His Death
and Charac-
ter.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. **A** Discourse of the late Troubles that happened in Scotland, between the noble and mighty Princess Mary, by the Grace of God Queen of Scotland, and her Husband Henry the King, with others, Earls, Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, Free-holders, Merchants and Crafts-men, MS. penes me, and printed at London.

The LIFE of ADAM ELDER of the Order of the Cistercians.

THIS Monk was born of an honest Parentage, in the Shire or County of Aberdeen, and had his Education at that University, where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in the Belles-Lettres and Philosophy, he applyed himself to Theology, entred into Holy Orders, and became a Monk of the Order of the Cistercians, in the Monastery of Kinloss, in the Shire of

His Birth
and Educa-
tion.

He enters
into the Or-
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A.D. 1566.

or County of *Murray*, at that Time the Reverend Father in God *Robert Reid* Bishop of *Orkney* was Abbot of this Monastery, which for the Magnificence of its Structure, the Splendor and Beauty of its Church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was not inferior to any in *Britain*, if we may believe *Hector Boetius*, whose Words are, *Est (says he) in Kiltlos nunc Cœnobium cum Augustissimo templo diuinae virginis sacro, adibnsque magnifica extructura, piorum cœtu Clerciensis instituti insigne, nulli in Albione, religionis observantia secundum.* Our Author was not long in this Monastery, when the Abbot who was famous both for his Piety and Learning (as we have shown in his Life) made choice of our Author to be their Lecturer in Divinity, and when their worthy Abbot was promoted to the See of *Orkney* in the Year 1540, he made Choice of our Monk to be Tutor and Overseer of his Nephew's Studies, a Youth of promising Parts, who succeeded to him as Abbot: And when the young Abbot went over to the University of *Paris*, to finish his Studies there, our Author went along with him in the Year 1566. And having contracted an intimate Friendship with several learned Men in that University, at their Desire he published a Collection of Homilies in Latin, which he had preached to the Monks in *Kinloss*, and dedicated to his most worthy Patron the Bishop of *Orkney*, the subject Matter of which are as follows.

*And is made
Lectures of
Divinity in
the Monastery
of Kinloss,
and Tutor to
the young
Abbot,*

*with whom
he goes over
to Paris,*

*where he
publisheth a
Volume of
Homilies.*

The two first are upon the *Nativity of our blessed Saviour*. The third is upon the *Star appearing to the three wise Men in the East*. The 4th is upon the *Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary*. The 5th is a *Panegyrick upon S. Benedict*. The 6th is upon the *Annunciation*. The 7th is upon the *Ascension*. The 8th is upon the *Mission of the Holy Ghost*. The 9th is upon the *Festival of the blessed Sacrament*. The 10th is upon *John the Baptist*. The 11th is upon the *Apostles, Peter and Paul*. The 12th is upon the *Assumption of the blessed Virgin*. The 13th is upon *S. Bernard*. The 14th is upon the *Nativity of the blessed Virgin*. The 15th is upon the *Festival of all Saints*. The 16th is upon the *various coming of our blessed Saviour*. The 17th is upon the *Conception of the blessed Virgin*. And the 18th and Last, is upon the *Dedication of a Church*. According to my usual Method, I shall only insist upon the Subject of one of those Sermons, viz. His third Sermon, and endeavour to make it appear, that according to our Author's Assertion, That the wise Men of the East that were conducted by the Appearance of a new Star to adore Jesus Christ, were *Magi* that came from *Arabia*, and were Kings of *Arabia*.

That they came from *Arabia*, and not from *Persia*, as it is vulgarly believed was the Opinion of all the ancient Fathers of the Church; thus *Justin Martyr* (a), who flourished in the Middle of the second Century, says, *That no sooner Christ was born, but the Magi of Arabia came to adore him, and at Bethlem offered him Presents of Gold, Incense and Myrrhe*. And *Tertullian*, who lived in

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(a) In Dialogo cum Tryph. Jud. post medium.

the Beginning of the third; and End of the second Century, says (a), ^{An. 1565} *That they were from Arabia, and offered Presents at Arabia, according to that of the 72 Psalm; Verse 10. and 15. The Kings of Tarshish and of the Isles shall bring Presents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer Gifts: And he shall live; and to him shall be given the Gold of Sheba:* Besides, *Arabia was full of Magi, or wise Men that cultivated their Sciences, in so much that Pliny tells us (b), That Pythagoras and Democritus did not become learned till after they had consulted the Arabian Magi: And Porphyry says (c), That Pythagoras went to Arabia to learn Wisdom from them, and the Magi were so frequent in that Country, that they gave the Name to a Gulf or Lake in that Country; which Ptolomy calls (d) Μαγικὸς χόλαπος, the Gulf of the Magi; and he tells us, that it was situated in the most Eastern Parts of Arabia the Happy: And the same Author tells us, That there was in the Red-Sea an Island of the Magi, Μαγικὸν νησός. And why might there not be many Magi in Arabia, which is so near to Caldea and Persia, as well as in Cappadocia, where Strabo says (e), There were great Numbers of them; Maxima (says he) est ibi magorum multitudo. And always in the Scripture Phrase, the Arabians are called the People of the East, because its to the East of the promised Land. And Job, who was an Arabian (f), is said to be the greatest amongst all the People of the East, *Magnus inter omnes orientales.* And in the Prophet Jeremiah (g), they are called the Children of the East. And Lastly; If these Magi had come from the Persians, as it is commonly believed, then subject to the Empire of the Parthians; Herod, who was their sworn Enemy; would not have failed to imprison them, as Spies from his sworn Enemies; whereas he treated them civilly and humanely, because the Arabians were at Peace with the Jews and the Romans: From all which it plainly appears, that 'tis much more probable, that these wise Men were Arabians rather than Persians. When they say then in St. Matthew, *We have seen his Star in the East,* it is as much as to say, *We have seen his Star in Arabia:* But from what Part of Arabia, is not so well known, yet the Conjecture of the learned Father Pezron, that they came from the Isles about the Persian Gulph, inhabited by the Sabaeans, is highly probable. And this he finds (h) upon that of the 72 Psalm, which he renders thus, *The Kings of Tarshish, and of the Isles shall bring Presents, the Kings of Sava and Saba shall offer Gifts;* after the Manner of the Ancient Versions, and not the Kings of Shaba and Seba as the modern Version is after the Jewish Rabbies, but in whatever Manner it be read, there is a difference betwixt the two Saba's, for in the Hebrew, the first is wrote with a Shin, and the other with a Samech, and so these two Names point out two different People, and what these were, is plain from the 10th Chapter of Genesis, Vers: 7th, where Saba with Samech which is the first*

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(a) *Contra Judaeos Cap. 9. & Lib. contra Marcion Cap. 13.* (b) *Lib. 25. Cap. 2.* (c) *Apud Cyril. Lib. 10. contra Julianum Cap. 1.*
 (d) *Geographi. Lib. 6. Cap. 1. & Lib. 4. Cap. 8.* (e) *Geographi. Cap. 15.* (f) *Job. Cap. 21. Vers 31.* (g) *Jer. Cap. 10. Vers 1.* (h) *Hist. Evangel. Tom. 1.*

An. 1565.

first *Saba*, because the oldest, tho' it be the second in the Psalm, was the Son of *Chus*, and Brother to the famous *Nimrod*, who founded the Kingdom of *Babylon*, but *Saba* by *Shin* which is the second *Saba*, was the Son of *Regma*, and consequently the Nephew of *Nimrod*, by this Genealogy which we find in *Genesis*, we see, that the two *Sabas* are descended of *Cham* the Son of *Noah*, he being the Father of *Chus*, now in the Partition of the Earth, that was made under *Noah* after the Deluge, all *Africk* fell to *Cham* his Son with the Western *Arabia*, that goes from Mount *Sephar* to the Red Sea, this part of *Arabia* was the Portion of *Chus*, the eldest Son of *Cham*, as *Egypt* was that of *Misrahim*, so it is in the Scriptures often named the Land of *Chus*. Therefore, the Posterity of this Man ought to have inhabited that part of *Arabia*, which lies towards *Egypt*; but it happened quite otherwise, for the Tyrant *Nimrod* who was his Son, having unjustly usurped the Country of *Babylon*, which belonged to *Ashur* the Son of *Chus*, that were near to him, removed and planted themselves by him in the Eastern *Arabia*, upon the Coast of the *Persian* Sea, and this early Transmigration seems to be the Reason why the Western *Arabia* lost the Name of *Chus*, according to the Genealogies that *Moses* has left us, *Genesis* Chap 10th Vers. 7. 8. The Sons of *Chus* were *Saba*, the first of the two *Fevila*, *Salatha*, *Regma* and *Sabothaca*, with *Nimrod* King of *Babylon*, of all these Children of *Chus*, none of their Posterity are recorded in Scripture but those of *Regma*'s, who had *Saba* the second of that Name, and *Dadan* and these are the Posterity of *Chus*; that inhabited the most Eastern part of *Arabia* the *Happy*, amongst the Gulf of *Perſia*, from *Balſera*, or the degorging of the *Euphrates* to the Point of the Straights of *Ormus*, and in this all the learned Geographers of this Age are agreed. And it's plain and evident to any that will compare the Tables of *Ptolemy* with Mr. *Bochart*'s *Phaleg*, the first *Saba* the Son of *Chus* with his Brethren *Havila* and *Sabatha*, inhabited all the Oriental part of *Arabia* from the City *Balſera*, to the Point of *Calif*. And it was him who gave the Name to the first *Sabæans*, who are at present famous under the Name of *Jemamites*, because they inhabit the Country of *Jemama*, but this Name is but a modern one amongst the *Arabians*. These first *Sabæans* the Descendants of *Chus*, were for the most part driven from their ancient Possessions by the *Grecians*, a People that came from *Chaldea* near to *Babylon*, as we learn from *Strabo* (a), who says, that those of *Gerra* that inhabit the *Persian* Gulf, were *Chaldeans* come from the Country of *Babylon*, *In profundo* (says he) *sinu jacet urbs Gerra* πολις γεππα habitata a Chaldaeis Babylone exilibus. *Ptolomy* puts this City of *Gerra* or *Gera* towards the same Place where is now the City of *Calif*, not far from the Isle of *Baharam*, these *Sabæans* mixt with the *Gerreans*, *Agatharchides* says, (b) were the richest People of *Arabia*, *nullum hominum genus Sabæis & Gerræis opulentius esse videtur*, for he tells us that

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(a) *Geogr. Lib. 16.* (b) *Apud Phot. C. 90.*

it was they that had the greatest Commerce with the Syrians and ~~Phoenicians~~^{Anno 1566.} and this sufficient concerning the first *Saba*, the Son of ~~Sabas~~^{Sabas} *Chus*, and Brother of *Nimrod*.

The second *Saba* the Brother of *Dadan*, and the Son of *Regma*, was the Father of the *Sabaans* of *Arabia*, the *Happy* that extends from the City of *Calif*, to the Point of the *Straights of Ormus*, for *Pomponius Mela* (a) speaking of *Arabia the Happy*, places them there with the *Maces*, *Majorem* (says he) *Sabæi tenent partem ostio proximam & Caramanis contrariam Macæ*: And this is evident from *Ptolomy*, who has so exactly described *Arabia* (b), and Places upon that Side the City of *Regma*, which had its Name from the Father of *Sava*; and *Stephanus* (c) Places there the City and Gulph of *Regma*, *Righma* (says he) *Sinus circa mare Persicum*; and all our modern Cartes of our Travellers place likewise there the City of *Dadan*, which has its Name from the Brother of *Saba*. But lastly, what is most considerable, it is the same Country of *Arabia the Happy*, that the Prophet *Ezekiel* speaks of (d), when he is describing the Commerce of *Tyre*, where he says, that *Saba* and *Regma* brought Gold and precious Stones and Spices, which without doubt were Incense and Myrrhe: From all which we may rationally conclude, *First*, That the *Magi* that came to adore our Saviour at his Birth, were not only *Arabians*, but those *Arabians* who inhabited the Isles and Coasts of the *Persian Gulf*, where the two *Sabas* were mentioned in 72 Psalm according to its spiritual and prophetical Sense. And *2dly*, That according to the ancient Tradition of the Church, they were Kings; for as *Tertullian* very well observes, (e) the Eastern Countries, that is to say, *Arabia*, had always such for their Kings; *Nam* (says he) *& Magos Reges fere habuit oriens*. And *Strabo*, who was well acquainted with the Customs of these Nations, assures us (f) that the *Ancients* failed not to honour the *Chaldeans* and *Magi*, and to bestow Kingdoms and Governments upon them; *apud majores nostros* (says he) *Chaldæis & Magis sapientia alios superantibus honores & imperia delata sunt*. And as we learn from *Pliny*, the Kings (g) of these Patts about the *Persian Gulf*, gave for the Preservation of their Liberty to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who was going to subject them 500 Talents of Silver, a Thousand Talents of Incense, and Two hundred of *Stacte*, which is a Species of most precious and odotiferous Myrrhe; and that their Riches consisted in Gold, Incense and Myrrhe, we are informed by *Polybius* (h) and these they offered to signify our Saviour's regal and sacerdotal Dignities and Death, according to *Caius Curio*, cited by our Author in these Verses;

*Ergo solliciti puerum jam querere pergunt,
Trinaque pro trino numine dona ferunt.
Hic myrrham properat, fert alter thura Sabæa,
Alter Phisontis munera fulva gerit.*

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(a) Lib. 13. Cap. 8. (b) Geogr. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. (c) In voce *psyrus*. (d) Chap. 37. Ver. 12. (e) Lib. contra Judæos Cap. 9. (f) Strab. Geogr. Lib. 2. (g) Lib. 6. Cap. 18. (h) Solidos ex Polybio.

Ann. 1566.

*Aurum rex poscit, sed gaudet thure Sacerdos,
In myrrha Christus membra sepulta locat.*

Our Author died at *Paris* towards the latter End of the Year 1567: much regreded by the learned Men of his own Order, who had a particular Esteem for him, being a Person well seen in the *Hebrew, Greek and Latin Languages*, in the *Belles-Lettres, Philosophy and Theology*, his Homilies are wrote in a *Florid and Ciceronian Stile*, and highly esteemed by the best Judges of that Age, amongst whom *Henry Blackwood Doctor of Medicine, and Dean to the Faculty of Physicians in the University of Paris*, has these Verses in Commendation of his Works,

*In Adami senioris Θεοσοφιαν
Henrici Blackwodæ ad Lectorem*

Δεκατριχον.

*Si vis mellifluos sophia libare sapore,
Et cupis ætherei regna beata poli,
Si laudare velis cœlestia numina Divum,
Et Xenophontæo vis simul ore loqui.
Quisquis non vanis vitam traducere rebus
Optas : sed sacris instituisse modis :
Huc ades ; hic non sunt puerorum Næniae, at omni
Tersa labore senis verba videre potes.
Hæc & Aristotelis superant & scripta Platonis,
Hunc ergo debes consuluisse librum.*

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. **A**DAMI Senioris, Scoti Monachi Cisterciensis ordinis, Monasterii Kinlossensis, ad Reverendum in Christo patrem ac Dominum, Dominum Robertum Reid Orchadum Praefulem, strenæ, sive Conciones Capitulares, viz.

- I. *De Nativitate Dominica.*
- II. *Item de Nativitate Dominica.*
- III. *De Apparitione Domini.*
- IV. *De Purificatione Beatae Mariae.*
- V. *De Sancto Benedicto primo Abbe Cassinensi.*
- VI. *De Annunciatione Dominica.*
- VII. *De Resurrectione Dominica.*
- VIII. *De Ascensione Domini.*
- IX. *De Missione spiritus sancti.*
- X. *De Festivitate corporis Christi.*
- XI. *De Sancto Joanne Baptista.*
- XII. *De Sanctis Petro & Paulo Apostolis.*

XIII. *De*

XIII. *De Assumptione Beatissima virginis Mariæ.*

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XIV. *De Sancto Bernardo Claræ vallis Abbe.*

XV. *De Nativitate Beatae Mariæ.*

XVI. *De Festivitate omnium sanctorum.*

XVII. *De Vario Christi Domini Adventu.*

XVIII. *De Conceptione beatae Mariæ.*

XIX. *De Dedicatione Ecclesie.*

Parisiis ex Typographia Matthæi Davidis via Amygdalina ad Veteritatis insigne, 1558. in 4to.

T H E

LIFE of JAMES BASSANTIN, Professor of Mathematicks at Paris:

THIS Gentleman was a Son of the Lord of Bassantin's in the Mers, he was born in the Reign of King James the IV. (a) and had his Education at the University of Glasgow, where after he had finished his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he apply'd himself to the Mathematicks, in which he made a wonderful Progress, and being desirous to improve himself further, he went Abroad, and travelled for several Years through the Low Countries, Switzerland, France, Italy and Germany, but the Country he most resided in was France, where he taught the Mathematicks with great Applause for several Years at Paris. At Length, having a Desire to die in his own native Country, he returned to Scotland in the Year 1562. As he was entering Scotland, he met with Sir Robert Melvil upon the Borders, and falling into Converse with him, he gave a very strange and surprizing Instance of his Knowledge in Judicial Astrology, which we find in Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, and which I shall here narrate in his own Words, *This puts me in Mind* (says he) (b) *of a Tale that my Brother Sir Robert told me, the Time that he was busiest dealing betwixt the two Queens, (Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth) to entertain their Friendship, and draw on their Meeting at a Place near York, one Bassantin a Scots Man, who had been a Traveller, and was learned in high Sciences, came to him and said, good Gentleman, I hear so good a Report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore cannot forbear to shew you, that your upright Dealing and honest Travel will be in vain : For whereas you believe to obtain Advantage for your Queen at the Queen of England's Hands, you do but lose your Time and your Travel. For, First, They will never meet together: And next,*

His Parentage and Education.

He teaches the Mathematicks for several Years at Paris.

An Instance of his great Knowledge in Judicial Astrology.

(a) Vid. Dempster Lib. 8. P. 198. *Vellus de Scientiæ Mathæ P. 387.* Dempster Annæ. (b) Melvil's Memoirs Pag. 98.

An. 1568.

next, They will never do any Thing else, but dissembling and secret Hatred for a While, and at length Captivity and utter Wrack to our Queen from England. My Brother answered, That he liked not to hear of such Devilish News, nor yet would he in any sort credit them, as being false, ungodly and unlawful for Christians to meddle with. Bassantin answered him, Good Mr. Melvil, entertain not that harsh Opinion of me, I am a Christian of your own Religion, and fears God, and purposeth never to my self any of the unlawful Arts you mean, but so far as Melanthon who was a godly Theologue, hath declared lawful and daily read in diverse Christian Universities, in which as in all other Arts, God gives to some less, and to others clearer Knowledge, by the which Knowledge, I have attain'd to understand, that at length the Kingdom of England shall of Right fall to the Crown of Scotland, and that at this Instant there are some born who shall brook Lands and Heritages in England : But alace ! It will cost many their Lives, and many bloody Battles will be fought e're Things be settled or take Effect. And by my Knowledge (adds he) the Spaniards will be Helpers, and will take a part to themselves for their Labour, which they will be loath to leave again. All which came to pass, save the last Article, and yet even in that there was so much Truth, that in the Year 1588, the Spaniards invaded England with a Design to conquer it, but God frustrated their Hopes by a Tempest.

An Account of his Works. This Gentleman has obliged the Republick of Learning, with a Book upon the *Astrolabe* and its Usefulness, a large Folio upon Astronomy, besides which, Dempster says, that he wrote a Book of Horoscopes, a Book upon the Musick of the *Platonists*, and a Book upon the Mathematicks in General, but we shall only take notice of the Rise and Progress of Astronomy, in which our Author excelled all the Mathematicians of his Age.

The Rise and Progress of Astro-
nomy. It is noways to be doubted, but that there was some Kind of Observations upon the Celestial Bodies, as soon as there were Men, considering that glorious Spectacle which the Heavens constantly present us with, for Men could not have Eyes, and not fix them upon these glorious Bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, they could not look to the Sun, without observing the daily Change of his Places in his rising and setting at certain Times of the Year, and that in his diurnal Arch he sometimes approached nearer the Earth than at other Times, upon which the different Seasons of the Year did follow, neither could they look upon the Moon, without observing her several Shapes and Dresses of Light, from which, and her periodical Circuits, the Nations measured their Times and Seasons, because those Periods succeeded much more frequently than the Erections and Depressions of the Sun. And *Lastly*, They could not behold that beautiful Shew of the Stars in the Night, without observing likewise their Variations according to the Variety of the Seasons, or although it was long before Mankind came to enquire into the Causes of these Celestial Changes and Variations restrained

to set Periods, yet as we have said, they observed them from the very first Age, and not only admired; but also accommodated what they observed to the Uses of their Lives and their Successors. Now to pass by the fabulous Accounts of *Josephus*, we find by the sacred Writ, that in the Days of Moses or before that Time, the Stars had been ranged and disposed into certain *Asterisms*, according to some certain Method or Artificial Theory then in use, for we find by the Book of *Job*, whom some suppose to have lived before *Moses*, and others to have been wrote by *Moses*, the Constellations of *Arcturus*, *Orion* and the *Hyades* (*a*) and the Book of *Wisdom* (*b*) says, *That God gave to Solomon among other Things, to understand the Course of the Year, and the Dispositions of the Stars*, and that it was a certain professed Art of great Antiquity among the *Chaldeans*, we learn from *Isaiah*, who tells us, (*c*) *That at Babylon they did contemplate the Stars, and compute the Months*, that from them they might foretell Things to come. To pass over the obscure or fabulous Remains of Time, wherein *Cælus*, *Atlas*, *Hesperus*, the *Atlantides* and *Pleiades*, *Mercury*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Phæton*, *Hyperion*, *Japetus*, *Prometheus*, *Dedalus*, *Icarus*, *Atreus* and *Theyestes*, *Hercules* and *Iphitus*, *Orpheus*, *Palamedes* and others were Astronomers. And the learned *Gassendus* (*d*) has interpreted all the Fables concerning them, to be nothing but the Knowledge they had in Astronomy. To pass over (*I say*) these fabulous Times, to come to the historical where we have Certainty, we find the Controversy concerning the first Rise of Astronomical Observations, lyes betwixt the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians* and *Grecians*, but the *Grecians* have little to plead for themselves, for *Plato* gives over the Pretence, (*e*) for saith he, *The first that made sidereal Inspections, was a Barbarian, a more ancient Nation than ours, bred those Men who first devoted their Minds to that Study, in respect of the Summer-like Serenity and Perspicuity of the Air, such as Egypt enjoys, and Syria, where all the Stars are clearly visible, and no Cloud or Mist to obscure the beautiful Face of the Heavens*. And it's certain, that if we except the Institution of the Olympick Games by *Hercules*, and the Restoration of them, after some Intermission by *Jephytus*, which happened about 800 Years before Christ, and some Places in the Writings of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, who lived near that Time or not long before; the *Grecians* can lay Claim to no Monuments of their Observations of the Heavens older than *Thales*, who flourish'd about 600 Years before Christ: So the whole Controversy lyes betwixt the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*. *Josephus* (*f*) gives the Honour to the *Chaldeans*, and *Plato* (*g*) *Diodorus*, *Lucian*, *Achilles Tatius* and others, bring such Authorities for each Party, that it's not possible to determine in it, *Diodorus* tells us, *That the Chaldeans apply'd themselves to these Studies for Four hundred and three Thousand Years*, and *Cicero* says, (*h*) *That the Egyptians had Observations of four hundred*

(*a*) Chap. 9. (*b*) Chap. 7. (*c*) Chap. 47. (*d*) *De orig. & Progress. Astron.* (*e*) *In Epis. oem.* (*f*) *Lib. Antiq. Lib. 8.* (*g*) *In Epis. oem.* (*h*) *Lib. Antiq. Lib. 8.*

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hundred thousand and seventy Years standing, and *Laertius* (a) says, They had them for four hundred and nine thousand Years; in which from the Time of *Vulcan* the Son of *Ninus*, to that of *Alexander* of *Macedon*, there happened of Eclipses of the Sun three hundred seventy three, and of the Moon eight hundred thirty two: But if we examine narrowly all this boasted of Antiquity, we shall find it come far short of their Reckonings. For *Pliny* writes (b), That *Epigenes* found no Observations amongst the *Babylonians* of above seven hundred and twenty Years Antiquity, and those engraven on artificial Tyles or Slates; and the most ancient Eclipses deduced from them, were transmitted to *Ptolomy* about the same Number of Years before Christ by the great *Hyparchus* and to the same Time belongs what *Berosus* and *Critodemus* say, That in their Days there were extant no Observations of more than four hundred and thirty Years, as *Pliny* tells us; and *Calisthenes*, who went to the *Chaldeans* exprefly, to know what Observations they had, by the Perswasion of *Aristotle*, as *Simplicius* informs us (c), says, That they had none beyond a thousand nine hundred and three Years past, commencing from *Ninus* the Son of *Belus*, and first King of the Assyrians. From all which it is plain, that the Antiquity of their Observations are not above one thousand and ninety Years before *Alexander* the Great.

But after all this Pother for the Antiquity of these Observations, those of the *Egyptians* amounted to nothing at all, and those of the *Chaldeans* to very little, for the *Egyptians* are said to have observed the Rising of the Dog Star and some other not very difficult Appearances obvious to the Eye of any Person: But there are no Remains delivered to Posterity of their Observations, with the exact Designations of the Time, as they ought to have done, and from the *Chaldeans* we have as little; besides, these Eclipses mentioned in *Ptolomy*, but when we speak of the *Egyptians*, as the learned *Gassendus* has observed (d). We must except *Ptolomy* himself, and some others who lived and studied at *Alexandria*, about Thrice Hundred Years before the Nativity of our Saviour, and after *Alexander*, as *Timocharis*, *Eratosthenes* and *Hipparchus*, for all these were *Grecians* or to be accounted amongst the *Grecians*, in respect of the Language they used and wrote in, rather than amongst the ancient *Egyptians*, by whose Inventions even *Ptolomy* their own Country Man was but little assisted: But to be a little more particular as to their Discoveries, they having observed that some Stars moved in Courses contrary to the *West*, they begun to think that these Appearances happened not without natural Causes, and having as *Diodorus* informs us, mostly observed the five wandring Stars, and that they kept almost the same Course as the Sun and Moon, they thereupon pointed out the *Zodiack*, which they diuided into twelve Parts, which they called Signs, because the Moon runs it over twelve Times, and the Sun only once in a Year, and according

(a) In *Epinom.* (b) *De Divin.* (c) *Lib. 9. Cap. 56.* (d) *Ptol. Almagest. Lib. 4. C. 6.*

according to the Number of the Days, during which the Sun was in passing through one Sign ; they distinguished each Sign into thirty Parts, which we call Degrees. Now the Way they took of distinguishing the *Zodiack*, is thus recorded by *Sixtus Empiricus* and *Macrobius* (a). They took a Vessel with a small Hole in the Bottom, and filling it with Water, suffered it to distil Drop by Drop into another Vessel placed beneath it, to receive it ; and this from the Moment of the rising of one Star or other, observed in one Night, until the Moment of its rising again the next Night following, the Water fallen down in the Receiver, they divided into twelve equal Parts ; and having two other smaller Vessels in readiness, each of them fit to contain one twelfth Part of the Water, they again poured all the Water into the upper Vessel, and strictly marking the rising of some one Star in the *Zodiack*, they at the same Time let the Water distil into one of the smaller Vessels, and so soon as that was filled, observing likewise another rising Star, they put under another small Vessel, and so alternately shifting the small Vessels, they noted, if not in one Night, yet in many, the twelve Stars, by which they might discriminate the whole *Zodiack* into twelve equal Parts. *Sixtus Empiricus* likewise tells us, That the *Chaldeans* taking it for granted that the future Fortunes of Men did depend on their particular Sign rising at their Birth, which we call *HoroScope*, when they had a mind to divine in this kind, two of these wise Men agreed together in the Calculation of the Nativity of the Person proposed, the one stood by the Mother in Travel, and the other on some high Place near at Hand ; and as he that was below gave the Sign of the Infant's being born, the other took care to observe the Sign that was just then newly risen. *Macrobius* (b) tells us, That when the *Egyptians* would know the Diameter of the Sun, they had in readiness a Vessel of Stone, hollowed to the Form of an *Hemisphere*, exactly made with a Stile or *Gnomon* erected in the middle of twelve Horary Lines drawn within ; and on the very Day of the Equinox, observing the Moment when the upper *Limbus* of the Sun first showed it self above the *Horizon*, they marked that Place on the Brim of the Vessel on which the *Gnomon* cast its Shadow, then again marking that Place on which the Shadow ended, when the lower *Limbus* of the Sun's Body appeared, just above the Edge of the *Horizon* they measured the Space or Distance betwixt the two Marks of the Shadows, and found it to be the 9th Part of an Hour, or the hundred and eighth Part of the *Hemisphere* ; and consequently the two hundred and sixteenth Part of its whole Orb, or one Degree and an hundred Minutes. They had likewise another Way to commensurate the Diameter of the Sun by a Vessel of Water flowing down the whole Day, which had dropt till the Sun was fully risen. And *Cleomedes* hath declared, that this Way of measuring by Water falling slowly and equally from Vessel to Vessel, was owing entirely to the *Egyptians* : And as for their Eclipses, all

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(a) *Lampe. Abrol. s. Macrobi. in Somn. s1.* (b) *Ibid. Cap. 29.*

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that we have of them is only seven of the Moon, preserved in *Ptolomy's Syntaxis*; but these are but very coarsely set down, and the oldest not much above 700 Years before Christ: I say, that the Eclipses of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans* were but coarsely set down; for they were not taken from the Motions of the Sun and Moon, exactly calculated by the Help of Tables, but having learned from common Experience, that every nineteenth Year Eclipses did return upon the same Day, for the most Part, thereupon they endeavoured to predict what Eclipses wold happen, and the Time when; and this was after they had perceived not any Anomaly in the Sun, but some certain Inequality in the Moon; which reducing to a Medium, they concluded that the Moon did every Day run through thirteen Degrees, and a little more than one sixth Part of a Degree, as *Giminus* observes of the *Chaldeans*; but in the Predictions of the *Lunar* Eclipses, they were somewhat more confident, as well because these Eclipses usually return for the three Ages next succeeding within the Compass of the same Days, as because it is very rare in respect of the Greatness of the Earth's Shadow, but the Moon, either in the Whole, or some Part of her, more or less falls into it: But because (as to Solar Eclipses) the Moon is both so small, and hath so large a Parallax, as that she doth not for the most part intercept the Light of the Sun from the Earth: Therefore, says *Diodorus*, speaking of the *Babylonians*, *That they durst not determine Eclipses of the Sun to come to any certain Time, but if they predicted any, it was always with this Condition, to save their Credit in case of failing, if the Gods be not prevailed upon by Sacrifices and Prayers to avert them*: It cannot be denied but the *Egyptians* were apprised of the Sun's being the Center of our System, for such was the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, *Philolaus* and some others, who travelled into these Parts, and *Macrobius* tells us, that they affirmed that *Venus* and *Mercury* moved round about the Sun as their Center; but that which they cultivated most, was Judicial Astrology, for so much did they ascribe to the Zodiack, that the *Babylonians* thought that each Decimal of Degrees, or Thirds of the Signs, and the *Egyptians* came as low as to each single Degree, could not be varied in the Rising, but some eminent Variation must happen, especially in him who was to be born at that Time, and therefore the *Egyptians* made a great Circle of Gold, described by *Diodorus* of a Cubit in Thickness, and Three hundred and sixty five Cubits in Circumference, and upon the Space of each Cubit, was inscribed each Day of the Year, and what Stars did rise and set that Day, nay the very Hour of their respective rising and setting, and what they did signify, and whereas, others were used to assign the Form of some Animal or other, to each ten Degrees. They assigned one to each single Degree, and so made their conjectural Predictions accordingly; thus to the first Degree of *Aries*, they assigned the Figure of a Man holding a Sickle or Hook in his right Hand, and a Sling in his left. To the second a Man with a Dog's Head, his

right

right stretched forth, and a Staff in his left, and so of the rest, then annexing the Station to each; they determined that he who should have the first Degree of *Aries* for his *Horoscope*, should be some part of his Life a Husband-man, and the rest of it a Soldier; that he who should be born under the second, should be contentious, quarrelsome and envious, and so of the rest, all which the Reader will find in *Scaliger*, deduced from *Aben Ezra*, from all which it evidently appears, that Astronomy was but in its Infancy amongst them, till it was further improven by the *Grecians*, to whom we owe all the old Observations of the Planets, Equinoxes and To-picks.

The first amongst the *Greeks* that wrote any Thing concerning the Stars, was *Hesiod*, who in his Book of Weeks and Days, teacheth Husband-men the most opportune Times of Reaping and Sowing, and other Labours of *Agriculture*, from the rising and setting of the *Pleiades* and several other Stars, but all that can be learned from him and *Homer* is, *First*, That the ancient *Greeks* principally attended to these Risings and Settings of the Stars, that they might distinguish the several Seasons of the Year; that they might foreknow Rain, Wind and other Dispositions of the Air, usually attending these Seasons, so that many of them composed *Parapegmata*, Tables, *Ephemerides* or *Diaries*, in which they inscribed each Day of the Year, with the particular Stars rising and setting on each Day, and what Mutations of the Air each one did portend. *2dly*, Not only amongst the *Grecians*, but amongst diverse other Nations, beyond all Memorials, either of Tradition or Books, the Stars were reduced to certain Images or Constellations, and denominated according to the various Fancies of Men in these different Nations: But at first the *Grecians* had only eleven Signs in their *Zodiack*, and it was long after before they added the twelfth.

The next to *Hesiod* amongst the *Greeks*, who improved Astronomy, was *Thales Milesius*, so called, because he was born at *Miletum*, *Eudemus* in *Laertius* says. (*a*) That he was the first that predicted the Eclipses and Conversions of the Sun, and amongst others, *Pliny* tells us, that he predicted that notable Eclipse of the Sun, which happened (*b*) in the Time of the War betwixt the *Medes* and *Lydians* about 600 Years before Christ, but as the learned *Gassendus* observes, (*c*) this was not done by Calculation, but that having newly come out of *Egypt*, he had learned there, that Eclipses generally return upon the same Day after the space of nineteen Years, and having taken notice of one that fell out nineteen Years before, he concluded there would be one at such a Time; he likewise added the Constellation of the *Lesser Wain*, which was found out by him. And *Apuleius* says, (*d*), That he was the first that found out the Motions and oblique Tracts of the syderal Lights, *Anaximander Thales* his Disciple is said to be the first who discovered the Obliquity of the *Zodiack*, (*e*) but how could *Thales* his

 Ar. 1568. Master be ignorant of the Obliquity of the *Zodiack*, who had been so long in *Egypt*, and had written of the Solstices and Equinoxes? It is with much more Reason, that *Pliny* (a) and *Laertius* say (b), That he was the first that made a Sphere, asserted the globular Form of the Earth, that it was the Center of this System, and invented a *Gnomon*, by which the Conversions of the Sun, or the Solstices and Equinoxes were indicated, which he set up at *Lacedemon*, but this last, which *Laertius* imputes to *Anaximander*, *Pliny* (c) attributes to his Disciple *Anaximenes*, who was the first that taught (d) that the Moon borrowed her Light from the Sun, and was eclipsed by the Interposition of the Earth betwixt her and the Sun: About this Time likewise flourished *Pythagoras*, who was the first that discovered that the Morning and Evening Star was the same Star, and he was the first that taught that the Sun was the Center of this Universe, and that this Earth, as well as all the rest of the Planets moved round about the Sun, as we learn from two of his Disciples, *Philolaus* and *Aristarchus*, cited by *Aristotle* and *Archimedes*. And *Timaus* (e), another of his Disciples held, That the Earth was not so much moved about the Sun, as daily turned round upon an Axis of its own; therefore he is esteemed by *Synesius*, after *Plato* as the most excellent Astronomer. What *Cleofratus*, *Meton*, *Callipos* and *Hipparchus* did in their Emendations of Time, we shall afterwards have an Occasion to give an Account of in the History of the *Roman Kalendar*. And the next great Improver of Astronomy is *Eudoxus*, who was cotemporary with *Plato* and *Aristotle*: This Author having travelled into *Egypt*, and having learn'd all that was amongst them; and finding that not only the Sun and Moon, but also the five errant Stars did keep their Courses round in the *Zodiack*; and so that as well the Sun and Moon as the five wandring Stars did sometimes vary their Latitude, or deviate from the Ecliptick Line in the middle of the *Zodiack*, for he thought the Sun was also extravagant as well as the rest; and again, that the other Planets did not only go forward, but were also sometimes upon their Retreat backward, and sometimes made a Halt, or stood still pondering in his Mind all those various Motions, and thinking what might be the Reasons thereof in Nature; he at last imagined to himself, that besides the *Aplanes* or Spheres of fixt Stars, which being supreme, carried all the rest toward the West: There ought also to be allowed three other Spheres as well to the Sun as to the Moon, and four to each one of the errant or wandring Stars, of which the highest should follow the Impression of the fixed Stars, or the *primum Mobile*: The next to that should move counter to the first, or toward the East, and the third make the Deviation from the Ecliptick, or Middle of the *Zodiack*, and the fourth or lowest, cause in the Stars their Direction, Station or Retrogradation, and that by a certain Vibration, or wavering to and fro again; so that he

(a) *Plin. Lib. 8. Cap. 6.* (b) In vit. *Anax.* (c) *Ubi sup.* (d) *Laert.* in vit. *Anaxim.* (e) *Aristot. de Cœlo 2. C. 13. Arch. in Arebar.*

he supposed in all twenty seven Spheres, and all those Concentrical, ^{An. 1568.} that the Superior might carry on the Inferior, and these might be turned round within those. Afterwards *Callipus* joined two Spheres to the Sun, two to the Moon, and one a piece to *Mars*, *Venus* and *Mercury*, and so made thirty three; and *Aristotle* to all Spheres that did not follow the *Aplanes* or *Primum Mobile*, excepting only the Lunar Spheres, added as many more, which he called the *Revolventones*, to the End he might conform them to the Motion of the inerrant Sphere or *Primum Mobile*, and so in the whole he constituted fifty six Spheres. Now all these with whom *Plato* agreed, thought that the Moon was the lowest of all the Planets; next to her the Sun, and above the Sun the five wandring Stars: Neither did *Archimedes*, who lived above an Age or two after them, place them in any other Order than in this: Next to *Eudoxus*, *Timocharis* is to be remembred, who about three hundred Years before Christ, among other Things relating to the fixt Stars, observed, That that Star which is called *Spica Virginis*, doth antecede the Point of the Autumnal Equinox by eight Degrees; with him we are likewise to join his Cotemporary *Aristillus*, whose Observations *Ptolemy* made great Use of (a), in order to his demonstrating that the fixed Stars never change their Latitude: *Aratus* not long after emitted a Poem, called *Phenomena*, or *Appearances*, the Occasion of which arose from this, *Eudoxus*, partly out of the *Egyptian* Figures, and partly out of the *Grecian*, furnished the whole *Zodiack* with Images resembling the Asterisms as Men had fancied to themselves, and caused them to be drawn upon a Glob or solid Sphere, being the first of that kind that ever was done: And *Aratus* thinking this to be a proper Subject for a Poem, made the Attempt under the Patronage of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*; and although some of the *Italian* and *French* Criticks have despised his Performance, because of the Barrenness of the Subject, yet it has met with such Reception amongst the Ancients, that there are extant no less than fourty Greek Commentaries upon it, besides these of *Germanicus Cesar*, *Cicero*, *Avienus*, and other Latin Interpreters: It is true, that *Cicero* (b) accuses him of being a very bad Astrologer, but acknowledges that he was a very good Poet. 'Twas a confessed Point (says he) amongst the Learned, that *Aratus*, a Man utterly ignorant of Astrology had written most elegant Verses about the Heavens and the Stars, and that *Nicander* of *Colophon* was beholden for his *Georgicks* to his Acquaintance with the Muses, not to his Knowledge of the Country: And from this Passage of *Cicero's*, a blundering Story has been formed by some of our modern Criticks, who tell us, That King *Antigonus* merely for the Jests saks commanded *Aratus*, who was his Physician, to write of the heavenly Bodies, and *Nicander* his Poet, of the Art of Medicin; whereas *Aratus* and *Nicander* were so far from being Cotemporaries, that there were near twenty *Olympiads* betwixt them (c), the former living in the Time of the first *Ptolomy* King

An. 1505. King of Egypt, and the other under the fifth Prince of that Name: And all that I shall further say of this celebrated Physician and Poet, is what is observed of him by a polite Writer of this Age (*a*), *That the Introduction to this Work is writ with such a Strain of Sense, of Wit and of Religion, that if it does not charm Men to look quite through the Poem, yet will engage them to allow that first Essay, the Praise of an entire Labour.* And because it is indeed a Master-piece, I shall put it here down, for the Reader's Satisfaction, thus translated from the original Greek, as inserted by *Basil Kennet.*

By Mr. *KENNEDY* (*b*), in his Life of *Aratus.*

*Of mortal Strains, Jove claims the op'ning Lays
Ne'er to be miss'd, or left, without our Praise ;
Jove diffus'd with eternal Influence,
Fills more than's subject to our narrow Sense.
His Hand the spacious Earth compacted holds,
Mark'd into various Tracts, and various Moulds.
Nor with less Force he binds the Multitude,
In Towns and Tribes, to what is for their Good,
Blown by his Breath, the Sea beats on the Shore,
But can with all its Rage proceed no more
Than what he's marked on the sandy Plain,
And sinks with Murmurings in the Depth again.
Jove with a common Maintenance supplies
The Products of the Earth, the Sea and Skies :
All live upon their bounteous Father's Store,
Who gives them what's sufficient, and no more.
For not indulgent of a lazy Race,
He assigns to each his proper Task and Place.
By Hunger prompt, he shows us when the Soil
Is fitted for our Labour, and our Toil.
The various Seasons, and the proper Seat
For Seeds and Grains, and when to sow and reap.
Him therefore first and last, we'll praise and serve
With earnest Offerings, as he does deserve.
Hail Father ! Hail, eternal Miracle,
Eternal Help, eternal Goodness, Hail :
And the first born of Jove, I implore your Aids,
If not unworthy of your Care, the Maids
Assist and raise my Numbers to my Theme
Worthy of you, and of his greater Name.*

Much about the same Time *Conon* lived, who added the Constellation of Queen Berenice's Hair, on which *Callimachus* makes the following Epigram, of which we only have the Latin Translation by *Catullus*, wherein the Star is supposed to speak and complement

(*a*) *Kennet, ubi supra.* (*b*) In the Lives of the Grecian Poets.

ment its Mistress, by saying that it was a greater Honour to belong ^{An. 1568.} to the Queen's Head, than to have a Place amongst the Constellations.

*Sed quanquam me nocte premunt vestigia Divum,
Luce autem cana Tethyi restituor,
Non his tam lator rebus, quam me abfore semper,
Abfore me a domina vertice discrucior.
Sidera cur retinent? utinam coma regia fiam,
Proximus Arcturus fulgeat Erigone.*

*But tho' all Night, honour'd with Feet divine,
And lodg'd with Tethys when I cease to shine,
Th' unequal Glory banish'd I contemn,
Banish'd for ever from my princely Dame.
Ye God's restore me to that sacred Head,
And let Arcture, unparted court his Maid.*

Not long after these, lived *Aristarchus* and *Archimedes*, Men well known to the Republick of Letters, for their prodigious Knowledge; but more famous for their Discoveries in Geometry, than Astronomy. Yet we have a Book of the former, concerning the Magnitudes and Distances of the Sun and Moon; and the latter made a Sphere representing the various Motions of the Planets, according to the System of *Eudoxus*, of which *Cicero* says (*a*), *That he collected together the Motions of the Sun, Moon, and five wandering Stars, in the doing of which, he did the same as that God, who in Plato's Timæus framed the World, that one and the same Conversion might regulate sundry Motions, most different each from other in Slowness and Swiftneſſe*. Next to them was *Eratosthenes*, Library keeper to *Ptolomy*, *Euergetes*, King of Egypt, who observed the Distances of the Tropicks, and persuaded the King to set up the *Armilla* in the *Porticus* of *Alexandria* (*b*) for observing the Cœleſtial Motions, which *Hipparchus* and *Ptolomy* afterwards made use of, and lie himself amongst other Things, observed that the Obliquity of the Zodiack was of Twenty three Degrees and Fifty one Minutes, which Account *Hipparchus* and *Ptolomy* constantly adhered to. His Method of measuring the Circuit of the Earth, we have given an Account of, in the second Volume of this Work. (*c*) And now we proceed to the great *Hipparchus*, who flourished about One hundred and fourty Years before Christ, this great Man was the first who brought Astronomy to any Perfection, he finding that *Timocharis* Observation was not very exact, yet because himself had found that the *Spica Virginis* did not antecede the Equinoxiāl Point by more than six Degrees, and the other Stars in the like Proportion, from thence he understood that the fix'd Stars also were moved East-ward according to the Zodiack, and thereupon wrote a Book of the Transgression of the Solstices and Equinoxes,

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and

(*a*) *De divinit.* (*b*) *Ptolom. Lib. 1. Cap. 11.* (*c*) *Pag. 608.*

An. 1568. and a new Star having appeared in his Time, therefore says *Pliny* (a), *He began to doubt whether the like happened often or not, and, whether those Stars that were thought to be fixed, had also some certain Motion peculiar to themselves, wherefore he attempted a Task of Difficulty, sufficient even for the Gods themselves, namely to number the Stars for Posterity, and reduce the heavenly Lights to a Rule, so that by the help of Instruments invented, the particular Place of each one, together with its Magnitude, might be exactly defined, and whereby Men might discern not only whether they disappeared or newly appeared, but also whether they removed their Stations : As likewise, whether their Magnitude increased or diminished, leaving Heaven for an Inheritance to the Wits of succeeding Ages, if any were found Acute and Industrious enough to comprehend the mysterious Orders thereof.* And this was the first Time, when the Places of the fixed Stars were observed and marked out according to Longitude and Latitude, and that Catalogue of the fixed Stars which he composed, is the same which *Ptolemy* has inserted in his *Almagest*, without which Catalogue, says an eminent Astronomer of our Age (b) there would be scarce such a Science as *Astronomy*. But this was not all, for he denoted what Positions sundry Stars had in respect of each other, whether they were posited in a right Line or triangular Form, as in a *Quadrat* or *Square*, &c. And tho' the Motions of the Sun and Moon were already in some Measure known, yet he made that Knowledge much more exact, for he did not only very much correct the *Callipick* Period, of which I shall give an Account in the History of the Calendar, but also having collected a long Series of Eclipses, namely from the Time of those *Babylonish* ones, in the Days of *Mardocempades*, down to those observed by himself for six hundred Years together, and remarking that neither the like Eclipses did return on the same Days after the space of every nineteen Years, or after some Recourses of ten *Novennales* or ten Times nine Years, any such Eclipses happened at the Time supposed, and that the Cause thereof consisted both in the various Latitude of the Moon, and the Anticipation of her *Nodi* or Knots, and her eccentricity, by reason whereof, her Motions to her *Apogaeum* were found to be sometimes slower, and those to her *Perigaeum* with greater Swiftnes, therefore to satisfy the World, he gave them his Reasons for these Difficulties, and formed an Hypothesis of his own for that End ; and according to this Hypothesis, he composed certain Tables, by which he could safely and exactly calculate and predict, what Eclipses were to follow, how great they were, and when, and this is *Pliny's* Meaning, when after he had spoken of *Thales* and *Sulpitius Gallus*, he makes mention of *Hipparchus*, saying, (c) *After these, Hipparchus foretold the Course of both Luminaries for six hundred Years to come, comprehending the Month, Days and Hours of Nations, and the Situations of Places, and Turns of People, his Age testifying that he did all these Things only as he was Partaker*

(a) Lib. 2. Cap. 25. (b) Mr. *Half* in *Wotton's* ref. upon anc. and mod. Learning, Pag. 323. (c) Ubi supra.

Partaker of Nature's Counsels. And by this of *Pliny*, we find that ^{An. 1568.} *Hipparchus*, besides the precise Times when such or such Eclipses were to be visible to the *Horizon of Rhodes* or *Alexandria*, he pointed forth also some Countries and principal Cities, together with the Designation of the Month in use among them, as also the very Days and Hours when each Eclipse would happen, and other Predictions concerning *Rome*, that succeeded in the Days of *Pliny*. Yet notwithstanding of all this, finding that he was not able to furnish himself either from the *Egyptians* his own Country Men, or the *Grecians* with any competent Observations respective to those Planets, for as I have said before, whilst the Places of the fixed Stars remained unknown, it was impossible any such should be made, and those that he had himself made, were of much shorter Time than was requisite for the establishing any Thing certain and permanent in that Sort; he therefore only digested such Observations as lie had recorded by him, into the best Order and Method he could, and so left them for their Use and Improvement who should come after him, in Case any were found capable of understanding and improving upon them, and it is to the Subtilty and Diligence of this great Man, says Mr. *Hally* (a), That the World was beholding for all its Astronomy, for above a Thousand five hundred Years after *Hipparchus*. In the 178 Olympiad flourished *Geminus* (b) and *Theodosius*, who were famous for their Knowledge in Astronomy, as likewise *Sosigenes* of *Alexandria*, by whose Help, the Emperor *Julius Caesar* endeavour'd the Reformation of the Kalendar; *Andromachus* of *Crete*, who published a Theory of the Planets flourished under the Empire of *Vespasian*, and under the Empire of *Domitian*, *Agrippa*, who observed a Conjunction of the Moon with the *Pleiades*. At length the great *Ptolomy* appeared about a hundred and thirty Years after our Saviour, he is esteemed the first Founder of Astronomy, for although *Hipparchus* had indeed, as it were, hewn out the Materials of this noble Structure, yet *Ptolomy* put them in Order: But with all due Acknowledgment to the Merits of his Predecessor *Hipparchus*, his Predecessor, as we learn from his own Words. *The Time* (says he) (c) from whence we have the Observations of the Planets set down, is so vastly short, in Comparison of the Greatness of Celestial Vicissitudes, that it renders all Predictions that are of any great Number of Years to come, infirm and uncertain, and therefore I judge that *Hipparchus*, that zealous Lover of Truth, considering this Difficulty, and withall, not receiving so many true Observations from the Ancients, as he bequeathed to us, undertook indeed the Business of the Sun and Moon, and demonstrated that it might be performed by equal and circular Motions; yet as for that of the Planets, those Commentaries of his, which have come into our Hands, clearly show that he attempted it not, but collecting all his own Observations concerning them together in one Order and Method for their more commodious Use, resigned them to the industry of after Times,

A a

Times,

(a) *Ubi supra.* (b) *Vulius de seruit. Mathem.* (c) *Almagist. Lib. 9. Cap. 2.*

An. 1568.

Times, having first demonstrated that they were not congruous to those Hypotheses, which the Mathematicians of these Days made use of, and for others, sure I am, that either they demonstrated nothing at all, or else attempted the Business, and left it unfinished, but Hipparchus being eminently known in all Kinds of Learning, conceived that he ought not as others had done before him, to attempt what he should not be able to accomplish. By which we plainly see, that Ptolomy was the first who from true Observations reduced the Motion of the Planets into Hypotheses and Tables conform to these Theories, and this Book of Ptolomy's, called his *Syntaxis*, contains all the Doctrine that could be advanced then concerning the Sun and Moon, the fixt and wandring Stars, and is without dispute the outmost Perfection of the ancient Astronomy, nor was there any Thing in any Nation before it comparable thereto, for which Reason all the other Authors thereof were disregarded and lost, and amongst them Hipparchus himself, and this Book was embraced as the Standart of the Science for a long Time by the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, *Arabians*, *Latins*, and all those who devoted themselves to the Service of *Urania*; but not long after, Ptolomy, Theon and Pappus, both named *Alexandrians* from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, made a considerable Figure amongst the Astronomers: The first by his Commentaries upon Ptolomy, and the other by his Mathematical Collections; and from his having observed, that about 400 Years before Christ, the Obliquity of the Ecliptick was not so great as *Eratosthenes*, *Hipparchus* and *Ptolomy* had conceived but near upon the same that we discover it to be in our Days: In the eighth Century *Albategnius*, otherwise called *Mahomet Aractensis*, from *Aractea* in *Syria*, made divers coelestial Observations at *Arctæa* and at *Antioch*, and found that the *Apogæum* of the Sun since the Days of Ptolomy was advanced considerably, and that the Stars did regres towards the East one Degree, not in the Space of an hundred Years, as Ptolomy thought, but of somewhat less than seventy: As also that the Obliquity of the Ecliptick, according to Pappus his Theory was less, (*viz.* above 23 Degrees 35 Minutes) with many other Things concerning the first Stars, and the Planets that are to be found in his Book, of the *Knowledge of the Stars*, where he corrects Ptolomy in many Things, and composed new and more exact Astronomical Tables than he had done. Not long after this, or as Vossius thinks, before him, *Almeon* an *Arabian* King, in the Plains of *Singar* near *Babylon*, observed, that the greatest Declination of the Sun was 23, 51, or as others have it, 23, 34. Besides this Prince, Astronomy for some Years remained amongst the *Arabians*, and *Albumasar*, *Alfragamus*, *Azzachel*, *Elbennozophim*, and other *Arabians* wrote several Things in Astronomy; but they and the Jews corrupted it so with their Astrological Fooleries, that no Observations or Improvements were made in it, till about the Year 1270, that *Alphonsus* King of *Castile* and *Leon* taking great Delight in Astrological Predictions, which Science he had likewise studied himself,

himself, and finding that not only *Ptolomy's Tables*, but *Albategnius's* were not exactly agreeable to the celestial Motions, he called together as many *Arabians* and *Jews* as were famous for their Knowledge in Astronomy, and they composed new Tables, which from him are called the *Alphonsian Tables*, and sometimes the *Toletan Tables*, from *Rabbi Isaak Hazan Chanter* of the *Toletan Synagogue*, who was President of this Assembly of Astronomers : But altho' this King spent four hundred thousand Pieces of Gold in that Undertaking, for which his Memory ought to be held in perpetual Veneration by all Lovers of Learning, yet they who were employed in this great Work, were not so strict in studiously and constantly observing what they themselves, and others had really observed, as scrupulously directing their Calculations to certain traditional Mysteries, or Cabalistical Dreams. In the Year 1300, *Thebitius* an *Arabian*, and *Peophatius* a *Jew* observed some small Things about the Motion of the fixed Stars, and the Obliquity of the Ecliptick. In the Year 1440, Cardinal *Cusan* made some Corrections and Emendations upon the *Alphonsian Tables*; but about 50 Years after him, *George Purbachius*, and *Joannes Regiomontanus* his Disciple revived the Study of Astronomy, reducing *Ptolomy*, providing Instruments, and making a great many faithful Observations : And amongst the rest, *Regiomontanus* observed, That the *Alphonsian Tables* were wrong, as to the true Places of the fixt Stars near two Degrees, accounting the Numbers of *Ptolomy*, as if they had been constituted by him from the Beginning of the Years of Christ ; but these two illustrious Persons were not so happy as to bring their Design to that Perfection they had proposed to themselves, both of them dying in the Flower of their Age : But animated by their Example about the Year 1536, *Nicolaus Copernicus*, a *Borussian* born, and Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Wormes*, revived the long neglected *Pythagorean System* of the World, and made many noble Observations, in Order to the composing of the new Tables ; but finding that he could not determine any Thing concerning the fixt Stars, besides their Promotion Eastward, which they appeared to have made since *Ptolomy's Time*, he therefore composed some Canons of their Motions, and those as exact as possibly he could ; yet finding that they did not exactly answer to the Motions of the Heavens, tho' they were much more accurately done than the *Alphonsian Tables*, with Modesty that can never be too much commended, he exhorted that ingenious Gentleman *George Joachimus Rheticus*, deeply enamour'd with the Beauties of Astronomy; to apply himself principally to the Restitution of the fixt Stars, and chiefly of those that were in the *Zodiack*, or near it, and with which the Planets might be most conveniently compared ; because without their Restitution it was impossible either to attain to the true Places of the Planets, or to perform any Thing of Moment or Certainty towards the Advancement of Astronomy. And altho' *Joachim* and *Erasmus Reinholdus*, who composed the *Prutenick Tables*

An. 1568.

Tables did all that he could, yet nothing considerable was done, till *Tycho Brache* a truly noble *Dane* entered upon the Theatre of Astronomy, this Nobleman from his Infancy was so pleased with the beautiful Prospect of the Heavens, that he entirely addicted himself to the Study of Astronomy, in which he excelled all that ever went before him ; a new Star having appear'd in the Beginning of *November*, 1572, in the Constellation of *Cassiopeia* for above sixteen Months together, this great Man finding that it was impossible to determine the true and proper Place of this new Star, without the Restitution of the fixt Stars to theirs, he undertook this great Work, to which he was not a little incited by the Advice of *Copernicus*, in the Works of *George Joachim*, and the noble Attempt of *William Landgrave of Hesse*, who had at the same Time endeavour'd to restore the fixt Stars to their true Mansions, but the Glory of this was reserved to *Tycho*, who spared neither Labour nor Cost, for he is reported to have expended upon it, one hundred Thousand Crowns of Gold ; but it must be acknowledged, that in this he was mightily assisted by his Mæcenas, *Frederick the second King of Denmark*. But to be somewhat more particular as to this great Man's Discoveries in Astronomy, as soon as he had built a Tower for Cœlestial Observations in the Island of *Huenna*, which he called *Uraniburg*, and furnished with Store of exquisite and magnificent Instruments, having called several learned Astronomers to his Assistance, he begun exactly the Altitude of the Pole in that Place, by the Circumpolar Stars, (a) by which, understanding likewise the Altitude of the *Equator*, he pointed out the Equinoctial Points, by the passing of the Sun through them; and attending besides to the middle Parts of *Taurus* and *Leo*. He found out the *Apogœum* of the Sun, and the Excentricity of it, and deduced its Course from the Point of the Vernal Equinox, and from *Venus* in the Day Time compared with the Sun, and in the Night with the fixt Stars : He endeavoured to find out the right Ascensions and Declinations of the fixt Stars, which the Ancients had attempted to do, by using the Moon and not *Venus* for that Purpose : And such was his Succes's and exquisite Care in this, that he constituted that bright Star which is in the Top of *Aries*, and ranged the chief of those in Order along the *Zodiack*, and by enquiring further, he found out the Distances of the rest as well from them, as from each other, and defined both the right Ascensions and Declinations of them all; prescribed their several Longitudes and Latitudes, and added to the Catalogue of the Ancients about 200 Stars that were only visible in the *Danish Horizon*, and having in the mean Time always observed the passing of all the Planets through the *Meridian*, and their several Distances from the chief fixt Stars nearest to them, he laid such solid Foundations as by them might be exactly known, not only the true Places of each, but also their several Motions. Many other admirable Discoveries did this great Man make,

(a) *Gaffend, in vit Tyeb, Brab, &c de ortu & progressu Astro.*

make, and amongst the rest, he was the first that discovered all Comets to be carried freely through the Ethereal Spaces; that Refractions ought to be carefully considered and allowed, for he likewise perceived that the Latitude of the Moon ought to be augmented by more than a Quadrant or fourth part, than had been conceived. He demonstrated the Latitude of the fixt Stars to be varied, and he framed a new Hypothesis or System of the World, and many other Things as difficult in their Invention, as excellent in their Use, and excelled all that went before him in Exactness and Certainty. Then as for his Mathematical Instruments, it is well known he made such, as for the Condition of the Matter, the Vaistness of their Magnitude, the Variety of their Forms, the Care of their Elaboration, the Preciseness of their Divisions, and the Facility in using them, the World had never the like before. And so subtile, exact and diligent he was in his Observations, that whereas the Observations of *Hipparchus*, *Ptolomy* and all others before him, had been marked out only by the sixth, or at most by the twelfth part of Degrees, he designed all his by the sixtieth Parts of Degrees, called Minutes, and very often also by Subdivision of Minutes, in one Word, this noble *Dme* had formed to himself the Hopes of building the whole Theory of Astronomy from the very Ground, and of erecting complete and everlasting Tables for Calculation thereupon, and probably had done it, had he not been cut off by a Retention of *Urine* in the 54 Year of his Age, in the Year of our Lord 1601. However, his Catalogue of the fixt Stars, beyond all Competition, does excell that of *Hipparchus*, being commonly true to a Minute or two, whereas, the other fails half a Degree both in Longitude and Latitude: And in this he is the more to be commended, that *Hipparchus* had the same Advantages that he had for observing the fixt Stars, the *Telescope* not being then invented, and this was the State of Astronomy when our Author published his Book.

In this Book, our Author first lays down all the necessary *Axioms* and *Definitions* for the understanding of this Science, then he gives a Table of Sines, after this a Treatise of Rectilineal Triangles in twenty Propositions, then he gives a Treatise of Spherical Triangles in thirteen Propositions. The next Treatise is concerning the Sphere of the World in thirteen Chapters; the 1st Chapter treats of the System of the World in general and its parts, the 2d is concerning the Magnitude of the Earth, in Comparison of the Firmament, the 3d is upon the Circles of the Sphere, the 4th is upon the Declination of the Degrees of the Ecliptick from the Equinoctial, the 5th is upon the Ascension and Descension of the Signs in a direct Sphere, the 6th is upon the Ascension and Descension of the Signs in an oblique Sphere, the 7th is upon the Oriental and Occidental Latitude, the 8th is upon the Declination, Ascension, Descension and Latitude of the Eastern and Western Stars, the 9th is upon the Elevation of the Star above the *Horizon*, the 10th is upon the Variation of the Artificial Days and Nights in the different Parts of the Earth,

An. 1568. the 11th is upon the twelve Cœlestia Houses and their Divisions, the twelfth is upon the Division of the *Zones* and *Climates*, the 13th and last is upon the Longitudes, Latitudes and Distances of the Regions of the Earth, to which is annexed a Table of the Longitudes and Latitudes of the principal Cities and Places of the World. Then follows the Hypotheses of the Cœlestia Orbs, containing the Theories of the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus* and *Mercury*. After this, he gives an Account of the direct Retrograd and Stationary Motions of the Planets, their various Aspects, the Declination and Latitude of the Stars, the Latitude of the Moon, the Latitude of the three superior Planets, the Latitudes of *Venus* and *Mercury*, of their Excentricities, Epiclipses and what else belongs to the Planets. After he has treated of those Things, he gives the Theory of the Motion of the eighth Sphere, and concludes with the practical part of Astronomy in thirty Propositions; wherein he gives the Figure of many curious Instruments, with proper and suitable Tables and Directions how to use them.

*His Death
and Charac-
ter.* Our Author did not live long after that he returned to his native Country, for he died towards the End of the Year 1568. By what we have related in his Life, it appears that he was well seen in Judicial Astrology, and his Works that are still extant are lasting Monuments of his great Knowledge in Astronomy, but *Joannes Tor-nesius* who translated our Author's Astronomy from *French* into *Latin*, makes him one of the greatest Prodigies of Learning that ever was in Nature, (a) for he says, That it was not by reading the Works of the Ancient Mathematicians, or of the Moderns, who wrote in the learned Languages that he acquired these Sciences, tho' he was one of the greatest Astronomers of his Age. No, says he, for he understood no Language but his own to any Perfection; and neither in that nor in *French*, notwithstanding that he lived the most part of his Time in *France*, could he write so much as tolerable Grammar, so that says he, he was born and not made a Mathematician, his Words are these in his Dedication of his Astronomy to *Frederick the 4th Count Palatine of the Rhine*. *Hoc in Jacobo Bassantino Scoto primo hujus libri Auctore, mirandum fuit, quod vir prorsus amusos, & qui nullam linguam, prater maternam colleret, in Astronomia tamen ita excelluerit ut inter primos atatis sue Astronomos habitus sit, aliis necesse fuit Latinam, Græcam, Atablicam linguas ediscere, si nomen aliquod in Astronomia professione adipisci voluerint, noster autem Scotus Astronomus natus est, non factus porro liber hic primo Gallice prodiit, non quidem ut ab Auctore scriptus est (nam ita parum in Gallica lingua proficerit, ut quamvis bonam atatis partem triverit in Galliis, nunquam tamen potuerit masculina masculinis aptare, nec feminina femininis, immo semper masculina adjectiva que Grammatici vocant femininis substantivis jungaret, & feminina masculinis, præter inumeros alias solcēs quibus scatēbat) verum incondita illius verba a Gallica lingua peritis polita sunt.*

If

(a) Epit. Dedicat.

If all this be true as we have said, our Author was a Prodigy, for  I dare say he was the first, and will be the last Mathematician that ever the World had or will have, that was either born or inspired with Mathematicks, for in his Age there was no Translation in any of the vulgar Languages, of the Writings of the ancient Mathematicians, which our Author seems to have known admirably well, as it appears from his Writings. Besides his Astronomy, our Author has wrote a Book upon the *Astrolab* and its Uses; an Instrument well known to any that has the least Knowledge in Astronomy or Navigation. *Dempster* says, (*a*) that he likewise wrote a Book concerning Horoscopes, a Book of Arithmetick; a Book on the Musick of the Ancients, and a Book upon the Mathematical Sciences in General.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **A**STRONOMIA Jacobi Bassantini Scotti, opus absolutissimum, in quo quicquid unquam peritiores Mathematici in Cælis observarunt, eo ordine, eaque methodo traditur, ut cuivis post-hac facile innotescant quæcunque de astris ac planetis nec non de eorum variis orbibus, motibus, passionibus, &c. dici possint ingens & doctum volumen ter editum Latine & Gallice Genev: 1599 in Folio.
- II. Paraphrase de l' Astrolabe avec une amplification de l' usage de la Astrolabe a Lyon 1555 in 8vo & Paris 1617 in 8vo.
- III. Super Mathematica Genethliaca.
- IV. Arithmetica.
- V. Musica secundum Platonicos.
- VI. De Matheſi in genere.

The LIFE of PETER BISSAT, Professor of the Canon Law in the University of Bononia.

THIS Gentleman was descended from *Thomas Bissat*, or *Biffart*, who was Earl of *Fife* (*b*) in the Reign of King *David*, about the Year 1362. He was born in the Shire of *Fife*, (*c*), in the Reign of King *James V*. He had his Education in the University of St. *Andrews*; where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in Grammar and Philosophy, he applied himself to the Study of the Laws; and designing to improve himself at foreign Universities, he went over to *France*, where he studied for some

B b 2

Time

His Birth;
Parentage &
Education.

(*a*) Lib. a. P. 108. (*b*) See Sir Robert Sibbald's Descrip. of Fife P. 97. (*c*) Dempf. Lib. a. P. 99.

^{An. 1563.} ^{He is made Doctor of the Laws, and Professor at Bononia.} Time at the University of *Paris*; from thence he went to *Italy*, where he commenced Doctor of the Laws at *Bononia*, and was shortly after honoured with the Dignity of Professor in the Canon Law in that University, where he taught it for several Years with great Applause.

^{An Account of his Works.} We have still extant of this Author some Poems and Orations, and a Book dedicated to *Boniface Godzadno*, a noble *Venetian*, concerning *Irregularities*, which in the Canon Law signifies the *Grounds and Reasons that are assigned by the Church, for excluding certain Laicks from the Clergy*: And what these were, I shall give the Reader, from our Author, a brief Account of. The primitive Christians in admitting of the Clergy, observed exactly the Rules set down by St. *Paul*, in the third Chapter of the first Epistle to *Timothy*: Yet sometimes, as we learn from St. *Cyprian* (a), at the pressing Instances of the People, those whose Merit was sufficiently known to the Church; but refused to enter into Holy Orders out of Humility, were compelled to do it: But by the Canons of the Church (b), a Man must first be a Deacon before he can be a Priest, and a Priest, before he can be a Bishop.

The Clerks were chosen out of the most Holy of the Laicks, and therefore by the Canons of the Church, all those were excluded from the Clergy who were liable to any Reproach in their Lives and Conversations: The Apostle having in the above-cited Chapter required, *That they should be Blameless, and without Reproach*. And accordingly the first Council of *Nice* (c) excluded all those, who after Baptism had fallen into any sort of Crime, such as Heresy, Apostacy, Homicid and Adultery, tho' they had perform'd Pennance, and were reconciled to the Church; because the Memory of it always remained: And it was but reasonable to think, that those whose Lives were without Stain, should be chosen before those that had fallen. So that by the ancient Discipline of the Church, all those were excluded from the Clergy who had been under Pennance (d), Likewise they were esteemed irregular, and excluded from Holy Orders who had killed any Person by Accident or involuntarily, or even in their own Defence: All those that had carried Arms, tho' in a just War, those who had been the Cause of putting any to Death, tho' a Criminal, and that either as Party, Judge or Witness (e), for altho' there was no real Crime in any of these Things, yet there was something in them that was against that Mercifulness and Compassion that the Church requires in Church Men: All Bigamies were likewise declared irregular, and those guilty of them excluded from Holy Orders (f): And hereby Bigamy is not only understood the Crime of having two Wives at one Time, but second Marriages, or the marrying with a Widow, or any Woman that was not notably reputed as a Virgin, all such Marriages being looked upon by the Church as having a Stain of Incontinency and Weakness in them. All those were excluded that were baptized when sick (g), which was

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(a) Epist. 33, 34, 35. (b) Dist. 77. Cap. 2. ex Epist. 1. Strici ad Hieron. Terci. Cap. 9. (c) Can. Nicen. 9. 10. Dist. 150. Cap. 6. Dist. 50. C. 55. ex conc. Carth. IV. C. 68. (d) Dist. 50. C. 8. ex Martini Brac. C. 26. (e) Dist. 16. (f) Concil. Neocæsar. C. 12. Dist. 57. (g) Ibid.

a Custom very frequent in the primitive Church, many deferring their Baptism to the last, that they might enjoy their carnal Pleasures with the greater Freedom, and they called these *Clinicks*, or Death-bed Christians, and they were look'd upon by the Church as both weak in Virtue and Faith: Those that were greatly indebted or engaged in Multiplicity of Affairs were excluded (a), because, as the Apostle St. Paul says, *That they ought not to be entangled with the Affairs of this Life* (b). Ignorance was likewise an Obstacle of Ordination, but different Sorts of Knowledge were required in them, according to their different Stations (c): And these were all the Obstacles that excluded Laicks from being Clergy Men, as to their Minds and Manners. And next we shall give an Account of those Obstacles of the Body and Birth that exclude Laicks from Holy Orders.

The primitive Christians did not observe those mentioned in the old Law, but looked upon them as Symbols of spiritual Failings (d), and only noticed those that rendred them incapable of exercising their Ecclesiastick Functions (e), such as being blind, deaf, dumb, or having any such Deformity about them as may creat an Aversion in the People to them; as for Eunuchs, they were not excluded, providing it procceded not from their own Fault, but otherwise (f), and not only those who made themselves such, a Custom frequent in the primitive Church, but likewise all those who mutilated themselves in any Member of their Body were excluded (g), but Madness, or being possessed by the Devil rendred them for ever incapable of receiving Holy Orders. Then as to their Birth, all those who were not of a lawful Marriage were excluded (h), because how innocent soever they might be, yet the seeing of them brings to the Mind the Crime of the Birth: Slaves, Servants, Children and Religious, without the Consent of their Superior were excluded (i), Slaves and Servants, because of the Loss that their Masters might sustain in taking them from them; and Children, because of their Age, and that the different Ages of each Station are regulated by the Canons of the Church; yet Children were taken and brought up in the Clerical Life (k), that they might be timely and early formed to that virtuous and strict Way of Living, which is so necessary to be obserued by all Church-men: And these are the Irregularities or Reasons asigned by the Canon Law concerning the due Admission of Clergy-men; Upon which our Author has published a learned Commentary, published with his Poems and Orations at *Venice*. By a Mistake in *Dempster*, this Author is said to have flourished in the Year 1401, whereas it ought to be MDL. And this is all that we know of him, but that it is said, that he died towards the latter End of the Year 1568. This Gentleman was not only well seen in the Laws, but likewise a good Poet, an excellent Orator, and a subtle Philosopher.

C c

The

(a) Dist. 54. C. 3. ex Concil. Carth. 1. C. 8. (b) 2 Tim. C. 3. v. 4. (c) Dist. 38. de stat. & qualit. ordin. Cap. 4. ex Concil. Later. Iv. c. 27. id Levit. Chap. 21. (e) Dist. 55. C. 13. Can. Apost. 78. (f) Can. Nicen. XI. (g) Dist. 13. C. 3. & Concil. Aurel. 111. C. 9. (b) Dist. 56. Urbana. s. In Concil. Clarom. C. 4. (i) Dist. 54. (k) Concil. Vatens XI. C. 1. Toleo 31. C. 4. C. 87. Aquilafra, C. 137.

The Catalogue of his Works.

PAtricii Bissarti *Opera omnia*, viz. *Poemata, Orationes, Lettiones Feriales, & Lib. de Irregularitate*, Ven. in 40, 1565.

THE

LIFE of JOHN HAMILTON, Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.

His Birth,
Parentage
and Education.

An. 1571.
His Prefer-
ment in
Church and
State.

THIS learned Prelate was natural Son to James Earl of Arran, and born in the Reign of King James V. He had his Education at the University of Glasgow; where, after he had learned the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he went over to Paris, and studied Theology for some Years; then having entred into Holy Orders, he returned to his native Country through England, accompanied with several learned Men, who were all of them kindly received and entertain'd by King Henry VIII. He was made Abbot of Paisley in the Year 1541. And upon his Arrival in Scotland, he surpriz'd by a Stratagem the Castle of Edinburgh, for the Use of his Brother, who was then Governor of Scotland, for which Piece of good Service, he was made Lord Privy Seal, and Bishop of Dunkell in the Year 1546. Not long after this he was made Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and in the 1548, he was preferred to the Arch-Bishoprick of St. Andrews, and confirmed by Pope Paul the Third.

He had no sooner attained to this Dignity, but he begun to show his Zeal against the Reformation, and having caused apprehend at Winton in East Lothian, (a) one Adam Wallace; He was brought to his Tryal in the Church of the Black Friars in Edinburgh, and being questioned of usurping the Office of a Preacher, having no lawful Call thereto, of Baptizing his own Children, denying Purgatory, Prayers to the Saints, the real Presence, and calling the Mass an Idolatrous Service. He answered, That he did not judge himself worthy of the Vocation of a Preacher, but he acknowledged, that in some private Places he did read a part of Scripture at Times, and made a short Exhortation thereupon to those that would hear him, that he thought it was as lawful for him to baptize his own Child, since he could not have a true Minister, as it was to Abraham to circumcise Ismael and his Family. And as to the rest, he said, That he never believed nor maintained any Thing, but what he found in the Book hanging

(a) Spottiswood's Hist. Lib. 2. Pag. 90. &c.,

hanging at his Girdle, which was the Bible in French, Dutch and English, and being further pressed to give his Sentiments concerning the Mass, he said that he had read the Bible in three Languages, and never found the Word Mass in them all, but that the Thing which was in greatest Estimation amongst Men, was an Abomination before God. He likewise declined the Authority of the Bishops, and his other Judges, but more particularly the Governour's, for he doubted if he had any Knowledge to discern Lies from Truth, and the Inventions of Men from the true Worship of God. For all which he was condemned to Death by Sir John Campbell of Lundy Justice-depute, and accordingly the next Day he was burnt alive.

An. 1571.
He caviles
Adam Wal-
lace to be put
to Death for
Heresy.

The same Year being 1550, there arose a great Controversy amongst the Clergy at St. Andrews, which was occasioned thus.

One Richard Marshal Prior of the Black Friars at New-castle in England, had been in St. Andrews, and in one of his Sermons, affirmed that the *Pater noster* or the *Lord's Prayer* should be said to God only, and not to the Saints, some of the Doctors of the University calling this in Question, they pitched upon a Gray Friar called Friar Tottis, to confute his Doctrine, and to prove that the *Pater noster* might be said to the Saints, which he very confidently undertook to do, and taking for his Text the 5th of St. Matthew's Gospel, *Blessed are the poor in Spirit, for unto them belongeth the Kingdom of Heaven,* he made this Inference, that the *Lord's Prayer* might be said to the Saints, because said he, *The Petitions of the Prayer belong to the Saints, for if we meet an old Man in the Streets, we will say good morrow Father, much more in our Prayers we may call the Saints our Fathers, and seeing we grant that they are in Heaven, we may say to every one of them, Our Father which art in Heaven, then we know that God hath made their Names holy, so we may say to any of them, Hallowed be thy Name, and as they are in the Heavens, so that Kingdom is theirs by Possession, therefore when we pray for the Kingdom of Heaven, we may say to them, Thy Kingdom come, and if their Will had not been the Will of God, they had never come to that Kingdom, therefore we may say, Thy Will be done, since their Will is God's Will, and as for the rest of the Petitions, tho' they cannot give us our daily Bread, nor forgive us our Sins, nor Lead us into Temptation, nor deliver us from all Evil, yet they can Pray to God that he may do these Things for us : So he concluded, That we might safely address this Prayer to them.* This ridiculous Comment upon the *Lord's Prayer* offended some, and made others laugh at the Folly of the Man, but was so resented by all, that he became a laughing Stock amongst them, and the Boys upon the Street, did whenever they saw him, call him Friar *Pater noster*, so that he was obliged to retire from the City. Yet the Doctors of the University would by no Means lose such a fair Occasion of showing their Wit in such an intricate Question, and in a solemn Meeting it was very warmly debated, some affirming that it might be said to God *Formaliter,*

Anno 1561. and to the Saints *Materialiter*, others that it might be said to God *Principaliter*, and to the Saints *minus Principaliter*, others that it might be said to God *Ultimate*, and to the Saints *non Ultimate*, others that it might be said to God *Primario*, and to the Saints *non Primario*, but the Distinction which pleased the Generality most was, that it might be said to God *capiendo stricte*, and to the Saints *capiendo large*. The Bishop our Author, who was a Man of great Moderation, could not prevail with them to let this ridiculous Question fall, so he was obliged to remit them to the Provincial Synod, which was to meet the next Year at *Edinburgh*. A simple Fellow, a Servant of the Sub-priors, thinking that there was something of very great Moment amongst the Doctors, which made them meet so often at Night, when his Master was going to Bed, he asked him what the Matter was that made them meet so often: The Sub-Prior laughing at the Fellow's Curiosity; *Tom*, (says he, for that was his Name) *We cannot agree amongst us to whom the Pater noster should be said*: *Sir*, says Tom, *To whom should it be said but unto God?* Then says the Sub-Prior, *What shall we do with the Saints?* He answered, *Give them Ave's and Credo's now in the Devil's Name, for that may serve them.*

In the Month of *January* the next Year, the Synod having met at *Edinburgh*, they ordered the Sub-Prior to order the Doctors to preach to the People that the *Pater noster* ought only to be said to God, but that the People ought likewise to be taught that the Saints were to be invocated. At this Synod likewise our Prelate presented them with a Catechism, containing a short Explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Belief and the Lord's Prayer; which the Bishops and Synod having read and considered, they not only approved of the said Catechism, but likewise ordered all Curats to read a Part thereof every *Sunday* and Holy Day to the People, when there was no Sernion. And here I cannot but take notice of an Aspersion which Bishop *Spotiswood*, and our other Historians put upon this Catechism, which is a very valuable Book, by calling it the *Two Penny Faith*, because it was sold for Twopence: But the Reason why it was sold for Twopence proceeded not from the Meanness or Contemptibleness of the Work; for, as I have said, it is a most learned Book, and a large *Octavo*; but the Bishop having printed it upon his own Expences, he allowed those whom he employed to distribute them amongst the People, to take Twopence for the Trouble that they were at.

Mr. *Knox* having framed and drawn up a Form of Church Policy, which he desired to be ratified by the Queen and Parliament in the Year 1560, our Prelate having read it, sent one *John Brand*, a Monk of *Holy-Rood-House* to tell Mr. *Knox* from him, *That albeit he had innovated many Things, and made Reformation of the Doctrine of the Church, whereof he could not deny but there was some Reason, yet he should do wisely to retain the old Policy, which had been the Work of many Ages, or then put a better in its Place, which his new Model was*

was far from : And tell him likewise, That our Highland Men ^{An. 1571.} have a Custom when they break young Colts, to fasten them by the Head with strong Teathers, one of which they keep very fast, till the Beast be thoroughly made : The Miltitude, that Beast with many Heads, would just be so dealt with : Mr. Knox; I know, rsteemeth me an Enemy, but tell him from me, he shall find it true.

The Reformation prevailing about the End of the Month of January 1563, our Prelate was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh for saying and hearing Mass, but shortly after he was set at Liberty by the Queen ; but she herself being overcome by her rebellious Subjects at the Battle of *Landside* upon the 13th of May 1568, he was obliged to conceal himself amongst his Friends in the West : But finding that they were making a strict Search after him, he got into the Castle of *Dumbarton*, where he was kindly received and entertained by the Governor my Lord *Fleeming*, a faithful Servant of the Queen's : But that Castle being surprized by the Queen's Enemies, our Arch-Bishop was sent Prisoner to *Stirling*, where, upon the 5th of April 1571, he was indicted of High Treason, the Heads of his Indictment were,

1. That he knew, and was Participant or Accomplice in the murdering of King *Henry* the Queen's Husband.
2. That he conspired against the King's Person at the murdering of the first Regent, intending to have surprized the Castle of *Stirling*, and to have been Master thereof at his Pleasure.
3. That he knew, or was Participant of the Murder of *James Earl of Murray*, the late Regent.
4. That he lay in wait at the Wood of *Calendar*, for the Slaughter of *Matthew Earl of Lennox*, the present Regent.

Being called to the Bar, before the Indictment was read (*a*), he moved that he might be proceeded against in the ordinary Form, and to have a longer Time allowed him to prepare his Defences ; but they would allow him no Time : And having denied all that was laid to his Charge, they condemned him to be hanged, upon a Sentence of Forfaultry that had been pronounced against him, in one of the Regent *Murray*'s Parliaments, and that very Night he was hanged upon a Tree, on which they affixed the two following Lines for an Epitaph ;

*Cresce diu felix arbor, semperque vireto
Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.*

But a Friend of the Bishop's in Answer to this, caused place upon the same Tree these two Lines,

*Infelix pereas arbor Phlegetonis in undis,
Atque prior tecum carminis auctor eat.*

And about a Year after this, the Author of these Lines being discovered, he was taken by some of the Queen's Friends, and

D d

hanged

*He is im-
prisoned for
saying Mass,
but set at
Liberty.*

*is accused of
High Tre-
son, and com-
manded to
be hanged.*

*His Death
and Char-
acter.*

(a) Vid. Drumsuy's Mem. &c Spots ad An.

An. 1571. hanged upon the same Tree (*a*), with the following Lines for his Epitaph,

*Crevit ut optabas ramis felicibus arbor
Et fructum nobis, te generumque tulit.*

Arch-Bishop Spotswood says, *That our Prelate was the first Bishop that suffered by Form of Justice in this Kingdom; he was a Man of great Action, wise and not unlearned, but in Life somewhat dissolute: His Death, especially for the Manner of it, did greatly incense his Friends, and was disliked of divers, who wished a greater Respect to have been carried to his Age and Place; but the Suspicion of his Guiltiness in the Murders of the King and Regent, made him of the common Sort less regreded.* Besides all this laid to his Charge by Bishop Spotswood, he is accused by Buchanan of Cruelty, of having consulted a Magician for his Health, and of gross Ignorance. Now how far our Historians are to blame in accusing him of these Things, will appear to the impartial Reader from the Consideration of a few Things, that I shall offer in the Vindication of the Memory of this great Man.

*His Memo-
ry vindicated
from the Af-
fession of his
Enemis.*

First then, As to the Lewdness and Dissoluteness of his Life, it cannot be denied, but that in his Youth he had a Son by one Mistress Semple, a Gentlewoman of great Beauty and Brightness of Parts; but if it be true that he married her in the Heat of his Youth, before he entred into Orders, and that he was obliged to conceal it, the Crime was pardonable, if it was a Crime: And for the Probability of this, the Bishop's Friends urge the 18th Article of the Treaty at Perth three Years after her Death, wherein the Bishop is vindicated, and his Son restored to the Lands and Possessions that belonged to the Bishop; which by the Law could not have been done, had he been a Bastard. The Words of the Treaty are as follows (*b*).

Article 18th, *That the Heirs and Successors of Persons forfeited, properly comprehended under this Pacification, and now departed this Life, shall be restored, and made lawful to enter by Brieves to their Lands and Possessions, notwithstanding of the Forfeitures laid against their Fathers or Predecessors, and as giff they had died at our Sovereign Lord's Faith and Peace, and specially of John Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, Gavin Commendator of Kilwinning, Andrew Hamilton of Lochnot, John Hamilton his Son, and Captain James Cullayne, And that the Bishop's Son was restored to his Lands without the least Objection as to his Bastardy, we learn from an avowed Enemy to the House of Hamilton; (*c*) but supposing and granting that the Bishop had made this Slip in his Youth, it is not a sufficient Ground to stain the whole Course of his after Life with.*

2dly, As to his being Guilty of the King's Murder and the Regent's, it is acknowledged by all, that he had not any Hand or Knowledge

(*a*) MS. Hist. of the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, pene mo. (*b*) Vid. Crawford. Mem. ad An. 1573. Pag. 291. (*c*) Scots Tarrel's Staggering State of the Scots States Men.

Knowledge in the King's Murder, but some say, that he acknowledged (a), that as to the Murder of the Earl of Murray, *That he not only knew thereof, and would not stop it, but rather furthered the Deed thereof*, whilk says he, *I heartily repent, and ask my God Mercy for the same.* But if there were any Truth in this, is it to be thought, but that his Judges would have condemned him for it, but on the contrary, its acknowledged by all, that he was neither condemned upon this Account, nor upon any of the Articles that were laid to his Charge, but upon the Account of an Act of Forfality that had been laid against him in one of Murray's Parliaments. And as for the King's Murder, there was but one Witness brought against him, a perjured mercenary Priest called *Thomas Robertson*, who affirmed, *That one John Hamilton alias black John, (at that Time the Bishop's Servant) sent for him when he was a dying, and amongst many other Crimes, confessed, that by his Master's Order, he was present at the Murder of the King.* But to this we cannot give a better Reply, than what the Bishop himself made to the Judges, *The Priest, says he, Sinneth deadly to lie upon me, who knoweth nothing of that Matter, and mindeth not that it is a Sin to reveal Confession.*

Thirdly, As to his Cruelty, whatever was done against the Protestants in his Time, was by *Gavin Hamilton Abbot of Kilwinning*, who in the Year 1551 (b) being then about 30 Years old, was made Administrator in *Temporalibus & Spiritualibus* of the Diocese of St. Andrews, with a Pension of 400 Pound Scots, being *Coadjutor cum futura successione*, and the violent Proceedings of this Abbot were taken for the Bishops, whereas on the contrary, the Bishop was a Person of great Moderation, and much against the violent Measures that were taken at that Time by both Parties, as it appears from his Advice to Mr. *Knox*, and his Catechism, wherein he expresses his Sentiments with a great deal of Moderation and Christian Charity.

4thly, As to his consulting of a *Magician* for the Recovery of his Health, this *Magician*, or rather *Mathematician*, was the famous *Hieronymus Cardanus*, or *Jerom Cardan*, of whose Adventures, as wrote by himself, we shall give a brief Account, since they clearly vindicate our Prelate from this Aspersion, *Jerom Cardan* was born in *Italy* at *Milan* (c), upon the 1st of *October* 1508, and he tells us that his Mother who was a Whore, had taken several Remedies to cause her abort whilst she was with Child of him: But that notwithstanding of all her Endeavours, and that he was brought from the Womb by a manual Operation, yet he was lively and vigorous, and was brought forth with long Hair upon his Head, his Father who was a Lawyer took care of his Education; and having applied himself to the Mathematics and Medicine, he became so famous for his Knowledge in them both, and in all the rest of the Sciences, that there was hardly an University in *Italy*, in which he was not

Anno 1551. Professor : And by his Writings, he made himself so famous through all *Europe*, that he was justly esteemed the Miracle and Prodigy of his Age for Learning. It was no Wonder then that our Prelate having heard of this famous Physician, and labouring under a troublesome Disease, should have consulted him, since most of the Princes and great Men in *Europe* consulted him; but how this Affair was transacted, we learn from *Cardan* himself, who tells us, (a) *That the Bishop being attacked with an Asthma, it at length came to be so periodical, that every 8 Days it came on him so violently, that for the space of 24 Hours he had no Relief, and for this he had consulted the Physicians of the Emperor Charles V, and Henry King of France, but found no Relief, at length hearing of me he wrote for me, and for the defraying of my Expenses from Milan to Lyons, he caused to be transmitted to me by his Physician 200 Crowns of Gold.* Then he tells us, that he begun his Journey for *Scotland* in the 1552, upon the 8th of the Calends of *March*, and that when he came to *Lyons*, he met *William Casanatus* the Arch-Bishop's Physician, who brought him 300 Crowns of Gold for his Pocket Money, all his other Expenses in his Journey to *Scotland* being defrayed upon the Arch-Bishop's Charges, having arrived safely in *Scotland*, he found the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* at his own Palace, where in a short Time he recovered him of his *Asthma*, and returned again to *Italy*, the Arch-Bishop having rewarded him at parting with 400 Crowns of Gold, and double the Value of that Money in Chains of Gold, Medals and precious Stones, and this is all the Magick that was used in recovering of our Prelat to his former State of Health.

But it may be objected, that the Arch-Bishop ought not to have employed such a Man as *Cardan* confesses himself to have been, for he says, *That he had a Daemon that told him what was to happen*, that he was much given to Judicial Astrology, that he was revengeful and so passionate, that he cut the Ear out of one of his Children's Head, and would have frequently beat them both without any Reason, that he was Invidious, a Traytor, a Sorcerer, a Murderer, a Calumniator, a Bosom Enemy, abandoned to Luxury and all the most execrable Villanies and Lusts that can be imagined, And that we may not doubt of the Truth of this Character which he giveth of himself, he tells us, that he knew not what it was to lie.

In Answer to this in the first Place, it is certain that *Cardan* had not then wrote his Life, wherein he gives this Character of himself, and it is not to be doubted, but that when he wrote his Life, he was possessed with a Spirit of Madness, otherwise he had not taken so much Pains to expose to the Publick, what others that have the least Degree of Reason would carefully conceal ; and it was well known to all the learned Men that had any Acquaintance with him, that he had his Fits of Folly, wherein he acted like a mad Man and reason'd

(a) *De vit. prop. Pag. 18.*

son'd like an Idiot, and at other Times in his Actions and Rea-^{Act. 1572}
nings he appear'd above the Reach of Mankind, and never was there a Man that had so good an Opinion of his Parts, and valued himself so much upon them as *Cardan* had. *We have been* (says he, speaking of himself) *the Admiration of many Nations,* (a) *an infinite Number of Things have been written in Praise of me both in Prose and Verse,* (b) *I was born to deliver the World from an Infinity of Errors,* what we have invented could not be found out by any of our Age, or by any in the Ages that preceeded us, wherefore they who write any Thing to be recorded in the Memories of Men, are not ashamed to acknowledge that they owe it to us. (c). I have wrote a Book of Logick, wherein there is not so much as one Letter superfluous or wanting, which I did in seven Days, which seems a Prodigy, and hardly can there be found one that is capable to understand it in a Year, in one Word says he (d), my Nature is placed betwixt the Confines of humane Substances and immortal Beings, Natura mea in extremitate humanæ substantæ conditionisque, et in confinio immortalium posita.

2dly, Tho' *Cardan* in many of his Writings, says that he had a familiar Daemon that instructed him in future Events, that was composed of *Venus, Mercury and Saturn*, and that he erected the Horoscopes of many learned Men, and amongst the rest, of our Arch-Bishop, if we may believe a late Historian (e); yet what he says of his Daemon is so foolish and ridiculous, that no Man can read it without laughing at it, and he himself in one of his Works (f) plainly confesses that he had no Daemon, *Ego certe* (says he) *nullum Daemonem aut Genium adesse cognosco*, and the only Sense can be made of it, is what *Gabriel Naudæus* says of it, that it was (g) his Watchings, Studies and Experience in the World, and altho' he was very good at Judicial Astrology, yet in the erecting of the Horoscopes of *Edward the VI. King of England, John Baptista* his Son, and *Emar Ranconet*, he was so vastly mistaken, that they were the quite contrary of what he predicted, for his Son was hanged, *Ranconet* died a violent Death, and *Edward* was cut off in the Flower of his Age, so that we have very good Reason to think that it was neither *Cardan's* Daemon, nor his Skill in Horoscopes that moved our Bishop to send for him : But his Skill in Physick, as we have said, tho' indeed, if we consider the Multitude of his Writings, which are in ten Volumes in Folio, and the Variety of the Subjects, he may be justly called the Miracle of his Age.

The last Thing laid to our Author's Charge, is his gross Ignorance, but this is such a palpable Calumny, that none that ever read his Catechism can be guilty of harbouring such a Thought, for it is wrote with such Learning, Moderation and Judgment, that it will be always esteemed by the learned of his own Communion, the two following Copies of Verses are prefixed to it.

E e

Hic

(a) *Card. Lib. VII. de rer. variet. C. . 42.* (b) *Ibid. C. 33.* (c) *De lib. prop.* (d) *Ibid.* (e) *Lutrey Hist. de Angl. Tom. i.* (f) *De rer. variet. C. 93.* (g) *Apol. Gram. Hom. vid. & judicial Card.*

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A.D. 1551.

*Hic liber est sacer, divini dogmata verbi  
Continet, ipse pius nocte dieque legas,  
Hic discas Christum, pater hunc tibi misit ut esset  
Justicia, & vita regula certa tua.  
Hic tibi tot lucent stelle, tot sidera fulgent  
Haud secus ac si sit gemmea tota domus,  
Hunc tu vipsea caveas percellere lingua,  
Neque Theonino rodere dente velis  
Laudatur merito multis qui maxima prestat  
Commoda, sed detur gloria tota Deo.*

The other is by himself,

*Totius legis (fateor) volumen  
Continet summi documenta patris,  
Non vacat cunctis tamen immorari  
Sedulo cartis.*

*Quicquid humana liber hic saluti  
Est oportunum tenet, ergo quisquis  
Vult fide Christum colere, audiat, vel  
Discat ad unguem.*

*Consulas equi, pie Lector, atque  
Candide, nostrum precor ut laborem  
Qui tibi monstrat breviter tenenda  
Pectore firmo.*

Arch-Bishop Spotswood says, *That this Catechism was called in Derision by the Vulgar, the Two Penny Faith (a), because each Copy was bought for Twopence :* But the Truth of this Story is, that our worthy Prelate caused print it upon his own Expences, it being a large 8vo in the black Letter, which he gave to the Pedlers, who went thro' the Country to distribute it amongst the Country People, and to encourage them to this, he allowed them to take Twopence for each Book : And this charitable and Christian Action met with so unworthy a Return. And from what we have said, its evident, That this Prelate was a wise, learned and devout Church-man, a loyal, active and faithful Subject, and the Death that he suffered is an eternal Reproach on the Memories of those who had a Hand in it; who, tho' they had no Regard to his great Age, yet ought to have shown some for the sacred Character that he bore, if any Thing that is Sacred had been esteemed by them.

## The Catalogue of his Works.

1. **T**HE Catechism, that is to say, *Ane Common and Catholick Instruction of the Christian Religion in Matters of our Catholick Faith and Religion, quhilk na gud Christian Man or Woman*

(a) Vid. Spots. ad A.D. 1551.

Woman svid misknaw. Set furth by the maist Reverend Father in God, John Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, Legat nait and Primat of the Kirk of Scotland, in his Provincial Counsal haldin at Edinburgh the 26th Day of January, the Year of our Lord 1551, with the Advice and Counsal of the Bischoppis and uther Prelatis, with Doctours of Theologie and Cannon Law of the said Realm of Scotland, present for the Time. Printit at St. Andrews be the Command and Expensis of the maist Reverend Father in God, John Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, and Primat of the hail Kirk of Scotland, the 29 Day of Agust, the Zeir of our Lord 1552, in 8vo.

II. *Rationes cur Regina Scotiae non deberet se fidei Elizabethae Anglicanae committere : . Anonymus Gallice Scriptor de Martyrio Mariæ Stuartæ Reginae Scotorum, inquit Dempsterus. Capita Dissertationis ipse recenset, quibus nihil doctius aut argutius.*

## T H E

## LIFE of JOHN KNOX the Reformer.

**J**OHN KNOX was born at *Gifford* near *Haddington* in the County or Shire of *East-Lothian*, in the Year of our Lord 1505. His Father was not a Brother's Son of the House of *Ransfarlie*, as Mr. *David Buchannan* has told us in the Life (a) of Mr. *Knox*, but the Son of a poor Country Man (b), as we are informed by those who knew him very well: His Parents, tho' in a mean Condition, put their Son to the Grammar-School of *Haddington*; where, after he had learned his Grammar, he served for some Time the Laird of *Langniddrie's Children*, who being sent by their Parents to the University of *St. Andrews*, he thereby had Occasion of learning his Philosophy, and of receiving the Degree of Mr. of Arts, under their Master, the famous Mr. *John Mair*, whose Life you have in the second Volume of this Work (c). Having learned his Philosophy, he began to apply himself to Theology, but falling acquainted with Mr. *George Wishart*, and being naturally inquisitive, he learned from him the Principles of the Protestants, which he was so pleased with, that he renounced the *Romish Religion*, and became a very zealous Protestant: About this Time Cardinal *Beaton* being murdered at *St. Andrews*, he joined the Murderers, and at their Perswasion took upon him, because of his extraordinary Gifts, the Office of the Priesthood, and was ordained after a very extraordinary Manner, without Imposition of Hands, but at the Desire of *John Rough*, before a small Congregation, who assented to the Call:

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But

An. 1572.

But we shall give the whole Account of this Affair from Mr. Knox's own Words. "At the Easter (says he) Anno 1547, came to the Castle of St. Andrews (<sup>d</sup>) John Knox, who wearied of removing from Place to Place, by Reason of the Persecution that came upon him by the Bishop of St. Andrews, was determined to have left Scotland, and to have visited the Schools of Germany (of England then he had no Pleasure, by reason, that although the Pope's Name was suppressed, yet his Laws and Corruptions remained in full Vigour) but because he had the Care of some Gentlemen's Children, whom certain Years he had nourished in Godliness, their Fathers solicited him to go to St. Andrews, that himself might have the Benefit of the Castle, and their Children of his Doctrine: And so (we say) came he the Time aforesaid to the said Place. And having in his Company Francis Douglas of Langniddrie, George his Brother, and Alexander Cockburn, eldest Son to the then Laird of Ormiston, began to exercise them after his accustomed Manner; besides the Grammar, and other Books of human Learing, he read unto them a Catechism, Account whereof he caused them give publickly in the Parish Church of St. Andrews; he read moreover to them the Gospel of John, proceeding where he left at his Departure from Langniddry, where before his Residence was, and that Lecture he read in the Chappel within the Castle at a certain Hour: They of the Place, but especially Mr. Henry Balneves and John Rough Preacher, perceiving the Manner of his Doctrine, began earnestly to travel with him, that he would take the Function of a Preacher upon him; but he refused, alledging, *That he would not run where God had not called him,* meaning, That he would do nothing without a lawful Vocation. Whereupon they privily amongst themselves advising, having with them in Council Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, they concluded that they would give a Charge to the said John, and that publickly by the Mouth of the Preacher; and so upon a certain Day a Sermon of the Election of Ministers, what Power the Congregation (how small soever that it was, passing the Number of two or three) had above any Man, namely in the Time of Need, as that was, in whom they supposed and espied the Gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to hear the Voice of such as desire to be instructed. These and other Heads (we say) declared the said John Rough Preacher, directed by his Words to the said John Knox, saying, *Brother, you shall not be offended, albeit that I speak unto you that which I have in Charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this; In the Name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Name of these that presently call you by my Mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this Holy Vocation, but as ye tender the Glory of God, the Increase of Christ's Kingdom, the Edification of your Brethren, and the Comfort of me, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed*

(e) Knox. Hist. Fol. Edit. at London 1644. P. 74. See likewise for this, and other Particulars of Mr. Knox's Life, besides his own, Petrie and Calderwood's Historie.

" oppressed by the Multitude of Labours, that ye take upon you the <sup>An. 1572.</sup>  
 " publick Office and Charge of Preaching, even as ye look to avoid  
 " God's heavy Displeasure, and desire that he should multiply his  
 " Grace upon you. And in the End he said to those that were pre-  
 " sent, Was not this your Charge to me, and do not you approve of  
 " this Vocation ? They answered, It is, and we approve of it.  
 " Whereat the said Mr. John abashed, burst forth in most abundant  
 " Tears, and withdrew himself to his Chamber, his Countenance  
 " and Behaviour from that Day till the Day that he was compelled  
 " to present himself to the publick Place of preaching, did suffici-  
 " ently declare the Grief and Trouble of his Heart ; for no Man  
 " saw any Sign of Mirth of him, neither yet had he Pleasure to ac-  
 " company any Man for many Days together.

Many severe Reflexions might be made on this ridiculous Account of his Ordination ; but that which is obvious to all Men, is, That the Holy Ghost was not the least concerned in it. After this he gives us an Account of a Debate betwixt him and Dean *John Annan*, and of a Sermon that he preached upon the 24th and 25th Verses of the 7th Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein he made it his Busi-

He disputes  
with Dean  
Annan, and  
preaches a  
sermon aga  
inst the  
Church of  
Rome.

ness to prove, that the Church of *Rome* was the Beast spoken of in the *Revelation*, and the Whore of *Babylon*, who makes merchandise of the Souls of Men. This Sermon being preached before a Number of the Members of the University, who out of Curiosity came to hear him, they met after Sermon with the Clergy, and he being called before them, was accused for having said in his Sermon,

for which he  
is accused of  
Heresie.

1. That no mortal Man can be the Head of Christ's Church. 2. That the Pope is Antichrist. 3. That no Alteration ought or can be made in Religion. 4. That the Sacrament ought to be administrated in both kinds. 5. That the Mass is abominable Idolatry, blasphemous to the Death of Jesus Christ, and a Profanation of the Lord's Supper. 6. That there is no Purgatory. 7. That praying for the Dead is vain, and to the Dead, is Idolatry. 8. That the Bishops that preach by Substitutes are no Bishops. 9. That by the Law of God, the Tithes do not necessarily belong to the Church. Mr. *Knox* being questioned, as we have said, upon these Articles, a hot Dispute ensued betwixt him and the Clergy, the Substance of which is in his History, from Pag. 78, to Pag. 82. The Clergy taking to their Consideration what further should be done for putting a Stop to these new Doctrines, as they called them, it was resolved amongst them, that they should be assiduous in preaching to the People : In the mean Time a close Siege being laid to the Castle, and Mr. *Knox* perceiving that there were no Hopes of their being relieved from *England*, he took the Occasion, as often as he preached to them, to tell them of their approaching Danger in being delivered up to the Hands of their Enemies, for which he was esteemed a Prophet. The Castle of St. *Andrews* being obliged to surrender to the *French* who besieged them (for they would not capitulate with the Governour) upon the last Day of *July* the Murderers and their

An. 1572.  
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He is im-
prisoned in
the Gallies,
and carried
to France.

He is set at
Liberty, and
returns to
Scotland, and
from thence to
England.

Associates were committed to the Gallies, and carried to *France*, where, amongst the rest, our Author stay'd all that Winter: And he tells us (*a*), that whilst he was aboard of the Gallies, he wrote a Confession of his Faith, which he sent to his Friends and Followers in *Scotland*: Being set at Liberty in the Beginning of the next Year, he came to *Scotland*; but finding that the Papists were much superior in Number to those that favoured the Reformation, and fearing to fall into the Hands of the Clergy, he went to *England* in the Year 1548. The Protestant Religion being then established in *England* by King *Edward VI.* and here he continued during all that Prince's Reign, preaching sometimes at *Berwick*, sometimes at *Newcastle*, and sometimes at *London*, and became so famous, that he had the Honour of preaching several Times before his Majesty; but that Prince dying in the Year 1553, and Queen *Mary* succeeding to him, who reestablished Popery, he returned again to *Scotland*, and coming to *Edinburgh*, he preached privately to those

He returns
again to Scot-
land, from
thence he
goes over to
Frankfort.

who were Favourers of the Reformation, in the House of one *John Sim*, who had renounced the *Romish* Religion: Being on Night called to sup in the Laird of *Dun's* House, where young *Lithington* was likewise, he and *Lithington* had a Dispute concerning the Lawfulness of hearing Mass, which he gives us an Account of in his History, *Pag. 100.* But finding that the Clergy were searching for him, he went over to *Frankfort*, whither a great many Protestants had fled out of *England*, under the Persecution of Queen *Mary*. Mr. *Knox* arriving there about the Beginning of the Year 1554, he found that they had established amongst them the *English* Liturgy as it was in the Reign of King *Edward*, which he opposed with all his Might; upon which such hot Debates and Animosities arose amongst them, that he had almost ruined that Congregation, as appears from the History of the Troubles at *Frankfort* (*b*). At last these poor persecuted Protestants supplicated the Magistrates, that they would banish him from their City, as a Firebrand and an Incendiary, which he being afraid of, returned again to *Scotland*, having stayed for a Time with *Calvin* at *Geneva*.

He returns
to Scotland.

At his Arrival in *Scotland*, he was very well received by the Laird of *Dun*, the Laird of *Bar*, *Robert Campbell* of *Kingclugh*, *Ochiltree* and *Gathgirth*; the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lord *Erskine*, the Lord *Lorn*, and the Prior of St. *Andrews*, afterwards Earl of *Murray*: And by the Perswasion of the Earl of *Glencairn*, he wrote his Letter to the Queen Dowager, which that Earl delivered to her out of his own Hand, thinking thereby to perswade her to favour the Reformation of the Church; but the Queen having read it, delivered it to the Bishop of *Glasgow*, saying to him, *My Lord, will you be pleased to read a Pasquil*: Which coming to Mr. *Knox*'s Ears, he added several Things to it with horrid Comminations and Threatnings of the Wrath of God against her.

Some

(*a*) *Pag. 82.* (*b*) Printed at *Edinburgh*, in 1646.

Some of the English Congregation at *Franckfort*, whom Mr. *Knox*^{An. 1572.} had dissuaded from making use of the English Liturgy, having settled at *Geneva*, they wrote a Letter to Mr. *Knox*, showing that they had made choice of him to be their Minister, and earnestly entreated that he would come to them with all Expedition, this Letter Mr. *Knox* read out of Pulpit to his Congregation, and he tells (*a*), *That the faithful at Edinburgh suffered little less Calamities for his departing, than did the faithful in the Gospel after the Persecution of St. Stephen, however, he comforted them with a Promise of returning to them as soon as they should think fit to recall him.* So taking his leave of them, he first sent over before him his Mother ^{He goes over to Geneva.} in Law *Elizabeth Bowes*, and his Wife *Marjory* to *Diep* in *France*, and not long after he followed them himself.

He was no sooner gone, but the Clergy summon'd him to appear before them at *Edinburgh*, and upon his not appearing he was Burnt in Effigie at the Cross of *Edinburgh* in the Month of ^{Is burnt in} *July* 1555, which he was no sooner advertised of, but he wrote and printed at *Geneva* an *Appellation* (as he calls it) to the Nobility and Commons of *Scotland* in his own Vindication. In the Year 1558, he published his Book called, *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Government of Women*, wherein he endeavours to prove the Royal Authority of Women to be inconsistent with the Laws of Nature, contrary to the Determinations of the *Civilians* and *Canonists*, and contrary to the Law of God, for says he, *If the Scriptures will not allow that a Woman should speak in the Congregation, it is not to be thought that they allow or admit of a Female Administration of the supreme Government, that the Inconveniences which truly follow upon such a monstrous Practice are many and unsupportable.* The main Scope and Design of this Book was to raise a Rebellion in *England* and *Scotland*, who were then governed by two Queens : But having in it compared the Emperor to *Nero*, and *Mary Queen of England* to *Jezebel*, this being represented to the Syndicks of *Geneva*, he was obliged to fly to *Diep*. The Lords of the Congregation about this Time, very fortunately for him, sent him a Call to come Home for a second Time, for they had sent one to him in the Year 1556, and he had come the length of *Diep* in Order to return to them, but there he met with two Letters discharging him to come over, which he took so ill, that he wrote a very angry Letter which he has inserted in his History, however he was obliged to return to *Geneva*, and upon this second Call which was delivered to him in the Month of *November* 1558, he was obliged to return to *Scotland*, to save himself from an Accusation of high Treason which was intended against him. Another ^{He is accused of high Treason.} Thing which he was very hopeful would contribute to his Advantage, was the Death of *Mary Queen of England*, which happened at this Time, and severals of his Congregation returning to *England*; he doubted not but to find a favourable Reception from

An. 1559.

Queen Elizabeth, who was a Protestant, and resolved to re-establish the Protestant Religion in *England*, but he was mightily deceived, for his Book being as much against her Title to the Crown, as against her Predecessors, those who addressed her Secretary Mr. Cecil in his Behalf, for obtaining a Pass to him through *England* to his own Country were maltreated; whereupon Mr. Knox wrote a Letter to the Secretary, complaining of this hard Treatment that his Friends met with, whereas he was only Guilty if there was any Guilt in the Case, for he could not endure to retract any Thing he had advanced in his Book, and therefore he tells the Secretary, that he doubted no more of the Truth of his Proposition, than he did that it was the Voice of God, which first did pronounce this Penalty against Women, *In Dolor shalt thou bear thy Children.* But Mr. Knox being afraid that this would neither satisfy the Queen nor her Secretary, he falls upon that wonderful Contrivance of the

He is the first Author of the providential Right of Kings. *providential Right*, which was so serviceable to Doctor Sherlock and several other eminent Divines of the Church of *England*, to justify their Proceedings at the Revolution, which was first taken notice of, by the eminently learned Mr. Sage, in his *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, and how just he has been to Mr. Knox, will appear from Mr. Knox his own Words in the above cited Letter, dated at Diep upon the 10th of April 1559, which he has inserted in his History (a) *If any Man think me (says he) either an Enemy to the Person, or to the Regiment of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived in me, for the miraculous Work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm Vessel, I do acknowledge, and will obey the Power of his most potent Hand (raising up whom best pleases his Majesty to suppress such as fight against his Glory) albeit that both Nature and God's most perfect Ordinance, repugn to such Regiment, more plainly to speak, if Queen Elizabeth shall confess that the extraordinary Dispensation of God's great Mercy makes that lawful unto her, which both Nature and God's Law do deny unto all Women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful Authority than I shall be, but if (God's wondrous Work set aside) she ground, as God forbid, the Justness of her Title upon Consuetude, Laws and Ordinances of Men, then I am assured that as such foolish Presumption doth highly offend God's supreme Majesty, so I greatly fear her, that her Ingratitude shall not long take Punishment.*

He returns to Scotland. But Secretary Cecil returning no Answer to this Letter, Mr. Knox embarked in a Ship bound for *Scotland*, where he safely arrived upon the 3d Day of May 1559, having stay'd only two Days at *Edinburgh* (b), and hearing that the Ministers were summoned by the Queen Regent to appear before her, to give an Account of their seditious Practices, he went straight to *Dundee* to join them, and from thence he came to *St. Johnston*, where the Reformers or the Lords of the Congregation were then lying, and having preached to them

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(a) Page 218. Lib. 3. (b) Knox's Hist. Lib. 2. Pag. 135.

a vehement Sermon as he calls it, against *Idolatry* and the Monuments of *Idolatry*, meaning the *Monasteries, Altars, Images and Crucifixes* and other Ornaments of the *Popish Churches*. The next Day which was the 11th of *May*, the Mob fell upon the Priests and Monasteries with such Fury, that in two Days Time they left nothing but the Walls of the *Gray and Black Friars*; but that which is most to be lamented, was the destroying of the *Charter-House*, which was one of the most costly and magnificent Buildings in the Kingdom, where likewise was a very stately Tomb, erected to the Memory of King *James I.* who founded that Monastery, yet notwithstanding of all this, the Queen Regent was willing to capitulate with them, and to grant them the free Exercise of their Religion, providing they would lay down their Arms, and become peaceable Subjects; and Mr *Knox* tells us (*a*), *That Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews, their two chief Leaders, and all the rest of them began to demur about it, till he put a Stop to it, by telling them, that she was not to be trusted, for it was one of the Articles of her Faith, that she was bound to keep no Promise with Hereticks.* He puts a Stop to a Peace betwixt the Queen Regent and the Lords of the Congregation.

After this, the Lords of the Congregation having removed to St. *Andrews*, and fearing some Tumult might rise upon Mr *Knox* his Preaching, they earnestly entreated him to desist, but by no Means would he be perswaded to do it: So going to the Pulpit, and taking for his Text the 12th Verse of the 21st Chapter of *Matthew*, concerning *Christ's casting out the Buyers and Sellers out of his Temple*, he encouraged the Mob to imitate their Brethren at St. *Johnstoun*, which they did with all Expedition, the Magistrates concurring with them, plundering and destroying all the Religious Houses there. The Queen Regent finding that they were still turning more and more insolent, she resolved to fight them, and accordingly both Armies met for that End at *Coupar-moor*, but by the Mediation of the Duke of *Chattleherault*, and Monsieur *D'Orléans* on the Queen Regent's part, and *Archibald Earl of Argyle*, and the Prior of St. *Andrews* on the Congregations part, a Cessation of Arms was concluded and subscribed upon the 13th Day of *June*, yet notwithstanding of this, the Mob burnt the Abbey and Palace of *Scoon*.

Mr. *Knox* returning to *Edinburgh*, wrote a Letter to Secretary *Cecil* (*b*): and another inclosed within it to Queen *Elizabeth*, both dated at *Edinburgh* the 28th Day of *July*, that to Secretary *Cecil*, was to exhort him to join with the Congregation, for he and the Laird of *Grange* in a Meeting at St. *Andrews*, after they had come from *Coupar-moor*, agreed, That the most proper Way to engage the Queen of *England* to their side, was to urge the Danger of the *French's conquering England* as well as *Scotland*, and therefore in this Letter he only hints at this Contrivance of his own, leaving the full Detail of the Matter to a Letter sent at the same Time to the Secretary by the Lords of the Congregation, and complains,

He writes a Letter to Queen Elizabeth and Secretary Cecil in his own Vindication.

G g

that

(a) Ibid Page 148. (b) See his Hist. Lib. 3. Pag. 218, to Pag. 239.



that although he had by diverse Letters required a License to visit his Friends in the North of *England*, yet he could never obtain a favourable Answer. In his Letter to the Queen, he insists upon her *Providential Right*, for by no Means would he retract what he had wrote against her Right, and that of his own Queen. *I cannot deny (says he) the writing of a Book against the usurped Authority and unjust Regiment of Women, neither yet am I minded to recant or call back any principal Point or Proposition of the same, till Truth and Verity do further appear.* To these Letters the Secretary returned an Answer with *Alexander Whitelaw*, who had been sent with them, in that to the Lords of the Congregation, he insisted only upon Generals, so that they knew not what to make of it, but his Answer to Mr. *Knox* was as follows.

Mr. *Knox*,

The Secre-
tary's An-
swer.

Non est masculus neque femina, omnes enim ut ait Paulus unum sumus in Christo Iesu, benedictus vir qui confidit in domino & erit dominus fiducia ejus.

“ **I** Have received your Letters at the same Time that I thought
 “ **I** to have seen your self at *Stamford*, what is now hitherto the
 “ Cause of your Letter I know not ; I forbear to descend to the
 “ Bottom of Things, till I may confer with such an one as ye are :
 “ And therefore if your Chance shall be hereafter to come hither,
 “ I wish you furnished with good Credit and Power to make good
 “ Resolution. Although my Answer to the Lords of the Congre-
 “ gation be somewhat obscure, but upon further Understanding ye
 “ shall find the Matter plain. I need to wish you no more Prudence
 “ than God’s Grace, whereof God send you plenty, and so I end.

From Oxford the 28th
 of July, 1559.

*Tours as a Member of the
 same Body in Christ,*
Mr. CECIL.

Mr. *Knox* tells us, that he was at *Berwick* when he received these Letters, upon which he immediately returned to *Stirling*, where the Lords of the Congregation were, but they having the Secretary’s Letter read to them, and finding nothing but such general Things, as that they could make nothing of, they despaired of having Success with him ; and all that our zealous Author could obtain from them, was a Liberty to do in it as he thought fit. Upon this Mr. *Knox* wrote another Letter to *Cecil*, wherein he acquainted him of their small Number, which was then but five hundred, and assures him, *That unless Money be furnished without delay to pay the Soldiers for their past Service, and to retain another thousand Footmen, with three hundred Horsemen, these Gentlemen would be forced to leave the Fields*, but that he could assure him, *As Flesh may be Flesh, that they would take a very hard Life before that ever they would submit to the Queen Regent*; and likewise tells him, *That is not*

not known what good Will Mr. Whitelaw, the Laird of Grange and ^{An. 1572.}
he do bear to England : And he concludes with assuring him, that
he heard with his Ears *Butten Court* say, *That they would hazard*
the Crown of France in the Cause ; and I can assure you, says he, that
unless by us they thought to make an Entry to you, that they would not
buy our Poverty at that Price.

Upon the receiving of this Letter, Secretary *Cecil* remitted a Sum of Money to them with Mr. *Henry Balneves*, which enabled them to oppose the Queen Regent more than ever, and all the Religious Houses were burnt and pulled down ; for by Mr. *Knox's* Preachings ^{The great Devastations made in the Kingdom, and caused by his Sermons.} in *Perth Shire* and *Fife*, not only those of *Perth*, *Scoon* and *St. Andrews*, as we have said, were demolished (a), but likewise those of *Creil*, *Anstruther*, *Pitenweem*, *Cowpar*, the noble *Abbacy* of *Cambuskenneth* near to the Town of *Stirling*, and marching to *Linlithgow*, they destroyed and broke down all the Religious Houses and Altars that were there : The like they did at *Edinburgh*, and in all the other Parts of the Kingdom, so that the whole Nation was laid desolate and in Rubbish : But Mr. *Knox* not being satisfied with this, he writes a Letter to those of the West (b), upbraiding them with their Slowness in the Work of the Lord, as he calls it, and not hastening to join the *English Forces* under the Command of the Duke of *Northfolk*.

The Queen Regent having taken Possession of the Town of *Edinburgh*, it was thought fit by the Lords of the Congregation, that Mr. *Knox* should be removed from *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *Willcox* be left in his Place ; who, tho' he was as violent as Mr. *Knox*, yet he had not offended the Queen Regent so much ; but at length the Lords of the Congregation becoming more powerful than the Queen Regent, they deposed her ; but that they might not seem to do it ^{He agreed to the deposing of the Queen Regent.} out of Spite or Malice, they asked the Advice of their Teachers, Mr. *Willcox* and our Author, who both of them gave their Opinion for depriving her of her Authority : And Mr. *Knox* having approved of all that his Brother Mr. *Willcox* had said, added (c), *First, That the Iniquity of the Queen Regent and Disorder, ought in no ways to withdraw, neither our Hearts, nor yet the Hearts of other Subjects from the Obedience due unto our Sovereign.* *2dly, That if they deposed the said Queen Regent, rather of Malice and private Envy, than for the Preservation of the Common-Wealth, and for that her Sins, appeared incurable, that they should not escape God's just Punishment, however that she had deserved Rejection from Honours.* *And Lastly, He required that no such Sentence should be pronounced against her, but that upon known and open Repentance, and upon her Conversion to the Common-Wealth, and Submission to the Nobility, place should be granted unto her of Regress to the same Honours, from the which, for just Causes she justly might be deprived.*

Not long after this, the Queen Regent having got the Advantage over the Lords of the Congregation, they were mightily dejected

Anno 1572. and discouraged, till our Author raised up their Hearts by a consolatory Sermon, preached to them at *Stirling* upon the 7th of *November*, taking for his Text the 5. 6, 7, and 8th Verses of the 80 Psalm, the Substance of which Sermon is inserted in his History, from *Pag. 206*, till *Pag. 211*. But the next Year 1560, the Lords of the Congregation having brought a strong Army from *England* to assist them, and the Queen Regent dying of Grief, they prevailed

He composes a Form of Church Discipline, which is rejected by the States of Parliament. every where ; and our Author Mr. *Knox* being established Minister at *Edinburgh*, he drew up a Form of Church Discipline upon the *Geneva* Model, which he presented to the States of Parliament, to be ratified and approved by them ; but they did not think fit to approve of it, but to please Mr. *Knox*, who was daily complaining in his Sermons that there were still remaining several Religious Houses

He procures an Act of Parliament for demolishing of such Churches and Cloisters as were remaining in the Kingdom. in the Kingdom, they past an Act for demolishing all Cloysters and Abbey Churches that were not yet pulled down : For Mr. *Knox* had told them plainly in one of his Sermons, that it was a Duty incumbent upon them ; for, said he, *The true Way to banish the Rooks, is to pull down their Nests* (*a*). And the Execution of the Act for the West Parts was committed to the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle* and *Glencairn*, for the North Parts to the Prior of *St. Andrews*, now called Lord *James*, and for the In-Countries to some Barons that were held most zealous. Whereupon, says Bishop *Spotswood* (*b*), ensued a pitiful Vastation of Churches and Church-buildings throughout all the Parts of the Realm, for every one made bold to put to their Hands, the meaner Sort imitating the Example of the greater, and those who were in Authority. No Difference was made, but all the Churches either defaced, or pulled to the Ground ; the Holy Vessels, and whatsoever else Men could make Gain of, as Timber, Lead and Bells were put to sale, the very Sepulchres of the Dead were not spared, the Registers of the Church and Bibliotheks cast into the Fire ; in a Word, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the Time of the first Tumults, did now undergo the common Calamity. Yet this did not fully satisfy Mr. *Knox*, for after the Parliament was dissolved, he got together a Meeting of several Noblemen and Barons, who subscribed to his Book of Discipline, in Opposition to the States of Parliament.

He has a Conference with the Queen.

Queen *Mary* having come from *France*, and being informed that Mr. *Knox* was one of the Instruments of the Civil War, she sent for him ; and there being none present but the Queen, Lord *James* and he, she told him that he had raised a Rebellion against her Mother and her, that he had wrote a Book against her Authority, that he had introduced a new Religion amongst her Subjects, and that, as she was informed, he was a Necromancer. Mr. *Knox* gives us an Account (*c*) how he answered all these Accusations ; but we shall only observe, that he own'd that what was done in Defence of Religion, could not be called Rebellion : *And that if any Prince undertook to murder the Children of God that are subject unto them, their*

(*a*) See *Spots. Lib. 3. P. 175.* (*b*) *Ibid.* (*c*) In his Hist. *Lib. 4.* from *P. 310* to *315.*

their blind Zeal is nothing but a very mad Phrenzy, and therefore ^{An. 1572.} to take the Sword from them, to bind their Hands, and to cast them into Prison, till that they be brought to a more sober Mind, is no Disobedience against Princes, but just Obedience, because that it agreeth with the Word of God. He acknowledged that he wrote a Book against the Regiment of Women, and was still of that Opinion; but although learned Men did often differ in Opinions, that they still submitted where the Generality prevailed, and that he was so fully perswaded of the Unlawfulness of a Woman's having the supreme Authority, That he thought himself alone more able to sustain the Things affirmed in that Work than any Ten in Europe that shall be able to confute it. And no less confident was he of confuting the learnedest Papist in Europe, if he durst but enter the Lists with him before her Majesty. And Lastly, As to the Accusation of Necromancy, it was not worth his Pains to notice it, since Christ himself was accused of it by his Enemies. After this Conference, Mr. Knox being asked by some of his Friends, What he thought of the Queen? He said, If there be not in her a proud Mind, a crafty Wit, <sup>His Char-
acter of the
Queen.</sup> and an indurat Heart against God and his Truth, my Judgment faileth me.

The Barons requiring that Orders should be taken for the sustaining of Ministers, the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council having met upon the 20th of December 1561, they ordered that the Churchmen should have Intromission and Medling with two Parts of their Benefices, and that the third Part should be gathered by such Men as thereto should be appointed; which so grieved Mr. Knox, that in one of his Sermons he said (a), Well, if the End of this Order pretended to be taken for Sustentation of Ministers be happy, my Judgment fails me. For I am assured that the Spirit of God is not the Author of it, for first I see two Parts freely given to the Devil, and the Third must be divided between God and the Devil. Well, bear Witness to me, that this Day I said it, e'er it be long the Devil shall have three Parts of the Third, and judge then what God's Portion will be.

Mr. Knox in the Year 1562 had a Conference with the Earl of Bothwell in private, wherein he confessed his lewd and wicked Life to him, and desired his Assistance in being reconciled to the Earl of Arran; what his Confession was, Mr. Knox has revealed to the World, and in Gratitude he was bound to serve the Earl; for he tells us (b). That his Great Grand-father, his Grand-father and Father had been Servants to the Earl's Predecessors, so it is no wonder that he did the Earl that Piece of Service, which was of no long Duration; for immediately after, as he tells us, the Earl of Arran turn'd mad: Not long after this the Queen for her Diversion having had a Ball in her Palace at *Holy-Rood-House*, Mr. Knox from thence took the Occasion in a Sermon to reprove the Queen for it, which she being informed of, sent for him, and told him in Presence of <sup>He has a
Conference with the Earl
of Bothwell,
and reveals
his Confession.</sup> <sup>He has also
another Conference with
the Queen,
wherein he
reproves her
for her do-
ing.</sup>

Anno 1572

the Lord James, the Earl of Morton, Secretary Lithington, and some Ladies of the Bed-chamber, that he was accused of speaking irreverently of her, his endeavouring to make her odious to her Subjects, and of going beyond the Bounds of his Text: As for his speaking irreverently of her, he told her, *That if she had heard what he had said, if there were any Spark of the Spirit of God, yea of Honesty or Wisdom in her, she would not have been offended*: Then resuming the Substance of his Discourse to her from his Text, which was, *And now understand O ye Kings, and be learned ye that judge the Earth*. He acknowledged that he had said, that all Princes did despise the Law of God and his holy Ordinances, taking more Pleasure in fidling and flinging, in which they are more exercised, than in reading or hearing God's most blessed Word, and Fidlers and Flatterers (which commonly corrupt the Youth) are more precious in their Eyes, than Men of Wisdom and Gravity, that although he did not find dancing commended in the Scriptures, and that prophane Writers condemn'd it rather as the Gesture of mad and phrenetick People, than of those that were sober and in their Wits, yet he did not utterly condemn it, providing that the use of it do not take them off their principal Duty, and as the Philistines their Fathers, for the Pleasure they take in the Displeasure of God's People, for if they do these or either of them, they shall receive the Reward of Dancers, and that will be to Drink in Hell. The Queen having given him a gentle Reprimand, told him, that tho' she and her Uncles differ'd from him in their Religion, yet when he heard any Thing of her that he thought deserved his Reproof, he ought to come and admonish her of it in private, to this Mr Knox answered, that he was assured that her Uncles were Enemies to God and to his Son Jesus Christ: But as to his admonishing of her in private. *He was called to a publick Function within the Church of God, and appointed by God to rebuke the Vices and Sins of all, but that he was not appointed to come to every Man in particular, to show him his Offence, for that Labour were infinit: But if her Majesty were pleased to frequent the publick Sermons, then he doubted not but that she should understand both what he liked and disliked in her Majesty as in all others.* Having taken his leave of the Queen, he says he heard some Papists saying, *he is not afraid, to which he answered, What should the pleasant Face of a Lady afrai me?*

He has a
third Confe-
rence with
the Queen,
concerning
the Power of
punishing I-
dolaters.

The next Year being 1563, The Congregation resolving to put to Death such of the Popish Priests (a), as should be found saying Mass, the Queen sent for Mr. Knox, she was then at Lochleven, and he tells us (b), that she dealt with him for two Hours before Supper, that he would be instrumental in dissuading them from punishing those who differ'd from them in Religion, but he insisting upon the Lawfulness of their punishing them, unless she did it herself; she asked him, *Will ye allow that they shall take my Sword in their Hand?* To this he answered, *That the Sword of Justice was God's*

(a) Lib 4. P. 352. (b) Ibid.

God's Sword, and that if Princes made not the right use of it, the Rulers under them that fear God ought to do it : And to prove this he told her, that Samuel spared not to slay Agag the fat and delicate King of Amalek whom Saul had saved, neither spared Elias, Jezebel's false Prophets and Baal's false Priests, albeit that King Ahab was present, Phineas was no Magistrate, and yet he feared not to strike Zimbri and Cozbi in the very Act of filthy Fornication, for he noways doubted but they were as much guided by the Spirit of God as any of these were.

The States of Parliament having met upon the 19th Day of May 1563, Mr. *Knox* and his Brethren were for taking such violent Measures, that even the Lord *James*, then Earl of *Murray*, the Queen's greatest Enemy, and Mr. *Knox*'s most intimate Friend, fell at such Variance about it, that Mr. *Knox* after that he had upbraided the Earl, as if he had raised him from nothing ; he says, (a), That he sent him a Letter discharging the said Earl of all further Intrusion or Care with his Affairs, and for an Year and a half they spake not together. The Brethren finding that they could not prevail with the Earl of *Murray* to break Measures with the Queen, their next Method was to fall a railing at the Parliament for the Vanity of their Apparrel, which Mr. *Knox* Characterizes thus, Such (b), *stinking Pride of Women as was seen at that Parliament, was never seen in Scotland, three sundry Days the Queen rode to the Tolbooth, the first Day she made a painted Oration, and there might have been heard amongst her Flatteries vox Dianæ, the Voice of a Goddess, for it could not be Dei and not of a Woman, God save that Face, was there ever Orator spake so properly and so sweetly, &c.* But this Project failing them, Mr. *Knox* fell upon another Knack of incensing her Subjects against her, which was this, at this Time a Project of the Queen's Marriage with the King of Spain was set on Foot, and he being Roman-Catholick, Mr. *Knox* goes to the Pulpit, and after he had said a great many Things concerning the Danger that the Protestant Religion was in, he told them plainly, *That whosoever the Nobility of Scotland who: professeth the Lord Jesus, consents that an Infidel (and all Papists are Infidels) shall be Head of our Sovereign, ye do so far as in you lyeth to banish Christ Jesus from this Realm, yea to bring God's Vengeance upon the Country, and a Plague upon your selves.* The Queen being informed of this Seditious Sermon, she sent for him, and having upbraided him with her merciful Treatment of him ever since he came to the Country, notwithstanding of which he still insulted over her more and more ; at which she burst forth in Tears, which he most inhumanely mocks at. She asked him what he had to do with her Marriage, and after most insulting Language, he told her what he had said out of the Pulpit : But she was advised not to punish him as he deserved, so he was dismissed for that Time, yet he acknowledges (c), *That this Manner of speaking was judged intolerable, and that both Protestants*

He falls at Variance with his intimate Friend the Earl of Murray.

He preaches against the Queen's Marriage.

testants and Papists were offended at him, and that his most familiar Friends disdained him for speaking so.

In the Month of October, a Mob having insulted the Queen's Servants at the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House*, some of them were apprehended and threatened to be severely punished, to prevent which, Mr. Knox having consulted his Brethren, he wrote circular Letters for raising the whole Country to relieve them; one of which falling into the President of the Sessions Hands was sent to the Queen; and about the middle of December, a Council was called, and Mr. Knox being brought before them, was accused for convocating the Queen's Lieges, which he acknowledged, and insulted her Majesty before her own Council, of all which he gives us a very large and particular Account (*a*), and says, That both the Papists and Protestants absolved him, and that when the Queen perceived the President of the Session *Henry Sinclair* Bishop of *Ross* voted with the rest in his Favour, she said, *Trouble not the Bairn, I pray you trouble him not, for he is newly wakened out of his Sleep, why should not the old Fool follow him that passed before him?* The Bishop answered coldly, *Your Majesty may consider that it is neither Affection to the Man, nor Love to his Profession that moved me to Absolve him, but the simple Truth.* And the General Assembly that met in the same Month likewise Absolved him from all that was laid to his Charge. But I am afraid that this unanimous Consent of the Council, is much of the same Nature with what he reports to have happened at the same Time (*b*), to wit, *That the Sea for 24 Hours did neither ebb nor flow.* A General Assembly having met in the Month of June 1564, Secretary *Lithington* desired that they might alter their Way and Manner of Praying for the Queen as an Idolater, and as one excluded from the Election of God, upon which there ensued a long Dispute betwixt Mr. Knox and him, wherein

He has a Dispute with Secretary Lithington, wherein he maintains, that it was not lawful to pray for the Queen, but as an Idolater and that we may resist and dethrone Princes.

Mr. Knox affirmed, *That it was not lawful to pray for her otherwise, that they had Reason to think that she was worse than Simon Magus, and that it was lawful for Subjects not only to resist, but to dethrone and punish their Princes, the Power of making and unmaking them being in the People.*

The Queen having married the Lord *Darnly* her own Cousin German, and a young Gentleman of a very lovely Aspect, his first Attempt to gain the Opinion of the People, was to go to the Church, and no Body doubted but this would please Mr. Knox; and accordingly upon Sunday the 19th of August he came to hear him in St. Gile's Church, where Mr. Knox made choice for his Text the xxvi Chapter of the Prophet *Isaiah*, Verse 13. *O Lord our God, other Lords than thou have ruled over us.* He from thence took Occasion to speak of the Government of wicked Princes, and amongst other Things, he said, *That God sometimes set over his People for their Ingratitude and Offences, Women and Boys,* alluding to the King and Queen, and that *Ahab* and his Posterity, because he would

(*a*) From Pag. 363, Lib. 4. to Pag. 372. (*b*) Ibid. Pag. 374.

not take Order with that Harlot *Jezabel*, were punished, ^{with} ~~Am. 1572.~~
 which the King was so incensed, that he was immediately summo-
 ned before the Council, where he not only own'd what he had
 said, but likewise added, *That as the King had to please the Queen
 gone to Mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should God in his
 Justice make her the Instrument of his Ruin.* Yet all the Council
 did to him for this Insolence, was to silence him for 15 or 20
 Days.

In the Month of *December 1566*, Mr. *Knox* obtained from the Assembly then sitting, not only Liberty to visit his Sons who were then following their Studies at the University of *Cambridge*, but a Letter from the Assembly in Favours of some Preachers, who were troubled for not conforming themselves to the Orders of that Church, directed thus, *The Superintendants, Ministers and Commissioners of the Church within the Realm of Scotland, to their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity, wish the increase of the Holy Spirit,* the Letter it self is in *Spotswood's History* (a).

Mr. *Knox* having stay'd above a Year in *England*, returned to his Flock at *Edinburgh*, and *Spotswood* tells us, that when the Regent was killed in the Year 1569 (b). Mr. *Knox* utter'd a notable Prophecy from the Pulpit, against *Thomas Maitland* a younger Brother of *Lithington's*, but I shall shew the contrary of this in the Life of that young Gentleman's Governour, and that this Prediction was as false as all the rest of his Predictions were.

An Assembly having met at *Stirling* in the Month of *August 1571*, and Mr. *Knox* being then Sick at *St. Andrews*, he wrote a Letter to them, exhorting them to stand firm to their Interest, for now in all Probability he was dying, and indeed not long after he died at *Edinburgh* upon the 27th of *November 1572*; And Mr. *David Buchanan* who writes his Life, gives us a long Account of his pious Exhortations, Prayers and Ejaculations at his Death, which Bishop *Spotswood* in his History has transcribed from him Word for Word.

This Author has been variously characterized by the Learned, according to their different Inclinations to the Churches of *Geneva*, *Rome* and *England*, and we shall begin with *Geneva*.

Calvin and *Beza* had a very great Esteem for him, as it appears from their Letters, and the great Friendship that was betwixt *Calvin* and him. Mr. *David Buchanan* says (c). "That he was a Man endued with many excellent Gifts, and with a very great Measure of the Spirit, God raised him up to be a chief Instrument of the glorious Work of the Reformation; the Court Claw-backs and Parasites have been, and are displeased with his Doctrine touching the Authority of Princes and Civil Magistrates, although there was never Man who did more heartily reverence civil Authority,

*He goes to
England, to
see his Sons
at the Uni-
versity of
Cambridge.*

*His Death
and Char-
acter.*

(a) *Lb. 4. Page 198.* (b) *Lb. 5. Page 234.* (c) *Mr. Knox's Life prefixed to his History.*

Anno 1572. " thorthy, nor obey more willingly the lawful Commands thereto
 " than he, all his Doctrine concerning the civil Authority, was to
 " correct the Corruption brought in by the slavish Flatterers, who
 " abusing the Simplicity and Debonairty of those whom God has
 " placed in Authority, maketh them inconsiderately to rebel wilfully
 " and openly against God and his Son, and turn all Things upside
 " down, and undo the poor People of God, for whose Good and
 " Safety they are placed so high, likewise were and are to this Day
 " the proud Prelates and idle Belly-Gods highly offended with his
 " Doctrine concerning *Church Government*, although he intended
 " no other thing but the pulling down of *Antichristianism* fully,
 " and casting all Tyranny and Idleness out of the House of God.
 " Never was a Man more observant of the true and just Authority
 " of Church Rulers, according to the Word of God, and Practice
 " of the purest primitive Times : He always urged pressingly due
 " Obedience by the People to the faithful Pastors and Elders of the
 " Church, altho' he was both learned and eloquent, yet did he not
 " much apply his Mind to compose Books for Posterity, for he was
 " wont to say, that God had called him rather to instruct the Ignor-
 " ant, comfort the Sorrowful, rebuke the Sinners, and confirm the
 " Weak living in his Time, than to make Books for Ages to come.
 " Nevertheless, he wrote several good Pieces, for besides what we
 " have spoken of already, viz. *His History of the Reformation*, his
 " *Appellation from the Church of Scotland*, his *Admonition to the*
 " *Commons of Scotland*, his *Admonition to the Professors of Truth*
 " in England, a *Letter to the Queen Regent* and a *Sermon*; all which
 " he has printed with his History; namely he left these, *A learned*
 " *Treatise against the blasphemous Anabaptists*, two *Treatises against*
 " *the Mass*, one of the *Eucharist*, some *Sermons upon Genesis*, some al-
 " so upon the *Psalms*, an *Exhortation to all afflicted Churches*; an *Ad-*
 " *vice in Time of Trouble*, the first *Blast of the Trumpet*, &c. Be-
 " sides these he wrote a Book against *Tyre the Jesuite*. He died *An.*
 " *Dom. 1572*, and of his Age 62. His Body was inter'd at St. *Giles*
 " without the Church; to his Burial assisted many Men of all Ranks,
 " among others the Earl of *Morton*, who being near to the Grave,
 " as the Corps was put in, said by Way of Epitaph, *Here lies the*
 " *Body of him, who in his Lifetime never fear'd the Face of Man*".

Mr. *Calderwood* gives this Account of him (a), " Mr. *Knox* de-
 " parted this Life upon the 24 of November, the Light and Comfort
 " of our Kirk, and a Pattern to Ministers for Holiness of Life, Soundness
 " of Doctrine, and courageous Liberty in rebuking of Persons of what-
 " soever Rank: Bishop *Ridley*, notwithstanding his Opposition to the
 " Book of Common Prayer and *English Ceremonies*, confesseth in
 " a *Letter to Mr. Grindal*, that he was a Man of good Wit, of much
 " good Learning and earnest Zeal, in Eloquence and forcible Ex-
 " pression of his Mind, either by Word or Writ, he surpassed all
 " other of his Calling in this Nation; how profound he was in

Divini-

" Divinity, that Work of his upon Predestination may give Evidence: *An. 1572*
" Incredibile was the Success of his Pains in planting of the Gospel,
" and the Work of Reformation, till Religion was so established,
" that scarce a Papist durst set up his Head, and avouch for Popery:
" He alone did more good than all the Superintendants, and for
" his Gifts was more esteemed. How many Things did he foretell
" which came to pass. When the Castle of St. Andrews was besieged
" both by Sea and Land, after the Slaughter of the Cardinal, and
" the Defenders within triumphed upon any good Success; he ever
" said, they never saw what he saw: When they bragged of the
" Strength and Thickness of their Walls, he said, *They will prove*
" like Egg-Shells. When they said, *England* will relieve us, he said,
" *Ye shall not see them at this Time, but shall be delivered into your*
" *Enemies Hands, and carried into a strange Country*, and so it came
" to pass. When the Lords of the Congregation were twice dis-
" comfited by the French Soldiers, he assured them, that the Lord,
" notwithstanding, would perfect the Work of the Reformation.
" Because Queen Mary refused to come to Sermon, he bad tell
" her, that she shall be compelled to hear the Word nill she will
" she, and so it came to pass at her Arraignment: To her Husband
" King Henry, sitting on the King's Seat in the great Kirk, he said,
" *Have ye for the Pleasure of that dainty Dame cast the Psalm Book*
" *in the Fire, the Lord shall strike both Head and Tail.* When he
" was constrained to leave Edinburgh, the Queen's Faction posses-
" sing both the Town and Castle, he went to St. Andrews: At this
" Time being weak in Body, but mighty in Spirit, he stept softly
" to the Kirk, that Day he was to preach, having a Staff in the one
" Hand, and his Servant Richard Bannantin holding him up on the
" other Side, all the Way from the Abbey to the Parish Kirk, after he
" was lifted up to the Pulpit, it behooved him to rest a While; but
" before he ended his Sermon, he became so active and vigorous,
" that he was like to break the Pulpit in Pieces: He threatened that
" the Castle of Edinburgh should spew out the Captain (meaning
" Sir William Kirkcaldie of the Grange) with Shame, that he should
" not come out at the Gate, but over the Walls, and that the Tower
" of the Castle called *Davie's Tower* shall run like a Sand Glass.
" Mr. Robert Hamilton Minister at St. Andrews, favouring the
" Hamiltons who were upon the Queen's Faction, asked Mr. Knox
" what Warrant he had so to threaten, he answered, *Thou shall see*
" *it with thine Eyes:* It came so to pass, for the said Mr. Robert
" was in Edinburgh when the Fore-work of the Castle was demoli-
" shed with the Battery of Cannons, and did run down like a sandy
" Brae, he saw the Captain coming over the Walls upon a Ladder
" with a Staff in his Hand, because the Passage by the Gate was stopt
" with the Rubbish of the demolished Work: After the Abstinence
" was proclaimed, and the Citizens who stood for the King return-
" ned to Edinburgh, Mr. Knox returned also the 13th of August,
" not being able for Weakness to teach in the great Kirk, he taught

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" to a few in the Tolbooth : He wrote to Mr. *James Lawson* Sub-
 " Principal in *Aberdeen* to hasten, least he came too late ; for he
 " was nominate by himself, and accepted by the People to be his
 " Successor in that Place ; upon the 19th of *November* he came
 " down from the Tolbooth, where he had been preaching to an
 " hundred Persons, admitted Mr. *James* in the great Kirk, and took
 " Goodnight of the People : Upon the 14th Day, thinking it had
 " been the Lord's Day, he riseth of Purpose to teach in the Tol-
 " booth, when he could scarce sit upon a Stool, for he had been
 " meditating that Night before upon the Resurrection of Christ ;
 " for he had finished the Doctrine of the Passion the Day before,
 " often did he wish that he might end his Days meditating upon the
 " Doctrine of the Resurrection of Christ, and so he did ; he sent
 " for the Elders and Deacons, and exhorted them to stand constant
 " in the Doctrine which they had heard out of his Mouth, and ne-
 " ver to join with the Castle, it remaining in the State it was then,
 " or to meddle with that Faction : He said, *Lithington* was the chief
 " Author of all the Troubles that were raised, both in *England* and
 " *Scotland* ; and what he had denounced against him, and Sir *Wil-*
liam Kirkaldie of Grange, should come to pass : After that he had
 " commended them to God by Prayer, they went out from him
 " with Tears. At a certain Time when Mr. *David Lindsay* came
 " to visit him, he said, *I have desired all this Day to have had you,*
that I may send you yet to that Man in the Castle (meaning the
Captain Kirkaldie of Grange) *whom you know I have loved so*
dearly ; go, I pray you, and tell him that I have sent you to him
yet once to warn him, and to bid him in the Name of God to leave
that Cause, and render that Castle ; if he will not, that he shall be
brought down with Shame over the Walls, and hang with his Face
to the Sun ; so God hath assured me. Mr. *David* thought the Mes-
 sage hard, yet he went and delivered it : The Captain was some-
 " what moved, till Secretary *Lithington* came to him ; *Lithington*
 " said, Go tell John Knox he is but a dryting Prophet. Mr. *David*
 " reported how his Message was accepted : Well, said Mr. *Knox*,
 " I have been earnest with God about these two Men, for that one
 " (meaning *Grange*) I am sorry that so should befall him ; yet God
 " affureth me, that there is Mercy for his Soul ; for the other, I have
 " no Warrant to say that it shall be well with him. From the 13th
 " of *November*, when he became so feeble with a Hoast, that he
 " could not continue his ordinary Task of reading of the Scriptures
 " which he had every Day, he caused read every Day the 17th
 " Chapter of the Gospel according to *John*, the 53 of *Isaiah*, one
 " or two Chapters of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, and such Psalms
 " as he directed himself. Upon the 23d of *November* in Time of
 " Afternoon's Sermon, after he had lyen a long Time quiet as see-
 " med, he burst forth in these Words, *I have been meditating these*
two Nights bypast upon the troubled State of the Kirk of God ; *I*
have called to God for it, and commended it to Christ her Head ; *I*
have

" have been fighting with spiritual Wickednesses, but have prevailed; An. 1572
 " I have been in Heaven, and tasted of the heavenly Joyes : There-
 " after he rehearsed the Lord's Prayer and Belief, paraphrasing upon
 " each Petition and Article. After Sermon many came in to visit
 " him ; some asked if he felt any Pain ; he answered, *I have no*
 " *more Pain for the present than if I were in Heaven ; and am con-*
 " *tent, if it were God's Pleasure, to lie here seven Years.* When they
 " thought he was fallen asleep, he was at his Meditations, and did
 " burst forth in these, or the like Speeches ; *Lord grant true Pastors*
 " *to thy Kirk, that Purity of Doctrine may be continued ; restore Peace*
 " *to this Common-wealth ; grant godly Rulers and Magistrates :*
 " *Lord I commend my Soul and Body into thy Hands.* When Dr.
 " Preston came to visit him about nine Hours at Night, after he had
 " lien quiet a Space, but not without Groans and Sighs, he said,
 " *I have been assaulted with sundry Temptations, but have prevailed ;*
 " *at last Satan tempted me to Boasting and Gloriation in my self, but I*
 " *repelled him with this Sentence, Quid habes quod non accepisti ?*
 " Upon the 24 Day of November, he caused read the 15 Chapter of
 " the first Epistle to the Corinthians ; about five Hours he biddeth
 " his Wife read the 17th of John, where, said he, *I did cast my first*
 " *Anchor, which she did : At half Hour before Ten, Dr. Preston said*
 " *to him after the Prayer, Sir, Heard you the Prayer ; he answered,*
 " *Would to God you and others heard it, as I heard it ; I praise God*
 " *for that heavenly Sound.* He rendred his Spirit about eleven
 " Hours at Night with great Peace, which he expressed by Signs and
 " Words : Many of his Speeches are set down more amply by
 " Melchior Adamus in *vitis Theologorum exterorum principum.*
 " Mr. Thomas Smeton in the Description of his Life and Death, gi-
 " veth him this Commendation, *De quo ut vere & ingenue dicam,*
 " *nescio an unquam magis pium aut majus ingenium in fragili & in-*
 " *becillo corpore collocari. Beza calleth him the great Apostle of*
 " *the Scots, and comprehendeth all his Praises in few Words, when*
 " *he called him Great Mr. Knox.* The Death of the good Regent
 " of happy Memory the Earl of Murray, made a deep Impression
 " in his Heart ; but the Report of the Massacre of Paris did almost
 " exanimate him. The Earl of Morton was chosen Regent that Day
 " he departed this Life ; when he was laid in the Grave, Morton
 " said, *There lieth a Man who in his Life never feared the Face of*
 " *Man ; who hath been often threatned with Dag and Dagger, but yet*
 " *bath ended his Days in Peace and Honour.* I cannot pass by here
 " a remarkable Sign of God's Care and Providence watching over
 " him : It was his Custom to sit at the Head of the Table in his
 " own House, with his Back to the Window which was at the Head
 " of the Table, yet upon a certain Night as he sat at the Side, a
 " Bullet was shot from the other Side of the Street in at the Window,
 " of Purpose to kill him, because the Traytor supposed that he was
 " sitting at the Head of the Table according to his Custom ; the
 " Bullet lighted upon the Foot of the Candlestick, and made an

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" Hole in it, as is yet to be seen". And how much he was esteem'd by *Theodore Beza* for his vigorous opposing of Episcopacy, appears from a Letter directed to Mr. *Knox* (*a*), and dated at *Geneva* the 12th of *April*, which is extant among his Epistles, wherein he acknowledgeth it to be the great Gift of God that the Kirk of *Scotland* hath the pure Religion and good Order ; and beseecheth him and his Fellow Labourers to hold fast these Two, and to remember that if the one be lost, the other cannot continue long. " But " (*faith he*) I would have you, my dear *Knox*, and the other Bre- " thren, to remember that which is before your Eyes ; as Bishops " brought forth the Papacy, so false Bishops the Reliques of Popery " shall bring in Epicurism to the World ; they that desire the " Church's Good and Safety, let them take heed of this Pestilence : " And seeing that you have put that Plague to the Flight timeously ; " I heartily pray you that you never admit it again, albeit it seem " plausible with the Pretence or Colour of keeping Unity ; which " Pretence deceived the ancient Fathers, yea even many of the best " of them ". The Characters given to Mr. *Knox* by Mr. *Thomas Smeton*, and a great many other Members of the Church of *Geneva* are much to the same Purpose with that of Mr. *Calderwood's*. And now I shall proceed to give the Characters that the Members of the Church of *Rome* have bestowed upon him.

Amongst the first of these is Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* (*b*), who about Four Years after Mr. *Knox*'s Death, gives us an Abridgement of his Life ; wherein, after he has given us an Account that he was born near *Haddington* of a mean and obscure Parentage, that he was a Man of a factious and aspiring Genius, who not only wrote in Defence of Rebellion and rebellious Practices, but likewise by his seditious Sermons excited the Mob to rise in Rebellion against their Native Prince, and to lay the whole Country in Ashes, by burning and destroying all the Churches, Religious Houses, and whatever was consecrated to the Service of God, not so much as sparing the Tombs of the Dead, the Bibliotheks and other Monuments of Learning : For which, says he, God inflicted upon him a horrible and visible Judgment at his Death, which they that were present, and yet alive can testify : For when he was a dying, his Mouth and Face were so contorted and deformed, that it resembled the Face of a Dog, rather than that of a Man's, as did likewise his Voice ; but as he made his nearer Approaches to Eternity, the Convulsions having left him, and those who looked upon him during his Life as a Prophet, waiting upon him, and expecting from him a Confirmation of the Doctrines that he had taught them in his Life ; he employed his Thoughts not upon Death and Sin, but upon the Things of this Life, and the Administration of publick Affairs. At length, finding his last Hour approaching, he confessed that he had been taught Necromancy Abroad, by which he predicted many Things ; as likewise the Injustice of their Causē, and Rebellion against the Queen ; and

(*a*) *Calderwood's Hist.* Pag. 57. (*b*) *Pet. Hamilt. de Confus. Calv. Scot. apud Scotos.* Pag. 64. usque ad pag. 67.

and that after his Death, that the Queen and the Popish Religion should be restored, at which his Amanuensis *Robert Campbell of Pinkincloogh*, thinking that he was raving begun to stop, upon which Mr. *Knox* turning to him, bitterly reproved him, asking him why he stopt to write what he foresaw was to happen in this Kingdom, do you doubt of what I say to you, do you not believe, that what I say to you is as certain as Truth it self; but that you and all here may be convinced of it, remove from me, and you shall find the Truth of it confirmed by a new and unheard of Proof; which they unwillingly did, leaving nothing in the Room with him but the lighted Candles: And having returned after some Stay, big with the Expectation of some Prodigy or Miracle; they found all the Lights put out, and his Body lying dead upon the Floor; with which with, being all of them astonish'd, they lighted the Candles again, and put the Body into the Bed, promising to keep secret what they had seen; that they might not expose the Impiety of his Life. And this is the Substance of what Mr. *Hamilton* says of him, whose words for the Reader's Satisfaction, I shall here insert, concerning the Manner of his Death (a).

“Tandem quod gravioris judicii mox sequuturi argumentum erat,
 “rictus oris in longum ad miram usque deformitatem extractus, ut
 “faciem canis referebat, ita ejusdem latratus vocem simillimam red-
 “debat: inde linguam qua potissimum nocebat vox destituit; nec ita
 “diu post, tabescente indies corpore, mors patriæ gratissima sequuta
 “fuit, cuius hunc fuisse modum narrarunt ii qui interfuerunt, quique
 “adhuc viventis ultima excipientes verba, prostratum subito corpus
 “exanime viderunt. Falebat extremum agens spiritum, animo non
 “tam in mortis & peccatorum meditationem quam in praesentis hujus
 “vita & civilis administrationis studium intento: astabat turba non
 “ita frequens, eorum modo qui ipsius sententia addictissimi, eum sum-
 “mi propheta loco venerabantur. Hi quum non aliter quam sacro-
 “sancta oracula ea qua in vita dixerat omnia haberent, tum quod ad
 “superioris doctrinae confirmationem, & ad suam ipsorum consolatio-
 “nem servire posset, avide expectabant. Instabant igitur quo verba
 “illa suprema prioribus digna & consentanea, ratione aliqua ab eo
 “expressa audirent. Hic cum ultimam instare horam, & proinde
 “nullum sibi amplius adjumentum dissimulata diu Religionis prætex-
 “tum adserre posse intelligeret. Subaudita illius Disciplina qua occul-
 “ta prius semper habuit Mysteria, palam & detecta, ut aiunt,
 “fronte recludit, simul & injustam potestatem confessus, qua tum ar-
 “mis contra Reginam ejectam defendebatur; simul & multa de Regi-
 “ne reditu, & Religionis restitutione post suum e vivis excessum pro-
 “fatus. Donec tandem scriba illius alioqui consiliis semper intimus
 “tam subito mutatam præceptoris sententiam miratus, & cum morbi
 “vehementia delirium pati arbitratus a scribendo desistit. In quem ille
 “contortis oculis & multa verborum asperitate sic invehitur. Homo
 “nibili cur cessas scribere, quæ mens præsaga in regnum hoc eventu-

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“ra prævider, an mihi diffidis? An non quæ loquor omnia certo
 “certius futura credis? At enim ut & tibi & aliis testatum reddam,
 “quam hæc quæ modo dixi explorata habeam: Ecce egredimini
 “abs me omnes, & brevi temporis momento ea omnia confirmata
 “novo & inauditio argumento reddam. Subducunt se tandem quan-
 “quam agre, solis in conclavi relictis, luminibus accensis, & inde quasi
 “prodigium aliquod accepturi, eodem denuo revertuntur ubi lumina
 “extincta, cadaver mortuum, ac in terram provolutum vident. Hic
 “in tam horrenda specie attoniti & harentes, unus quidam extinclo-
 “rum luminum unam, alius aliam causam tacitus apud se cogitabat,
 “at nemo cui facti absurditas videbatur, vel suam sententiam aperte
 “dicere, vel quid alter sentiret sciscitari audebat: Tantum demortu-
 “um corpus in lectulum reponunt, invicem sibi ne ista a quoquam pa-
 “lam fierent precipientes; ne quod ab absurdâ mortis specie ad insim-
 “landam impritatis anteactam vitam argumentum redundaret”.

F. Alexander Baillie, a Benedictine Monk says (*a*), “That John Knox being Chaplain to the Laird of Balwiry, and having married a Wife albeit a Priest; and consequently obliged to Chastity, yet was banished and excommunicated for such an unheard of piece of Lust, as was not heard tell of amongst the Gentiles, that is, that he had carnal dealing with his own Step-Mother, and Dr. Hamilton accuses him of the same Crime, Knox says he (*b*), a Renegade Priest of Haddingtoun in Scotland, who was Excommunicate for having ado with the Mother and the Daughter in an Killology, and thereafter was banished for the assisting to the Murder of the Cardinal Beaton in the Castle of St. Andrews”.

Reginaldus says (*c*) “That Mr. Knox having married a Lord’s Daughter (the Lord Ochiltrie) it chanced not long after the Marriage, that she lying in her Bed, and perceiving a black and ugly Man talking with him at the Table in the same Chamber, was so suddenly amazed, that she immediately took Sickness; and she told this to two Ladies of her Acquaintance, who came to visit her before her Death. Being asked of the Minister what he now thought of their Religion, and if they should still adhere to it, made a Pause for some Time, and then bad them retire, and call again at such an Hour, which they did, but when they came to his Chamber, they found him cast out of his Bed, lying on the Floor, his Face thrown on his Neck, and now dead”.

All the rest of the Romish Writers insist upon such like ridiculous Stories that are altogether improbable; so I shall proceed now to the Characters that are given him by the Writers and Members of the Church of England.

Doctor Heylin calls Mr. Knox (*d*), “That great Incendiary of the Nation and Kirk of Scotland”.

Henry Fowlis Fellow of Lincoln Colledge in Oxon says (*e*), “That Mr. Knox was a Man that still had the Misfortune to carry War and

(*a*) In his true Information Book 1. Page 42. (*b*) In his Rule to know the true Religion, Page 60. (*c*) In his Calvinismus, Lib. 2. Cap. 22. (*d*) Hist. Quinq. Articul. Bar. 3. C. 16. P. 5. (*e*) In his Hist. of the pretended Sts. Plots P. 40:

" and Confusion amongst with him, as if like *Hippocrates Twins*, ^{An. 1572.}
 " he and they were inseparablc ; Witness the Combustions he made
 " at Franckfort, amongst the poor English Protestants fled thither
 " for Religion, where he was not undeservedly accused for High-
 " Treason against the Emperor, comparing him in print to *Nero*,
 " and calling him *an Enemy to Christ*, &c. For which Crimes he
 " was forced to sculk away to *Geneva*, and from thence to *Diep* in
 " *France*, and after that from *Diep* to *Scotland* ; from whence after
 " a few Weeks Stay, he fled back to *Geneva*, but not settling there
 " he returned to *Diep* again : And having by his Letters excited
 " the *Scots* to Rebellion, came over to *Scotland* again, where he
 " carried on the civil War. One, says he (a), as I am apt to believe
 " all Things considered, who gained more Esteem amongst the People
 " by the Reverence of his long Beard reaching down to his middle, than
 " any real Wisdom or Discretion that could be appropriat to him".

Doctor *Johnstoun* says (b), " That he was famous for his Go-
 " thick Devastations and burning of Churches, who under pretence
 " of Religion destroyed the ancient Monuments of our Faith : He
 " Sacrilegiously invaded and destroyed the very Bells and Roofs of
 " the Churches, and fomented the Flame of our Intestine Divisions
 " and Animosities. *Verum enimvero* (says he) Joannes Knoxius
Templorum incendiis & Vandalica vastitate notissimus, qui prisca
pietatis Monumenta obtentus Religionis diruit ; campanas & plum-
bea Ecclesiarum tecta sacrilega rapacitate invasit, intestinis dissidiis
accendendis acerrimam facem prætulit".

Bishop *Spotiswood* says, " That he was certainly a Man endued
 " with rare Gitts, and a chief Instrument that God used for the
 " Work of those Times, many good Men have disliked some of his
 " Opinions, as touching the Authority of Princes, and the Form of
 " Government, which he laboured to have established in the Church;
 " yet was he far from these Dotages, wherein some that would have
 " been thought his Followers did afterwards fall, for never was any
 " Man more observant of Church Authority than he, always urging
 " the Obedience of Ministers to their Superintendants, for which
 " he caused diverse Acts to be made in the Assemblies of the
 " Church, and showed himself severe to the Transgressors in these
 " Things, howsoever it may be he was miscarried, we must remem-
 " ber that the best Men have their Errors, and never esteem of
 " any Man above that which is fitting. As to the History of the
 " Church ascribed commonly to him, the same was not his Work,
 " but his Name supposed to gain it Credit, for besides his Scurril
 " Discourses we find in it, more fitting a Comedian on a Stage, than
 " a Divine or Minister, such as Mr. *Knox* was, and the spiteful
 " Malice that Author expresseth against the Queen Regent, spea-
 " king of one of our Martyr's, he remitteth the Reader to a further
 " Declaration of his Sufferings to the A&ts and Monuments of Mar^t
 " tyrs, set forth by Mr. *Fox* an English Man, which came not to

An. 1572. "Light some ten or twelve Years after Mr. Knox's Death. A greater Injury could not be done to the Fame of that worthy Man, than to Father upon him the ridiculous Toyes and malicious Detractions contained in that Book: But this shall serve for his clearing in that Particular. He died the 27th of November, in the 67 Year of his Age, and had his Body interr'd in the Church-Yard of St. Giles".

This favourable Character given him by the Bishop, we see proceeds from his not believing that the History that goes under Mr. Knox's Name was really his; but how far this Prelate is mistaken, will appear from this, in the Manuscript Copy of Mr. Calderwood's History in the Library of Glasgow, giving an Account of the Proceedings of the Assembly in November 1572, he says (*a*), "That Richard Banantin Mr. Knox's Servant, lately deceased, presented the following Petition to the Assembly then sitting, *I your Servitor Richard Banantine, Servant to your umquibile most dearest Brother, Mr. Knox of worthy Memory, that whereas it is not unknown to your Wisdoms, that he left to the Town and Kirk of Edinburgh, his History, containing in Effect the Beginning and Progress of Christ's true Religion, now of God's great Mercy established in this Realm, wherein he hath continued, and perfectly ended at the Year of God 1564: So that of Things done by him sincyn, nothing be him is put in that Form and Order, as he has done the former, yet not the less there are certain Scrolls, Papers and Minutes of Things left to me be him, to use at my Pleasure, whereof one part are written by his own Hand and subscribed by him, and another by me at his Command, &c*". Then he goes on begging the Assemblies Encouragement towards the putting these Papers in Order, and into a proper Condition to be offered to the Publick, and they accordingly ordered the said Richard the Sum of fourty Pounds, to be paid out of the Cropt of 1572, for the assisting such learned Men as the Kirk of Edinburgh would appoint for that Purpose. And as to what the Bishop objects concerning Mr. Fox's Book, that it came not to Light till about ten or twelve Years after Knox's Death, this is a very great Mistake, for tho' I am perswaded with the Author of Mr. Sage's Life, that the oldest Copy which the Bishop saw of that Book was of that Date, it's certain as Mr. Woodrow observes (*b*), in his Letter to the Bishop of Carlisle, that the 1st Volume of Fox's Book was printed in Latin at Basil in 1558, 14 Years before Knox's Death, where he has a long Account of that Martyr's Death (*c*), which is mentioned by the Bishop; and the Author of Mr. Sage's Life (*d*) has observed, "That William Reynolds in his Refutation of Whitaker, cites an Edition of the Acts and Monuments, printed at London 1563. And they are cited by Stapelton in his Preface to the Translation of Bede's History, Anno 1565. And Nicolaus Harpsfield, under the borrowed Name of Alanus Copus, wrote and

(*a*) In Bibl. Glasg. Vol. 2 Pag. 399. Scots Hist. Lib. Pag. 191. (*b*) Bibl. of Carlile Scots Hist. Lib. Append. No. VI. Pag. 222. (*c*) Page 21.

" and printed his Dialogue against them *Anno 1564, 1565.* And ^{An. 1562} tho' there be several Interpolations in this History, either by *Banting* or Mr. *David Buchanan*, yet Mr. *Woodrow* has shown in his Letter to the Bishop of *Carlisle*, that in Mr. *Knox's* MS. in the College of *Glasgow*, there are somethings in the MS. that are omitted in the printed Copies, that sufficiently show Mr. *Knox's* Spirit and Temper; Two memorable Instances of which I shall give here: The first is in *Pag. 101.* of the printed Copy, where, after these Words; *Line 32. Fail'd of all he had written*, the MS. has this severe Reflection upon the Queen; "And therefore it were expedient that her Daughter now mischievously reigning, should look to that which passed before, least that in following the Counsels of the Wicked, she end more miserably than her crafty Mother did". The other is in *Pag. 252* in the printed Copy, immediately before the Words, *Upon the 16th of June*, in the MS. there is these Words, "God for his great Mercies Sake rid us of the rest of the Guisian Blood; Amen, Amen: For of the Tyranny of the Guisian Blood in her that for our Unthankfulness now reigneth above us, we had sufficient Experience; but of any Virtue that ever was espied in King James V. (whose Daughter she is called) to this Hour we have never an Spectacle to appear.

Now from all that we have said of Mr. *Knox* from his own History, it is very plain, that he maintained that the Doctrine of defensive Arms was necessary, that Passive Obedience or Non-Resistance was sinful, when the People had Means for Resistance; that the primitive Christians assisted their Preachers against the Rulers and Magistrates, wheresoever God gave them Force, that the Judicial Law of *Moses* in many considerable Instances continued still obligatory; particularly that the Laws punishing Adultery, Murder and Idolatry with Death were still binding; that in Obedience to these Laws that Sentence was to be executed, not only on Subjects, but on Sovereigns: That the Sacred Function of the Priesthood proceeded from an immediate Call from God, and did not require the Ceremony of Imposition of Hands. And as these were the Doctrines he taught, so he lived conform to them, being an open and avowed Rebel to his Princess, giving her to her Face the most abusive and insulting Language that his Malice could suggest; incensing her Subjects, and denouncing his Judgments against her with the Air of a Prophet, which by his Contrivances and secret Intelligence, with the black and hellish Designs of his Party, often came to pass, which confirmed the common People in the Opinion of his being inspired with the Spirit of God; and from this bold Presumption he assumed to himself the sacred Office of the Priesthood: But how far he was from having the Spirit of the Meek and Holy Jesus in him, will appear from his horrid Prayers, or rather Imprecations against his Enemies: When addressing himself to God Almighty, he prays (*a*), "That he would for his great Mercies Sake stir up

An. 1572. "some *Phineas, Elias or Jehu*, that the Blood of abominable Idolaters may pacify God's Wrath, that it consume not the whole Multitude, *Amen*. (a) Repress the Pride of those Blood-thirsty Tyrants; consume them in thine Anger, according to the Reproach which they have laid against thy holy Name: Pour forth thy Vengeance upon them, and let our Eyes behold the Blood of the Saints required at their Hands: Delay not thy Vengeance, O Lord, but let Death devour them in haste: Let the Earth swallow them up, and let them go down quick to Hell, for there is no Hope of their Amendment: The Fear and Reverence of thy holy Name is quite banished from their Hearts; and therefore yet again, O Lord consume them, consume them in thine Anger. Upon which Prayers the learned and worthy Mr. *Sage* (b) has this Reflection; "Let the World judge (says he) if such Prayers favour of a Gospel Spirit: Was this loving our Enemies, or blessing them that curse us, or praying for them that despitefully use us? Was this like forgiving others their Trespasses, as we would wish our own Trespasses to be forgiven? Was this like, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*; or, *Lord, lay not this Sin to their Charge*. Did Mr. *Knox* consider or know what Manner of Spirit he was of, when he offered such Petitions to God Almighty?

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **T**HE *History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland*, London 1584 in 4to, in Folio; and 4to 1644.
- II. *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women*, Francfort 1558 in 8vo.
- III. *An Answer to an Anabaptist's Cavillations against Predestination*, London 1591, in 8vo.
- IV. *The Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States and Commonality of the same Realm*, Geneva 1558, 8vo, and with the Folio and 4to Edition of his *History*.
- V. *A Letter and Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the Kingdom of England*, said to be printed at Rome, tho' really at Geneva 1554, and with the Folio Edition of his Works.
- VI. *The Admonition of John Knox to his beloved Brethren the Commonality of Scotland*, Ibid.
- VII. *A Letter delivered to Queen Mary Regent of Scotland from John Knox Minister of God's Word, in the Year of our Lord 1556. And thereafter augmented and explained by the Author in the Year of our Lord 1558*, ibid.

VIII. A

(a) *Ibid.* (b) *Fund. Charter of Presb.* p. 339.

VIII. *A Sermon upon Isaiali 26. Verse 14, 15, 16, 17.* ibid.

IX. *An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyre a Jésuite,* Edin-^{An 1552}
burgh 1568 in 8vo.

X. *A Treatise against the Anabaptists.* See Mr. Knox's Life by
David Buchanan, prefixed to the Folio Edition of his History.

XI. *Two Treatises against the Mass,* ibid.

XII. *A Treatise upon the Eucharist,* ibid.

XIII. *Sermons upon Genesis,* ibid.

XIV. *Sermons upon the Psalms,* ibid.

XV. *An Exhortation to all afflicted Churches,* ibid.

XVI. *An Advice in Time of Trouble,* ibid.

XVII. *Form of Church Discipline in Spotswood's History,* Pag. 152,
to Pag. 174.

XVIII. *Mr. Knox his Confession of his Faith.*

XIX. *A Treatise upon Predestination,* vide Calderwood's History.

XX. *His Liturgy,* Edinburgh 1635, in 8vo.

T H E

LIFE of JOHN RUTHERFOORD, Professor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews:

THIS Gentleman was born at *Glasgow* (a), and had his Birth, Education at that University; where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies, he became so famous for his Knowledge in Philosophy, that he was chosen by the University of St. Andrews to be one of their Professors, where he taught for some Years with great Applause; and nothing can give us a greater Idea of his Worth and Merit, than his being Master of that Wonder and Prodigy of his Age, the great and admirable *Crichton*: Our Author desirous to improve himself by Travelling and Conversation with the learned Professors of the Universities in foreign Countries, resigned his Place in the University of St. Andrews, and went over to *Paris*, about the Year 1552, where he became acquainted with all the learned Men there: And his Fame and Reputation having reached as far as *Portugal*, he received an Invitation from the King of *Portugal* to teach Philosophy in the University of *Conimbrica*; He is made Professor of Philosophy at *St. Andrews* which he accepted of; but he had not been long there, when the Monks and Friars begun to suspect, that in Matters of Religion he had the same Sentiments with his Country-man *Buchanan*, and he narrowly escaped from being put into the Inquisition: This rigorous

M m

Treat-

(a) See Dempster, Lib. xvi. p. 365. and the Preface to his Logicks and Poetry.

 An. 1575. Treatment gave him such a Disgust of the Bigotry and Cruelty of the Clergy in that Country, that he resolved to return to his own Country : And having got the Occasion of a Ship that was bound for *Britain*, he got the King's Licence to return. After his Arrival to *Scotland*, he was earnestly importuned to accept of his former Station in the University of St. *Andrews*, which was then become vacant : And he tells us, that nothing could have induced him to accept of this toilsome Employment but the Good of his Country, the careful Education of Youth being of no small Consequence to the Common-Wealth.

An Account of this Works. He returns to *Scotland* and is again made Profes- for of Philo- sophy at St. Andrews. I have seen of this Author's, his four Books upon *Aristotle's Logicks*, and his Commentary upon *Aristotle's Book of Poetry*; and *Dempster* gives us an Account of some others, which he seems to have read, by the Characters that he gives of them: For he tells us (a), That in his Comparison betwixt *Aristotle's Philosophy* and *Plato's*, he refutes his Country-man and Friend *John Dempster*, that there cannot be a learned and more laborious Work than his Collation of the Philosophy of the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, and that his publick Declamations which he had at *Paris* and *Coimbra* were printed by *Wechelius*.

The History of the ancient Grecian Comedy. Amongst all the Works of *Aristotle*, that of his Art of Poetry has, and will always be esteem'd a Master-Piece; and since we cannot give an Account of all the different Sorts of Poetry that *Aristotle* treats of in this incomparable Book, I shall only give an Account of the Rules, Rise and Progress of the Comedy which he treats of in the 5th Chapter, and which is the great Diversion of the young Gentlemen of this Age.

Aristotle tells us in his Third Chapter, that the *Megarians* who lived in the Neighbourhood of *Athens*, pretended that the Comedy had its first Rise in their popular State; but the *Megarians* in *Sicily* contended that it had its first Rise amongst them, because the Poet *Epicharmus* was ancienter than *Chionides*, and that *Magnes* was a *Sicilian*: And *Suidas* tells us, that *Epicharmus* had the Honour of being a Disciple of *Pythagoras* (b), and that he and *Phormus* were the first that invented Comedy in *Syracuse*: But *Aristotle* elsewhere tells us, that it owes its first Rise to the *Burlesque*, or the ridiculing the Actions of Mankind. And therefore a modern Critick says, in his Reflections upon *Aristotle's Poetry* (c), *That Comedy is an Image of common Life, its End is to show on the Stage the Faults of Particulars, in Order to amend the Faults of the Publick, and to correct the People through a Fear of being rendered ridiculous.* The same *Aristotle* tells (d), That the first Comedians were a Pack of lewd Fellows, who went traloping amongst the Country Villages, singing lascivious Songs for the Diversion of the common People, for the Magistrates of the Cities would not admit of them, but at length they were received in *Athens*; and there was an *Archon*, or supreme Magistrate who had the particular Inspection over them, and

(a) *Dempst. ubi supra.* (b) *Suid. in Epicher.* (c) *Mr. Rapin.* (d) *Cap. 5.*

and gave them the *Chorus*, as *Aristotle* says; that is, bought their Performances, and furnished them in all the necessar Expences for acting their Comedies, which by this Time was formed upon Rules in Imitation of the Tragedy: That is to say; There was observed in Comedy, as well as in Tragedy the Decencies of Places, of Times, and of Persons; and since that Time there is some more certain Knowledge about the Poets, that contributed to the perfecting of it. For *Epicharmus* and *Phormus* were the first who gave to their Comedies a due Form and Shape, treating their Subjects with the same Art and Method that the Tragedians did theirs: But both these Poets Works are lost, and of Fifty five Comedies, or Thirty five, as others affirm, that were composed by *Epicharmus*. We know nothing of their Character, but that *Horace* commends *Plautus* for imitating him (a).

Plautus ad exemplum Siculi properare Epicharmi.

*Afranius shows us soft Menander's Flame,
And Plautus rivals Epicharmus Fame.*

Cratinus was the first who took out all the gross Raileries and scurrilous Reflections from the Comedy; and made it fit for the Entertainment of a civil Audience: He flourished in the 82 *Olympiad* (b), about 450 Years before our Saviour. Yet notwithstanding of his Refinement, the Comedy still retained too many Marks of its rude Original, for Persons and Vices were expoled in bare faced Satyr, and the chief Magistrates of the Common-Wealth ridiculed by Name upon the Stage. For we find even in *Cratinus* own Plays in *Plutarch's Life of Pericles*, several Passages where he reflects boldly on that great General, who at the same Time by his Eloquence, and his Arms, reigned almost absolute Master of *Athens*. This Dramatick Poet is said to have been an excessive Drinker, and to excuse himself, he said, That it was absolutely necessary to the warming of his Fancy, and the putting a Vigour and Soul in his Verses: And from thence *Horace* takes the Occasion to show what short lived Creatures the Off-spring of Water Poets commonly prove.

Prisco si credas; &c. (c).

*My Lord if what Cratinus says be right,
Those Verses cannot live, those Lines delight,
Which Water Drinkers pen; in vain they write.
For e're since Bacchus, did in wild Design,
With Fauns and Satyrs half mad Poets join,
The Muses every Morning smelt of Wine.
From Homer's Praise, his Love of Wine appears,
And Ennius never dar'd to write of Wars;
Till heated well, let sober Dottard's choose,
The plodding Law, but never tempt a Muse.*

M n 2

This

(a) *Horat. Lib. 2. Epist. 1. v. 58.* (b) *La Poet de Aris. par. M. Descrier. P. 63.* (c) *Hor. Lib. 1. Epist. 19.*

An. 1575.

*This Law once made, the Poets straight begin,
They drunk all Night, all Day they smelt of Wine.*

Creeche's Horace.

And *Aristophanes* gives us a pleasant Account of *Cratinus* Death (a), which he says, *Was occasion'd by the Sight of a noble Cask of Wine split in Pieces, and the Liquor lavishly washing the Streets.*

Much about the same Time with *Cratinus*, lived another Dramatick Poet called *Eupolis*, who in the 17th Year of his Age, ventured to show himself upon the Theatre; this Poet in his Comedies was much more sevete and impartial than *Cratinus*, for *Pericles* and *Cimon* being the two opposite Patriots, and the two leading Men in the City of *Athens*, in those Times *Cratinus*, tho' lie exposed *Pericles*, yet shewed a great Respect for *Cimon*, and commended him in some Verses cited by *Plutarch*, whereas *Eupolis* spared neither Party, but ridiculed both these great Captains; but all that we have of this Poet, is only the Names of his Comedies.

About twelve or fifeteen Years after these two Poets, *Aristophanes* appeared upon the Theatre, many of this Poet's Comedies are still extant; that for which he is deservedly blamed, both by the Antients and Moderns, is, that in his Comedy called the *Clouds*, he endeavours to expose *Socrates*, the wisest and the best Man amongst the *Athenians*, for maintaining the Unity of the God-head. The Occasion of this Comedy, if we may believe *Aelian*, was, that *Anitus* and the rest of them who had laid the Plot against *Socrates* Life, were not so senseless as to imagine that the Judges would be very willing to receive an Impeachment of the wisest and the best of Men, therefore they concluded, that the best way should be to prepare the Minds of the *Athenians*, by raising the Scandal by Degrees. In order to this they hired *Aristophanes*, with the Consideration of a good round Sum of Money to expose the Philosopher on the Stage, and desired him to represent *Socrates* as an impudent Virtuoso, and a trifling Disputant, one that could argue pro and con at his Pleasure, and prove Right Wrong, and Wrong Right with the same Breath, and especially to represent his Impiety, in deifying the common Deities, and bringing in new ones of his own. The poor Poet who could not resist such a powerful Argument as a good Sum of Money, falls to Work according to their Directions, and composes this Comedy, for which *Aelian* says he got the Prize, and an universal Applause: But he is certainly mistaken, as we learn from *Aristophanes* himself, for that *Parabasis* inserted in the *Chorus* betwixt the first and second Acts in the same Comedy, is nothing but a direct Address made by the Poet to the People commanding himself, as the most experienc'd Man in his Art, and this for the best of all his Pieces; and at the same Time he complains of their Unkindness,

Unkindness, that with all these Advantages they should have his'd ^{An. 1575.} his Play off the Stage, and deny'd him the publick Testimony and Reward; this was the Reason why he corrected this Comedy, in case of a second Tryal, and added this Speech by way of Expostulation with the Audience, and to beg a more favourable Sentence, and therefore that incomparably learned Lady, Madam Dacier, had Reason, according to the present Laws of the Theatre, in her Translation of this Comedy, to place this Discourse as a Prologue before it, and indeed it is no Wonder that it should have been hissed off the Theatre by such a wise People as the Athenians were; if we consider the whole Plot and Conduct of the Play: And in all his other Plays he shows himself to have been a downright Atheist and Bufoon, and Plutarch whose Sense and Judgment is deservedly admired by all Men says (a), That Aristophanes makes use of base scurrilous and nauseous Language, and now and then affects a Tragical Stile, that he observes not the Difference of the Persons that speak, nor applics Thoughts and Words accordingly; but without any Nature or Decorum, brings in Gods, Heroes, Kings, Citizens, old Men and Women, Fathers and Sons also, exactly like one another in their Phrase and Talk, that they have nothing in the World to distinguish them but their Habit, that his Jokes wound and exulcerat instead of curing, that he never attempts any Character, but he is sure to spoil it; while if he is to represent a cunning Fellow, he does not make him politick, but down right wicked; if a Country Man, instead of describing his Ignorance and Caution, he gives us the Picture of a meer Fool; if he raises Laughter in the Audience, it proceeds from the Dulness of the Fest, and is directed not against the Subject but against the Poet; and if he is to describe the soft Passion of Love from Mirth and Gaiety, he turns it to Loosness and immodest Freedom. Mr. Kennet who has drawn us this Character of Aristophanes from Plutarch (b), endeavours to wipe it off the Poet, and throw it upon the Times, and I am sure the Poet had not such a mean Opinion of his own personal Accomplishments, for in the Chorus between the second and third Acts of his Acharnian, they put the Audience in Mind of the great Things that the Poet had done to the City by the Power of his Comick Muse.

It's for his Sake (say they) the Spartans seem inclind,
To beg Aegina, and invite a Peace,
Not that they value the poor spot of Ground;
But hope that Claim, must rob you of your Poet:
This is the Man, who bless'd you with his Service,
And taught the wrangling Tribes to use their Power,
And now your tributary Friends from far.
Flock to the Town, to see the sacred Poet,
Who dares speak Truth, and hazard Life for Justice:
So far his bold Exploits have spred his Fame,

N II

That

(a) In his Comp. of Aristo, and Menander (b) Lives of the Grecian Poets.

Ann. 1575.

*That when the mighty Persian Monarch held,
The Spartan Envoy's, wond'ring at his Questions,
He first demanded which o' th' Rival States,
Rid chief at Sea, and next, which People liv'd,
Under the wise Correction of our Author,
For they cry'd, the great King must needs reform,
And while they take the Poet to their Counsels,
Under his Conduct may command the World.*

B. Kennet.

But after all that can be said either for or against him, it is certain that if a Man were to attempt a Character of Aristophanes Comedies in our Times, He would certainly begin (says Mr. Kennet) with telling us, that we must not expect there the Nicety of Rules, and the regular Conduct which has added so many Graces to the modern Stage, for in all his Pieces, except the Plutus and the Clouds, the new Criticks might look in vain for their Unities and their Ordinance, which perhaps was one Reason, why Madam Dacier thought not the rest fit to be put in her Country Garb ; because in them only he seems as much a French Man in Contrivance, as her Translation makes him in Language, tho' without Doubt her main Argument for stopping at these two, was because all the rest smell so strongly of the rude and debauched Original of the Art, as very often to offend the Chastity of common Ears, and much more the Modesty of a Lady. And Aristotle himself complains (*a*), that the Theatre in the Matter of Comedy in his Time, was not come to that Perfection and Chastity which he requires in Comedy, for says he, *All sorts of Motions are not to be blamed, more than all Sorts of Dances, but only lascivious and effeminate Motions, as those that Callippides was reproached with, and which we reproach our Comedians at this Day with, who seem to affect the Gestures of debauched and common Strumpets.* And in the same Chapter he tells us, that the same Callippides, and the Comedian Pindar, for their Excess in their Gesticulations were called *Apes*, especially Callippides, who had this Epithet first given to him by Muniscus : Now Muniscus, Callippides and Pindar were three Comedians that had a great deal of Reputation; Muniscus who was the ancientest of them all, reproached Callippides with this Epithet of the *Ape*, for he was such a Mimick, that the least Gesture did not escape him : So that his Name became a Proverb, for one who laboured much without moving from his Place, and performed nothing ; and upon this was founded the Raillerie past upon Tiberius (*b*), whom they jestingly called Callippides, because every Year he made great Preparations for a Voyage that he was to undertake, and Vows and Sacrifices were made for his happy Return, tho' he never stirred from Rome. *Ut vulgo jam per jocum* (says Suetonius) *Callippides vocaretur, quem cursi-
tare, ac ne cubiti quidem mensuram progredi, proverbio Graeco nota-*

11m

(*a*) Chap. 27. (*b*) Sueton Tib.

tum est. And before *Tiberius*, *Cicero* (*a*), past the Test in the same Manner upon *Varro*, who promised to dedicate his Books upon the Latin Tongue to him, writing to his Friend *Atticus*; It's about two Years says he, since this Callippides has been always running, and never has advanced so much as a Cubit length. " *Bien-*" *nium jam praterit cum ille Callippides a*stiduo* cursu cubitum nul-*" *lum processerit*". And yet this Poet was so puffed up with his own Reputation and Merit, that walking one Day in a Place where King *Agelaius* was, and seeing that King take no notice of him, he had the Impudence to say to him, *Sir, do not you know me? Have they not told you what I am?* To which the King replied, *Are not you a Comedian?*

So the Summe of the Rise and Progress of the *Grecian Comedy* to the Days of *Aristotle*, is, that at first it consisted in the lewd and lascivious Entertainments of the Vulgar, then it received the Form of a satirical, ridiculing and Burlesquing of Mankind, and *Athenaeus* tells us, that *Hipponax* was the first who succeeded in this, and *Aristotle* says (*b*), that *Hegemon* was next, who was so admirable a Composer and Actor himself, that one Day when the People of *Athens*, and all the Inhabitants of all the neighbouring Cities were assembled to see him act his *Gigantomachia*, they were so charmed and pleased with it, and laughed so heartily, that notwithstanding they received in the middle of the Comedy, the News of the Defeat of their Army in *Sicily*, yet they had continued to laugh to the End of the Play, had not the Poet stopt; which others attributed to their refined Policy, because they would not seem to be concerned with their Loss before Strangers. After *Hegemon* came *Eubaeus* of *Paros*, and *Baotus*, who surpassed all that went before them, and these were the principal Authors of the old Comedy. The next Improvement *Aristotle* tells us (*c*), was the Musick, Masques, the Augmentation of the Number of the Actors and the Prologues, or what preceeds the first singing of the Chorus, the Authors of all which we know nothing of, *Epicharmus* and *Phormus* as we have said, gave it a better Form upon the Model of the Tragedy, *Cratinus* took away the gross and scurrilous Language; and *Aristophanes* and *Nicochares* brought it to the Perfection it was in in *Aristotle's* Time, and this by the Criticks is called the middle Comedy, to which succeeded the new Comedy.

The first Author of the new Comedy was *Menander*, he made an intire Reformation of the Stage to Civility and Decency, obliging the World, by supposing the Actions, as well as Names of Persons, and without making any particular Reflections, he gave us a probable Description of humane Life, this quickly spread his Fame over the World; and *Pliny* informs us (*d*), That the Kings of *Egypt* and *Macedon* gave a noble Testimony of his Worth, sending Ambassadors to desire his Company at their Courts, and Fleets to bring him over, but that he himself left a nobler Proof of his

Anno 1575. his real Excellencies, by preferring the free enjoyment of his Studies to the Favours and Promises of Monarchs; yet we find that his own Country Men had not such a due Sense of his Merit and Worth as Strangers had, for he is said to have won but eight Victories (*a*), tho' he obliged them with above one hundred Comedies, and the old Masters of Rhetorick have recommended his Works (*b*), as the true Patterns of every Beauty, and every Grace of publick speaking, thus *Quintilian* says (*c*), That a careful Imitation of *Menander* only will certify all the Rules he has laid down in his Institutions, : 'Tis in *Menander*, that he would have his Orators search for a Copiousness of Invention, for a happy Elegance of Expression, and especially for an universal Genius, able to accommodate it self naturally to all Persons, Things and Affections, and it's by these Accomplishments, that he owns that *Menander* has robbed his Competitors in Comedy of their Name and Credit, and to have cast a Cloud over their unequal Glory, by the Superior Brightness of his own, but of all these Comedies there's none that we have extant now : It's true, the greatest part of them was copied by *Terence*, but even these perished by Shipwreck before they saw *Rome* (*d*), yet the four Plays that he borrowed from *Menander*, are writ in a Manner so natural and so judicious, that they show that never any Man had so clear an insight into Nature as *Menander* had; and it was this that gave an Occasion to that fine Turn of *Aristophanes* the Grammian, when he asked this Question.

O *Menander* and *Nature*,
Which of you copied your Piieces from the others Work?

And the *Romans* when they sat beholding these Comedies, thought themselves in Conversation, for they perceived nothing but what they were accustomed to see daily in the World, and yet the great *Cæsar* calls *Terence* but the Diminutive of *Menander*, because tho' he had his Sweetness and Smoothness, yet he had not his Force and Vigour; and as he had brought the *Grecian* Comedy to its utmost Perfection, so it ended with him.

*His Death
and Charac-
ter.* Our Author who was admirably well seen in Philosophy and the *Belles-Lettres*, dyed at St. *Andrews* in the Year 1577: In his Book upon *Aristotle's* Poetry, he shows himself to have been a good Critick, well seen in all the Parts of Poetry, and admirably well versed in the *Grecian* Customs and Antiquities.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **D**E *Arte differendi* Lib. 4 Edinburgh in 4to, 1580.
- II. **D**Comment. in Lib. *Arist. de arte Metrica* Edinburgh 1557 in 4to.

III. Collatio

(*a*) *Aul. Gel.* Lib. 17. Cap. 4. (*b*) *Kennet's Lives of the Grecian Poets in Menander.* (*c*) Lib. 10. Cap. 1. (*d*) *Suo-
tou in vix Terent.*

III. *Collatio Philosophia Aristot. & Platon.*

IV. *Collatio Divi Thomæ Aquinatis & Scoti in rebus Philosophicis.*

V. *Præfationes solennes Parisiis & Conimbriæ habita, extant Typis Wechelianis.*

Anno 1575.

T H E

LIFE of Mr. HENRY BALNAVES of Hallhill, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

THIS Gentleman was born in the Shire of *Fife*, in the Reign of King *James V.* he had his Education at the University of St. *Andrews* (*a*), where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in Philosophy, he went over to *France*; where he studied the Laws, and returning to his own Country after the Death of King *James the V.* he became a great Favourite of the Earl of *Arran's*, then Governor of the Realm; but having made an open Profession of the Protestant Religion, the Governor at the Solicitation of his Brother the Abbot of *Paisley* discharged him from his Family, in which he had lived from the Time that he had returned from *France* till the Year 1542. In the Year 1564, he join'd with the Murderers of Cardinal *Beaton*, for which he was declared Traitor, and excommunicated; and when he and the Murderers were besieged in the Castle of St. *Andrews*, he was sent by them to *England*, and brought them a Supply of Money and Provisions, as we learn from Bishop *Burnet*, who tells us (*b*), That he was their principal Agent, and that he brought them upon the 6th of February 1180 lib. *Sterling*, and in the Month of *May*, he brought them 300 lib. *Sterling*; but at length they being obliged to surrender to the *French*, he was sent with the rest of the Prisoners to *France* in the Month of *August* 1547.

Having returned to *Scotland* after some few Years Banishment, he join'd with the Lords of the Congregation, and became one of the main Sticklers and Hectors in their Rebellion against Queen *Mary*, in the Year 1559. The Lords of the Congregation having met at *Coupar in Fife*, in order to make choice of some of their Number to treat with the Duke of *Northfolk*, the Queen of *England's* Lieutenant, for supporting of their Rebellion against the Queen, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Master of *Maxwell*, the Mr. of *Lindsay*, young *Lithington*, the Laird of *O*o Pittarow

(*a*) MS. Notes upon Spotswood penes me, MS. Additions to Dempster, see likewise Spotswood's History, Mr. Calderwood, Petrie and Knox's Historians. (*b*) See Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation.

^{An. 1519.} Pittarow and our Author were chosen, and having embarked upon the Coast of Fife, they came to Berwick about the Beginning of February 1560, where an Agreement was made betwixt *Thomas Duke of Northfolk, Earl Marshall of England, and Lieutenant to the Queen of England for the North, in the Name of the high and mighty Princes, Elizabeth Queen of England* on the one Part, and the above named Persons, in Name and behalf of the noble and mighty Prince *James Duke of Chastelherault*, as second Person of the Realm of Scotland, and the Lords join'd with him on the other Part, By which the Queen of England obliges her self to send immediately Forces with all necessary Provisions to join the Forces of the Lords of the Congregation, for the expelling of the French Forces out of Scotland, that she should continue her Aid and Assistance, ay and till the French were expelled; that what Forts were taken from the French, should either be demolished or delivered to the Duke of Chastelherault, and that the English should not build any new ones without their Advice and Consent, that they should provide her Majesty's Army and Fleet with Victuals as long as they remain in Scotland, and that if the Realm of England shoud be invaded by the French, they shall assist them at least with a 1000 Horse, and 2000 Foot, upon the Queen of England's Charges, and that they should continue in the Fields 30 Days, or so much longer, as they are accustomed to abide in the Fields for Defence of Scotland, and that the Earl of Argyle, Lord Justice of Scotland, should assist her Majesty, in reducing to her Obedience the North Parts of Ireland, as it shall be agreed betwixt the said Earl and her Deputy for the Time, that Hostages should be delivered of lawful Sons, Brethren or Heirs of the Nobility and Barons of Scordland, who should be exchang'd every six or four Months, as Scotland pleased; that these Articles after the delivering of the Hostages, should be subscribed and seal'd by the Duke of Chastelherault, and the Lords joined with him in the Space of 20 or 30 Days at the most, and that they should do all that in them lay to persuade the rest of the Scots Nobility to join them, that the said Duke and Nobility, did not in the least by this Agreement intend to withdraw their due Obedience from their Sovereign and her Husband. This Treaty was signed at Berwick the 17th of February, and confirmed by the Queen of England, under the great Seal. And on the other Hand, the Lords of the Congregation ratify'd the same by their Subscriptions, at the Camp before Leith, upon the 10th of May ---.

^{He is made one of the Commissioners to treat with the Duke of Northfolk, for the invading of Scotland.} For this piece of good Service done to the Lords of the Congregation, Mr. Balnaves was made one of the Lords of the Session in the Year 1563. The General Assembly having met at Edinburgh and is one of the Commissioners appointed by the Assembly to revise the Book of Discipline. upon Christmass Day, in the fourth (a) Session, they appointed the Earl Marshall, the Lord Ruthven Lord Secretary, the Commender of Kilwinning, the Bishop of Orkney, the Clerk Register, the Justice Clerk, David Forres, Mr. George Buchanan and our Author, or any three or four of them, to revise the Book of Discipline,

line, to consider diligently the Contents thereof, set down their Judgment in Writ, and Report the same to the next Assembly, or if a Parliament be holden in the mean Time, to the Lords of the Articles, and that they begin immediately after the dissolving of the Assembly, or at least on the 6th of January next to come, and thereafter continue till the said Book be thoroughly revised; but Mr. Calderwood says, *That he could not find that there was any Thing more done in that Affair.*

This Gentleman has left behind him a Catechism or Confession of Faith, and a Book upon Justification. An Account of his Works,

In that upon Justification he affirms, That the Justification spoken of by St. James, is different from that spoken of by St. Paul: For the Justification by good Works which St. James speaks of, only justifies us before Men; but the Justification by Faith, which St. Paul speaks of, justifies us before God: And that all, yea even the best of our good Works are but Sins before God. Whatever Truth may be in this Doctrine of our Author's, I think we may grant to him, that the most of all his Actions which he valued himself upon, and reckoned good Works, were really great and heinous Sins before God: For no good Man will either justifie Rebellion or Murder, and God Almighty has denounced his Wrath against such as are guilty of them: Yet Mr. Knox his Fellow-Labourer in Iniquity, justifies him, and tells us, that he was a very learned Man, and looks upon his Imprisonment for the Cardinal's Murder at Rouen in France, a Suffeting for the Cause of God. Mr. Henry Balnaves, says he, *who (a) was in the Castle of Rouen; was most sharply assaulted of all; for because he was judged learned, (as he was and is indeed) therefore learned Men were appointed to travel with him, with whom he had many Conflicts; but God so ever assisted him, that they departed confounded, and he by the Power of God's Spirit remained constant in the Truth, and Profession of the same; without any wavering or declining to Idolatry; in the Prison he wrote a comfortable Treatise of Justification, and of the Works and Conversion of a Man justified, which is extant to this Day.* He died at Edinburgh in the Year 1579.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **A** Treatise concerning Justification, Edinburgh 1550, in 8vo.
- II. A Catechism, or Confession of Faith, Edinburgh 1584, in 8vo.

An. 1575.

T H E

LIFE of Mr. NINIAN WINZET, Abbot of Ratisbon.

His Birth,
Parentage
and Education.

Is persecu-
ted for his
Religion.

Nian Winzet was born in the West, in the Shire and Town of Renfrew, of an honest Parentage, he had his Education at the University of Glasgow; where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies, he was made School-master of the Town of Linlithgow, where he taught for several Years the Children of that Town, to the great Satisfaction of the Inhabitants. At length applying himself to the Study of Theology, he enter'd into Holy Orders, and when the Reformation prevailed, he became one of the chief Writers for the Church of Rome, and had several Disputes with the Reformers; but the Reformation prevailing, he was obliged to leave the Town of Linlithgow, where he tells us (a), he had stayed for ten Years, and came for Protection to Edinburgh, where he presented upon the 15th Day of February, in the Year 1562, a Petition to her Majesty, under the following Title; *An Exhortation to the maist Excellent and Gracious Sovereign Mary, Queen of Scottis, &c. To the Bishops, and uther Pastoris, and to all them of the Nobility within this her Graceis Realme for unfeinzet Reformation of Doctrin and Maneris, and for obtaining of Licence to propone in Wryt to the Prichours of the Protestantis certane Articulis twiching Doctrin, Ordour and Maneris aproven by them*: In this Petition the Bishops Want of Zeal, their bad Lives and Avarice, with the Avarice, Injustice and Oppression of the Nobility are severely exposed, as the Causes of the Judgments of God upon the Nation, in the rageing Impieties that were then abounding amongst them. Not long after this, he in Name of the Clergy gave in Writing several Challenges to John Knox, and particularly to answer (b) for his assuming to himself the Office of the Priesthood: Mr. Knox from the Pulpit exposed him as the main Agent for the Papists, and gave no other Answer to his main Question, but that he had an extraordinary Call from Heaven. Mr. Winzet taking Advantage of this unwarrantable Answer of Mr. Knox's, immediately committed to the Press a Treatise concerning the Priesthood; which Mr. Knox being informed of, he caused seize upon the Printer and all the Copies, and pursued the Author so hotly, that he was obliged to take the Occasion of a Ship that was bound for Flanders, where he safely arrived, and stayed for some Time at the University of Louvain, and in the Year 1563, he caused print a Book of Controversy, under the following Title, *The Buke of Fourscoir Three*

(a) In the Preface to his Questions. (b) Ibid.

Three Questions, touching Doctrine, Ordour and Mineris proponit to the Prechouris of the Protestants of Scotland be the Catbolucks of the Inferior Ordour of Clergy and Laymen yeair cruelie afflictit and disperdit be Persuasioun of the said intrusif Prechours, set furth be Ninian Winzet a Catholick Priest, at the Desire of his saythful afflictit Breitker, and deliverrit to John Knox the 20th of Februar, or yairby, in the Zeir of the blisfit Birth of our Salvior 1563. The Preface to this Book is dated from Lovain upon the 7th Day of October, and the Dedication has the following Title, *The faythful Sonis of the Haly Catholick Kirk in Scotland, of the Inferior Order of Clergy and Laymen humill subdittis to yare Soverane Lady Marie, and obedient to yeare lauih'ull Bishopes and Pastouris deposit of yeare Offices, incarcerrat, exelit or violentlie ejedit fra yeare just Possessionis, and native Citeis, for nocht assenting to the pretendit Reformation that yis present in Religioun, to John Knox and his Complices, pretending and alledging yeame to haife lanchfull Auctoritie and Ordinationis of trw Bishopeis, and utheris Pastouris of the Kirk within the said Realme, wifhis Health, and Illumination of the Haly Chnist.* Our Author likewise published at Antwerp the same Year, *A Translation of Vincentius Lyrinensis, of the Nation of Gallis, for the Antiquity and Universality of the Catholick Fayth, againe the prophane Novationis of al Hereseis.* From Flanders our Author in the Year 1565 went to France, and the same very Year published at Paris, *A Translation of a Discourse of Renatus Benedictus, concerning compo-*
And from
thence to
France.
sing Discords in Religion, in the Year 1566. He took the Degree of Mr. of Arts in the University of Paris, and was chosen three Times Procurator in that University. In the Year 1578, Mr. John Lesly Bishop of Ross going from Rome to reside in Germany, in Quality of Queen Mary's Ambassador, obtained from the Emperor Rodulphus an Edict, dated upon the 8th of October 1578, for the Restitution of the Scots Monasteries in Germany; upon this many of the banished Clergy were settled in Germany, and amongst the rest, our Author was made Abbot of Ratisbon, where, in the Year 1581, he published his Answer to Buchanan's Libel against the Rights of our Kings; and the next Year he published in 4to a Book against the Reformers, and a Solution of their common, but ridiculous Doubt, *Whether God or Man is to be obeyed*, as if our Obedience to God were inconsistent with our Duty to the Civil Magistrate. Of all our Author's Writings, I shall only insist upon his Translation of *Vincentius Lyrinensis*.

He is made
Mr. of Arts,
and Procura-
tor in the
University of
Paris, and
Abbot of
Ratisbon.

Amongst all the Writings of the ancient Fathers, there is not, in the Opinion of many learned Men, a nobler Performance than *Vincentius Lyrinensis* his Book against the Hereticks; and since the Author's Design was to lay down such wise Measures for preventing of Schism and Divisions in the Christian Church, and that there never was an Age wherein the reading of such Books was more required, I shall give an Abridgement of it, for the Reader's Instruction and Satisfaction.

An. 1582.
An Abridge-
ment of his
Transla-
tion of *Vincentius
Lyrinenus*.

This Book was wrote three Years after the Council of *Ephesus*, in the Year of our Lord 434, it was divided into two Parts, but there is nothing remains of the second Part, but a short Recapitulation of his Principles. The first Part contains 35 Chapters; in the first Chapter he tells us, That the Usefulness of such a Work, the Time, the Place he was in, and his Profession had engaged him in this Undertaking: The Time, because all Things here below are fleeting and perishing, and its but just that we should make use of Part of it for the great Concerns of another Life, and for putting us upon our Guard against the Malice of Hereticks. The Place was likewise fit for such an Undertaking, being free from the Noife and Hurry of Cities, concealed in the secret Corner of a Monastery, where he could follow the Advice of the Psalmist, *Psal. 45. v. 10. Be at rest, and behold that I am God.* And Lastly, Nothing could be more suitable to his Profession, and admonishes his Reader, that it is not his Design to collect all that can be said upon the Subject he treats of, but to collect from the ancient Fathers what was most necessary. In the 2d Chapter he says, That he had learned from many holy and learned Men, that the true Way to evite the falling into any Heresy, and to remain firm to the Faith of the Church, is to build upon the Authority of the sacred Scriptures, and the Tradition of the Catholick Church: But, says he, some may ask, that since the Canon of the Scriptures is perfect, and sufficient alone to instruct us in all Things necessary to Salvation, where is the Necessity of joining the Ecclesiastick Authority with it? It is, says he, because the Holy Scriptures having an high and abstruse Meaning, is differently interpreted; so that there is almost as many different Interpretations of it, as there are different Persons; *Novatius* interpreting it one Way, *Photinus* another, and every one according to their own Judgment, it is therefore says he, altogether necessary, that we take for our Rule the Sense of the Catholick Church, but even in this of knowing the Sense of the Catholick Church, we are to take great Care, that what we establish as the Articles of our Faith, be what has been always believed by all Christians, in all Places of the Earth, according to the Import of the Word Catholick or Universal; and this we shall be sure to do, if we follow Antiquity, the unanimous Consent of Christians and Universality. We shall follow Universality if we believe no other Doctrine to be true, but what is taught and believed in all the Churches of the Earth; we shall follow Antiquity, if we recede not from what has been taught and delivered to us by the ancient Fathers of the Church. And lastly, we shall follow the unanimous Consent, if we believe what has been taught by all or the most part of the Antients. In the third Chapter, He moves this Question, *What a Christian Catholick should do, when a Part of the Church separates from the Body?* To this he Answers, That he has nothing else to do, but to prefer the Doctrine of the whole Body to the corrupted or unsound part, if any new Error or Heresy,

fy be like to spread, not only in a part, but over the whole Church; ^{An. 1582.} then we are to take care that we firmly adhere to the Doctrine of the ancient Fathers of the Church, which cannot be corrupted by any Novelty. In fine, if in Antiquity we find one or two Persons, or a City, or a Province in an Error, we must prefer the Decisions of the ancient Catholick Church, before the Temerity and Ignorance of a few People : But if there arises a Question where nothing like this is to be found, then we must consult the Sentiments of the Ancients, and compare together what these Authors have wrote in different Times, and in different Places, who have been in the Communion of the Church, Persons worthy of Credit and Reputation ; and we are not to fix upon what one or two of them has said, but upon what they have all unanimously taught and wrote with clearness, and without contradicting themselves ; these are the Rules which he has laid down, and which he has backed with several Examples for illustrating of them. In the 4th Chapter, He gives the Example of the *Donatists* in *Afric*, who erred against the Rule of Universality, affirming, that the Church of Christ was only to be found amongst themselves. In the 5th Chapter, He gives the Example of the *Arrians*, who erred against the Rule of Antiquity. In the 6th Chapter, He shows the Constancy of the Catholicks, under the Persecutions of the *Arrians*, and proposes them for an Example of Imitation. In the 7th Chapter, He refutes the *Arrian* Heresy, by the Rules of Universality and Antiquity. In the 8th Chapter, the Opinion of St. *Cyprian*, concerning the Re-baptization of *Hereticks* is made use of, to show that we ought not always to follow the Sentiments of an Ancient, and that one may be an Heretick, by maintaining a Doctrine advanced by a Catholick Doctor of the Church. In the 9th Chapter, He shows what excellent Learning and Eloquence the ancient Hereticks had, and how they were esteemed as the Sons of God, whilst they adhered to the Rule of universal Antiquity, but when they swerved from that, they were esteemed the Sons of Perdition. In the 10th Chapter, He enumerates the Apostles Denunciations of God's Wrath against all Hereticks, Schismatics and Apostates. In the 11th, He shows what the Apostle wrote to the *Galatians*, was wrote to all Christians. In the 12th, He moves the Question, *Why God should permit Hereticks to disturb the Peace of his Church, and to deceive the People?* And this he says God permits to be done, to try our Confidence and Faith in him and his Church. In the 13th, 14th and 15th, He shows what great Men *Nestorius*, *Photinus* and *Apollinaris* were, tho' they were all of them Hereticks. The 17th, Is concerning the Heresy of *Photinus*, who maintain'd the Unity of the Godhead, denying the Trinity and the Divinity of our Saviour. The 18th, Is concerning the Heresy of *Apollinaris*, who affirmed, *That our Saviour had not a Soul, and that his Body was not of the Virgin Mary, but descended from Heaven, and assumed in the Womb of the Virgin, denying that there were two distinct Natures in Christ.*

An. 1582. The 19th, Is concerning the Heresy of *Nestorius*, who affirmed, *That the Virgin Mary shoud not be called (Θεοτόκη) the Mother of God, but (χριστοτόκη) the Mother of Christ.* In the 20th, He shows what the Doctrine of the Catholicks is in Opposition to these Heresies. In the 21st, He proves that there are in Christ two distinct Natures, the Divinity not being changed into the Humanity, nor the Humanity into the Divinity. In the 22d, He shows, That the Unity of Person in our Saviour, was complete in the Virgin's Bosom, and that the Properties of the humane Nature in our Saviour, are attributed to his God-head, and the Properties of his God-head to his Humanity, because the Son of God and Man is but one Christ, in one Person, and that the blessed Virgin may properly be called the Mother of God. The 23d, Is a Repetition of all that he has said against these Heresies, with a Congratulation to the Catholick Church for her Sincerity in her Faith. In the 24th and 25th Chapters, The Fall of *Origen* and that of *Tertullian*, is brought as Examples to teach Catholicks, that they ought not to rely upon the Authority, Reputation or Learning, how great soever it be, of any Man, when they differ from the Sentiments of the Catholick Church, Having largely insisted upon these Examples in the 26th Chapter, he returns to his Principle, and sustains, that we ought to keep by the ancient Rule of Faith, and that the only sure Rest of our Conscience is in the holy Catholick Church. In the 27th, He shows, that we never should endeavour to establish any new Doctrines in the Church, and that those who permit new Doctrines to be taught are Deceivers. In the 28th, He shows how that we may explain and illustrate the ancient Faith delivered unto us by the Apostles, that we may give a new Turn of Thought to Things, but that we are to say nothing that is new, *Cum dicas nove non dicas nova.* In the 29th, He shows that the Church does always increase in Knowledge, Wisdom and Devotion, but always upon the same Grounds, without adding or impairing any Thing. In the 30th, he shows that we may put Things in a clearer Light, but they must always remain in the same Fulness, and the same Integrity. In the 31st, He shows by Examples, that there was never any Heresy invented, but by those who separated themselves from the universal Consent of the Catholick Church. In the 32d, He shows how the Hereticks pervert the Scriptures to their own and Neighbours Destruction. In the 33d, He treats of the Devil's tempting of our Saviour, and makes a Comparison betwixt this and the Proceedings of Hereticks in tempting the Faithful. In the 34th, He shows how the Catholicks ought to have Recourse to the Rules abovewritten, when they are tempted by the Devil, and his Members the Hereticks. But he tells us, there are two Occasions in which these excellent Rules are of no great use: The first is, When the Questions are of no great Import or Consequence, and are not concerning the Fundamentals of our Faith. The 2d, When the Questions are concerning antient Heresies, for says he, it is not necessary to refute from the

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the Ancients what they have already condemned; but such new Heresies as may arise in the Church by the Means and Instruments of *Sathan*. In the 35th, He shows how these new Heresies may be discovered from the Writings of the Ancients. And *Lastly*, In the Fragment of his second Part, he concludes, That the Decisions of General Councils, and the Writings of the Ancients are the best Judges of the controverted Meaning of the Scriptures. Our Author finishes his Translation of this Book with the following Epigram in Commendation of *Vincentius Lyrinensis*, and his Performance.

*Pacis amator habes, pacem ut Vincentius unus
Tutatur, fuisse hostibus innumeris.
Eripit arma truci, rabida obstruit ora Draconi,
Detegit & fraudes : Pax quibus excul erat.
Morte sua Christus pacem, sera schismata Dæmon
Fraude parit : Pacem, pacis alumnæ, fove.*

This Author died in his Monastery at *Ratisbon* in the Year 1582. <sup>His Death
and Charac-</sup> He was well seen in the *Belles-Lettres*, and an excellent Poet : He wrote in a good Stile of Latin, and altho' he had applied the most of his Youth in reading of the Classick Authors, yet the Controversies that arose concerning Religion, made him apply himself diligently, when well struck in Years, to the reading of the sacred Scriptures, and the Writings of the ancient Fathers, by which Means he gained the Reputation of being well seen in Controversies, and the Respect that the University of *Paris* put upon him, by making him thrice their Procurator, is a sufficient Testimony of his real Worth and Merit : And his Book against *Buchanan* shows him to be a loyal Subject, and well seen in the Civil and Canon Law. *Dempster* says, that he taught Philosophy in the University of *Paris* with great Applause ; that he was a pious Man, and a great Opposer of the *Calvinists*. *Ninianus Vinzetus aut Winchetus* (says he) *Glasguensis, Monasterii Scotorum Ratisboniae Abbas, & prius Lutetiae Philosophiae Professor magna ingenii laude, nec minus pius doctrina Heresis Calvinianæ quam populares Scotiæ receperant pro virili resistit.*

John Lesly Bishop of Ross speaking of this Abbot, says, That when the Protestants had made the Vulgar believe that they had utterly silenced the Papists, Mr. *Winzet* published his Book of 83 Questions adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar, but with such Strength of Reason and Learning, that neither *Knox*, nor any of his Followers could ever answer them: And *Knox* who had highly insulted over the Papists, that he might not seem to yield the Victory to Mr. *Winzet*, for two Days endeavoured to persuade the People in his Sermons, that he had an extraordinary Call from Christ; for Mr. *Winzet* had most learnedly refuted all their Pretences to an extraordinary Call, desiring them to produce the Signs of their extraordinary Vocation, as the Prophets and Apostles did of old, to whom they compared themselves, and most impudently assumed to

A.D. 1592.

themselves the Office of the Priesthood, without any other Warrant: Which so incensed the Protestants against him, that hearing, that he was preparing to publish a Book upon this Subject, they thought to have apprehended the Author; but he made his Escape, to the great Joy of the Papists, and the great Grief of the Protestants: But they seized upon the Books, and having apprehended John Scot the Printer, he was imprisoned, and severely fined. Bishop Leslie's Words are, *Postquam Sectarii omnia jam occupassent* (a), *triumphant serio Catholicos viatos cessisse campo, eoque majorem esse Catholicorum obstinatam cætitatem clamant, quo acrius persulant in sententia quam facto ostendunt se non posse defendere.* Quod cum Ninianus Vinzetus, *cujus supra meminimus, intellectisset, octoginta tria de rebus controversis capita colligit, ea methodi forma, ut tenuioris ingenii homines facile intelligerent omnia, sed ea doctrina & rationisque firmitate ut Knoxius aliquique Sectarii sapient ad respondendum verbis scriptisque lacefisti, nihil hucusque invenire potuerint, quod contra hiscarent.* Knoxius tamen qui antea superbus Catholicis insultabat, nunc ne videatur plane victoriam Niniano ceſſe, uno aut altero die, id laborat sedulo, ut populo pro concione persuaderet, se a Christo vocatum: Objecerat namque Vinzetus quadam exquisitæ eruditioñis plena de ministrorum impudentia, qui non vocati Concionatorum functionem obirent: Ac quum Vinzetus quedam de signis, que novæ doctrinæ confirmanda quasi fundamenta quedam debebant edi, catholice docetque in illo libro urgeret publice, differit Knoxius, se ut Joannem Baptistam, Amos aliosque prophetas ad munus illud Apostolicum obeundum signis divinitus iuſſe aſſumptum; quam superbi hominis bl. ſphemiam nulla aut ratione aut auctoritate rixam, cum Ninianus (erat namque hic in vinea Domini excolenda fedulus operarius) literis diluſſet, recepit ſe brevi responſurum ad omnia, verum fidem quam aſtrinxit, nec Knoxius, nec quisquam ex Ministris ejus nominis decurſis jam multis annis, liberavit.

Hæc res Niniano Vinzeto maximam apud Hereticos invidiam conſlavit, unde cum audirent illum jam apud Typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitarat cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem expostulare (hac ſola ratione putabat Hereticos ad responseñem poſſe elici;) conſilium ineunt de opere diſturbando, Vinzeto capiendo, Typographo mulctando: Magistratus cum ſatellitibus irruit in Typographiam, libros quos reperit auſert: Joannem Scotum Typographum bonis mulctatum in carcerem abripit, ſed Vinzeturum quem tanto opere cupiebant, praeforibus Magistrati occurrentem, quod incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent Hæretici, rident Catholici.

George Con in his Book of the Twofold State of Religion amongst the Scots, says, That John Knox having provoked the Papists to dispute with him, he and Ninian Winzet had a Conference at Linlithgow, wherein, after he had overcome Knox, he had Recourse to his ordinary Calumnies, telling the People upon all Occasions, that Winzet's bold Impieties were not to be tolerated, "That he

" was

(a) Leslie de Gestis Scot., Lib. X. Pag. 584;

" was sent from God, and called by Christ for reforming of the ^{An. 1582.}
 " Church, that he was no less to be believed than the Prophet
 " Amos, or St. John the Baptist, that he had the Spirit of God,
 " by whose secret Inspiration he knew all the Mysteries of
 " the sacred Scriptures, that the Papists were blinded and mere
 " Idolaters, and that they sustain'd their Fables, not by the sacred
 " Scriptures, but upon old Wives Fables, which occasioned Mr. Win-
 " zet's writing of his Book of Questions, his Words are (a). Sed
 " Ninianus Vinzetus tam perficta frontis sycophantam catholica
 " veritate fregit, ut is, desperata victoria, ad solitas calumnias con-
 " fugiens, non ferendam impii Vinzeti audaciam proclamaret, se a
 " Deo missum, a Christo ad Ecclesiam reformatam vocatum, nec
 " minorem sibi fidem adhibendam quam Amos prophetæ aut D. Joanni
 " Baptista. Habere Dei spiritum familiarem, cuius secreta inspira-
 " tione omnia divinorum voluminum arcana haberet perspecta. Cacos
 " esse Papistas ac meros idolorum cultores, qui anilibus fabulis nulla
 " sacrorum codicum auctoritate nugas suas defenderent. Vinzetus in-
 " signi hac Knoxii desperatione minime contentus, scripto de rebus con-
 " troversis libello octoginta tria fidei capita, de tot enim lites mo-
 " verunt tunc temporis in Scotia Novatores, tanta eruditione ac tam
 " veris rationibus discussit, ut responsum expectare jussus, id etiam
 " num ejus posteri expectemus? derivata tandem in Typographum, qui
 " librum exuderat, rei invidia, is bonis exutus, ac in carcerem de-
 " jectus, iracundia Knoxii paenas dedit".

Archbishop Spotswood in his History (b), speaking of our Author, says, "One *Nimian Winzet* School-master at Linlithgow, a Man of reasonable Learning, set forth a Book of Questions against the *Confession of Faith*, which went current in the Court, and was much esteemed by them of his Profession, being cited, and divers Conferences kept with him, to make him acknowledge his Errors, he continued obstinate, and was therefore sentenced by the Church; wherefore he forsook the Country, and fleeing to Germany, was preferred to be Abbot of the *Scots Monastery* at Ratisbon, where he lived many Years".

The Catalogue of his Works.

L. **A** N Exhortation to the maist excellent and gracious Sovereign, Mary Queen of Scottis, &c. To the Bishopis, and utheris Pastors, and to all of them of the Nobility within this her Graces Realme, for unsenzit Reformation of Doctrine and Maneris; and for obtaining of Licence, so propone in Writ to the Pritchouris of the Protestantis, certain Articulis twiching Doctrine, Ordour and Maneris, approven by them, and presented to her maist excellcnt Majesty, February 15th, 1562. 8vo.

Q q 2

II. The

(a) Lib. 2. Pag. 155. (b) Lib. 4. Pag. 183.

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II. *The Buke of Fourscore three Questions, touching Doctrine Ordour and Mineris, proponit to the Prechoris of the Protestantis in Scotland, by the Catholicks of the inferiour Order of the Clergy and Layitmen, thair cruellie afflictit and dispersit, be Persuasioun of the saids intrust Prechionris, set furth be Ninian Winzet, a Catholuk Priest, at the desayre of his saythful afflictit Breithren, and deliuert to John Knox, the xxth of Februar or yairby, in the Zere of the blisfit Birth of our Saviour 1563.* Antwerp, ex officina Aegidii Diest. MDLXIII, XIII Octob. cum gratia & privilegio. 8vo.

III. *Vincentius Lyrinensis of the Natioun of Gallis, for the Antiquity and Universality of the Catholick Fayth, againis the prophanie Nouationis of all Heresies.* ibid. in 8vo.

IV. *Niniani Vinzeti Ranfroi Flagellum Hareticorum, qui Religionis praetextu jam in Cæfarem, aut in alios orthodoxos principes seditionem excitare student, quarentes ineptissima quidem, Deo ne magis an Principipus sit obediendum,* Ingoldstadii, 1582. in 4to.

V. *A Translation of a Discourse of Renatus Benedictus, concerning composing Discords in Religion.* Paris 1565 in 8vo.

VI. *Velitatio in Geor. Buchan. Dialogum de jure Regni apud Scotos,* Ingoldstadii 1582. in 4to.

Three of these Treatises were printed in 4to, 1563.

T H E,

LIFE of Mr. GEORGE BUCHAN.

His Birth,
Parentage
and Education

He goes
over to the
University of
Paris.

THIS Gentleman was descended from a good Family (a), in the County or Shire of Dumbarton; he was born about the beginning of the Month of February, in the Year 1506. His Parents who lived in the Paroch of Killairn, were not in a very prosperous Condition in the World, as he himself informs us; for when his Father died, he had been left in a starving Condition, had it not been for James Heriot his Uncle on the Mother's Side, who took care of him, and finding him a Boy of an excellent Genius, put him to the School at Dumbarton; where, after he had learn'd his Grammar, he sent him over to Paris, where he studied in the College of Montacute, and it would appear that he was sometimes obliged to his Mule for his Subsistance, for he tells us, that

(a) Vit. Geor. Buchan. ab ipso script. cum Com. Rob. Sybald. M. D. Edr. 1700 in 8vo. Di& Hist. et Crit. par M. Bayl. Bib. Choisi par M. Clerc. Tom. VIII. Les Eloges des Hommes savans par Antoine Teillier Tom. 2. 3. Dempsier L. 2. P. 108.

that he apply'd himself to Poetry, *Partim naturæ impulsu, partim necessitate*, partly out of a natural Inclination, and partly out of Necessity: But his Uncle dying, and his Muse not being able to maintain him at *Paris*, he was obliged to return to his native Country, notwithstanding that he was then very sickly.

About this Time, *John Duke of Albany*, Vice-Roy or Gouvernor of *Scotland*, coming from *France* with Auxiliary Troops, to carry on a War against *England*; *Buchanan* being reduced to great Want, listed himself as a common Sentinel in the Army, but the Season of the Year being very severe, by Reason of the continual Snows, he fell Sick, and was confined to his Bed all that Winter. Having recovered his Health, *John Major*, who then taught Philosophy in the University of *St. Andrews*, being informed that he was a Youth of excellent Parts, and reduced to great Necessities, he sent for him in the Beginning of the Year 1524, and took him into his Service, he being then in the 18th Year of his Age. The next Summer his Master going over to *Paris*, he took *Buchanan* amongst with him, and kept him in his Service there for two Years, but not thinking his Service a suitable Encouragement for so great a Genius, he procured for him a Regency in the College of *St. Barbe*, in the University of *Paris*. Year 1526. For all which good Offices done to him by his learned and worthy Master, he returned his Thanks in the following Scandalous Epigram upon one of his Master's Books.

In *Joannem solo cognomento Majorem*, ut ipse in fronte Libri scripsit.

*Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana Libro;
Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.*

His great
Ingratitudo
to his Ma-
ster.

And this was the first Time he showed his Ingratitude to his Benefactors, which as we shall show, was the great and unpardonable Blemish of his whole Life.

After he had taught Grammar in the College of *St. Barbe* for three Years, *Gilbert Earl of Caſſils* being then at *Paris*, *Buchanan* quits his Regency, and was made Preceptor or Tutor to this noble Earl, with whom he stay'd for five Years, during which Time he translated from English into Latin *Linacer's Grammar*, which he dedicated to his Pupil. About the Year 1536, he returned with this noble Man to *Scotland*, and by his Recommendation, King *James V.* made him Preceptor to his Bastard Son *James Prior of St. Andrews*, afterwards Earl of *Murray*, with whom he stay'd three Years. Hitherto he had conceald his Sentiments about Religion, but finding that the Reformation was favoured by King *Henry VIII.* he publickly blamed the Clergy for their vicious Lives, especially the *Franciscans*, whom he exposed in a Poem (*a*), wherein he makes

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St

(a) *Poematum Pag. 48. par. 2. Ed. Sal. 1620.*

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St. Francis to appear to him in a Dream, persuading him to be a Franciscan Monk; but our Author tells him that he was no ways fit for that, because he had not such a mean dastardly Soul, as to subject himself to be a Slave and a Beggar, or to become such an impudent Cheat as the Laws of their Fraternity required, and he was firmly persuaded, that few or none either of that Order, or of any other Order of Monks could be saved.

*Pervia sed raris sunt Cœli regna Cucullis,
Vix monachis illic creditur esse locus.*

The *Franciscans* having got a Copy of this Poem, they accused him of Heresy, but since he disown'd the Poem, and that they could not prove him to be the Author of it, the Process was dropt.

Towards the End of *May*, in the Year 1537, *Buchanan* and the rest of those who favour'd the Reformation, had some Hopes of an Encouragement from the Throne, because the King had newly marry'd the Princess *Magdalen*, the *French* King's Daughter, who had been brought up under *Margaret Queen of Navarre*, a known Favourer of the Reformation; but their Hopes soon vanished, by the Death of that Lady, which happened shortly after. Not long after, the *Franciscans* having offended the King, he desired *Buchanan* to write a Satyr against them, which he did, but with such Caution and Ambiguity, that it no ways answered the King's Expectations, whereupon he wrote his *Franciscanus*, a most virulent Satyr, wherein *Buchanan* represents one of his Friends that was going to be a *Franciscan*, as impatient till he saw himself in his Habit, upon this our Author tells him, that he was likewise very desirous to have enter'd into that Order, till he was dissuaded by a Friend, who told him of their vicious Lives and Morals, which he paints forth under the Instructions of an old Monk to a young Novice, where amongst other Things he tells him, that to become a true Brother of the *Franciscan* Order, he must arm his Tongue and his Heart with all the Venome, Malice and Spite that Hell can affoord, or the Devils suggest to him.

*Cura sit imprimis tibi linguam armare veneno
Verborum, Ætna animas, animas tibi torreat Hecla,
Tartara Sulphureis volvant incendia fumis
Mixta, tibi nigris Phlegetontias unda cerafis
Bulliat, & miseras lacerent cacodæmones umbras,
Donec fracta crepent longis sub dentibus ossa,
Nec minus horrendas Purgatrix flamma vapores
Evomat, aeterno nisi quod non astuet igne,
Sed precibus vinci queat & lustralibus undis
Extingui, &c.*

It is no wonder that the whole Clergy, after this bloody Satyr, were incensed against *Buchanan*, and they left no Stone unturned till

till they prevailed with the King that he should be tried for Heresie; ^{An. 1582.} and having seized upon his Person, he was imprisoned in the Beginning of the Year 1539. Our Author noways doubting; but that if he were brought to a Trial, he would be condemned and burnt for an Heretick, made several Attempts for the recovering of his Liberty, and at length was so successful, that one Night, when his Keepers were fast asleep, he made his Escape, and fled into *England*: The Certainty of his Escape was no sooner known; but he was denounced Fugitive: On the other Hand, in *England* he found King *Henry VIII.* persecuting equally his Protestant and Popish Subjects; upon which, being as much afraid of his Life there, as in his own Country, he fled over to *France*, where he found Cardinal *Beaton* his mortal Enemy Ambassador from *Scotland*, and not doubting but that he might readily get notice of him, if he resided at *Paris*, he fled to *Bourdeaux*, where he found *Andrew de Govea*, a learned Gentleman of the *Portuguese* Nation; this Man he had been intimately acquainted with when he was Regent of the College of *St. Barbe*, and now he was in the Station of Rector to a School that had been newly erected at *Bourdeaux*; and finding that Charge too great a Burden for one Person, and knowing that there was none better qualified for that Charge than *Buchanan*, he got him to be his Coadjutor in that Charge; and that City was singularly obliged to him, for that same very Year, the Emperor *Charles V.* passing through *Bourdeaux*, as Rector of their School, he presented the Emperor with a most noble Poem (*a*), wherein he flattered the Emperor so agreeably, that he expressed a deal of Satisfaction, and assured them of his Protection and Favour: And indeed there can be nothing more handsomely expressed than his Address to that Emperor, where he calls him, *The Governour of the Spanish and Master of the Italian Nations, the Conqueror of Lybia, (the Moors) the Terror of Scythia, (the Turks) whom the West respects, whom the North loves, and who makes the utmost Corner of the East to tremble, and whom the perfidious Moors are afraid of.*

Rectorem gentis Iberæ,
Ausoniæ Dominum, Boreæ pugnacis alumnum
Vitorem Lybiæ Terra, Scythiaque timorem,
Quem colit occasus, Boreas amat, ultimus horret
Ortus, & infidi metuit solertia Mauri.

We have another excellent Poem of our Author's in Favour of the School of *Bourdeaux* to the Chancellor of *France*, wherein he tells him, that they would be obliged to leave that School, if they were not supplied with larger Revenues; and that all he required of him was, that he would give them an immediate Answer by a speedy Supply or Refusal.

*Aut ope præfensi miseris solare querelas,
Aut saltem auxiliis spem cito tolle tui.*

R 1 2

And

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And it seems the Chancellor was pleased to grant his Request, for we find amongst Buchanan's Miscellany Poems, a Return of Thanks to the Chancellor: But the great care that he took in the Education of the Children of that City, appeared mainly in his bringing the Youtli from the trivial Diversions that had crept in amongst them, to those more becoming and instructive ones of the Stage; for here it was that he composed all his Tragedies, 'tis true, they were not published till some Years after; for the Tragedy of S. John the Baptist, tho' it was first written, yet was last published, the first Edition of it being at *London* in 1578. Next to this was his Translation of *Euripides* his *Medea*, which was acted at *Bourdeaux* in 1543. And he tells us, that these two Tragedies having succeeded beyond his Expectation, he took some more Pains about the other two, viz. his *Jephthes*, which was published at *Paris* in 1554, and his *Alceste*, published likewise at *Paris* 1556.

By this Time Buchanan's Fame begun to spread all over *Europe*, and having reached Cardinal Beaton's Ears, that Cardinal wrote a Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Bourdeaux*, wherein he informed him, how that Buchanan had fled his Country for Heresie, that he had lampoon'd the Church in most virulent Satyrs, and that if he would put him to the Trial, he would find him a most pestilentious Heretic: The Arch-Bishop happened to show this Letter to one of Buchanan's Friends, who dissuaded him from prosecuting our Author; but that which contributed most for his Safety, was, that about this Time King *James V.* died, which involved the Cardinal himself in such Difficulties, that he could never get himself extricate out of them, as we have shown in his Life: Buchanan tells us, that he only taught for three Years at *Bourdeaux*, but makes no Mention of his going from thence to *Paris*, where, notwithstanding, 'tis most certain, that he was for some Time Professor in the College of Cardinal le Moine, for we find him there, by one of his Elegies which he addresses to his Friends at *Bourdeaux*, whilst he had the Gout, in the Year 1544, in which he mentions as his Colleague *John Gelida de Vallence*, who was then one of the Regents of that College,

*He goes to
Paris, and is
made Professor
in the
College of
Cardinal le
Moine.*

*Cateraque ut cessent, Gelidæ pia cura Sodalis
Et Patris & Patriæ sustinet usque vicem.*

The King of *Portugal* having founded a College at *Conimbria*, he wrote a Letter to *Gouvea*, desiring that he would bring amongst with him what learned Men he could persuade, upon the Promise of sufficient Rewards for teaching of the Sciences in his University of *Conimbria*; and Buchanan being one of those whom *Gouvea* applied himself to, he very willingly embraced the Offer, and tells us in one of his Elegies, that having no Encouragement for teaching of Poetry at *Paris*, he resolved to forsake the Muses, and bids them adieu, since he had spent his Youth with them, and that they could not maintain him, or afford him a tolerable Way of Living.

Ite

*Ite leves nuga, sterilesque valete Camena,
Grataque Phœbo Castalis unda choero,
Ite, sat est, primos vobiscum absumpsimus annos,
Optima pars vita deperiitque mea.*

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Then he desires them to enquire after those who could sing in Famine, or make Verses by drinking Water.

*Quarite quem capiat jejuna cantus in umbra,
Quarite qui pota carmina cantet aqua.*

And towards the End of that Poem, after he has spoke of the Poverty of several Poets, he very pleasantly asks why *Calliope* remain'd still a Virgin.

*Calliope longum calebs cur vixit in ævum?
Nempe nihil doris quod numeraret erat.*

But before *Buchanan* undertook this Voyage for *Portugal*, he caused his Friend *Andrew Govea* to inform the King of *Portugal* by a Letter, of the whole Affair betwixt him and the *Franciscans* in *Scotland*, and that the Satyr he had writ against them, was not as his Enemies gave out, to defame the Catholicks, but wrote in Obedience to the King his Master's Command, whom the *Franciscans* had offended : The King of *Portugal* being satisfied with this Apology, *Govea*, *Nicolas Gruchius*, *Gulielmus Garantæus*, *Jacobus Tævius*, *Helias Venetus*, Mr. *Buchanan*, and his Brother Mr. *Patrick Buchanan* embarked for *Portugal*, where they safely arrived in the Year 1547.

He goes
from Franc
to Portuga
where he is
made Profes
for of the
Belle-Lettres
at Conimbric.

The next Year *Jacobus Tævius*, having published his Book *de rebus gestis ad Diuum Cambaïæ oppidum*, which he dedicated to the King of *Portugal*; *Buchanan* wrote a commendatory Poem upon this Book to the King of *Portugal*, which made *Dempster* fall into the Mistake that *Buchanan* had wrote this Book.

During all the Time that *Andrew Govea* lived, *Buchanan* was protected by him, he being a great Favourite of the King of *Portugal's*; but that learned Man dying in the Year 1548, *Buchanan* was accused of being Author of the Poem against the *Franciscans*, of having eat Flesh in Time of *Lent*, of having said that S. *Augustin* was more favourable to the Doctrine of the Reformers, than to that of the Church of *Rome*: Concerning the *Eucharist*, there were Witnesses likewise brought, that deponed that they had heard from Persons of good Credit that *Buchanan* was a *Lutherian*. These were sufficient Reasons in that Kingdom, for putting any Man into the Inquisition; and accordingly our Author was put into it, where he remained for a Year and an Half. I shall not trouble the Reader with the Account of the Method and Manner of the Proceedings against Hereticks in the Inquisition, since I have given a full Account of it in the second Volume of this Work, in the Life of Mr. *John Schevez*, Official of St. *Andrews*, but only acquaint him, that

He is accus-
ed of Her-
esy, and put
in the Inqui-
sition.


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He is confined to a Cloister.

he was set at Liberty, or rather removed to a more agreeable Prison, being confined to a Cloister till he should be better instructed in the Principles of the *Romish* Church.

His Ingrati-
tude to the
Monks.

He is set at
Liberty, and
goes over to
England,

and from
thence to
France.

His Ingrati-
tude to the
Emperor,
and to the
Portuguese.

He tells us, that the Monks of this Cloister to which he was confined were very civil to him, being Persons of great Probity and Humanity : But here he gives us another Specimen of his Gratitude to his Benefactors, for he says, That they were altogether ignorant and void of Religion. *Hominibus quidem aliqui nec inhumanis, nec malis, sed omnis Religionis ignarisi* : Now how improbable this is, will appear from these Monks having imposed upon him as a Pennance, that he should turn the Psalms of *David* into Latin Verse, which he did with such inimitable Sweetness and Elegancy, that this Version of the Psalms will be esteemed and admired as long as the World endures, or Men have any Relish for Poetry ; and the King of *Portugal* and the Clergy were so well pleased with this Performance, that he was not only set at Liberty, but had a Pension settled upon him, till such Time as the King should find an Opportunity of settling him in some lucrative Station ; but the harsh Treatment he had met with, gave him such a Disgust at the Clergy of that Kingdom, that he took the Opportunity of a *Candia* Ship that was going for *England*, where he safely arrived in the Year 1551.

Edward VI. was then upon the Throne of *England*, and had established the Protestant Religion in that Kingdom ; but whether *Buchanan* was unwilling as yet to declare himself Protestant, or that he thought the State of the *English* Nation not sufficiently settled, I know not ; but he refused some advantagious Offers that were made to him by King *Edward*, and went over to *France* in the Beginning of the Year 1552. A few Days after the Emperor *Charles V.* had raised the Siege of *Mets* ; upon which *Buchanan's* Friends would needs have him write a Poem, which he did, though much against his Will, being afraid that it might do Prejudice to his Friend *Melin des Gelais*, who had composed a Poem upon that Occasion, and was one of the best *French* Poets of that Age. But altho' that Emperor had been his Benefactor for his former Poem which he composed upon him at *Bourdeaux*, he would needs give him likewise a Swatch of his Ingratitude.

*Sub semi mauro Cæsare, prob pudor !
Germana virtus cesserat, Italum
Indocta libertas Tyranni
Ferre jugum tacite fremebat.*

But he wanted still an Opportunity of maltreating his good Friends and Benefactors the *Portuguese* ; and now being at Liberty, he composed a malitious Satyr against the whole Nation.

*Glebaque tantum fertiles penuria,
&c.*

What

What Station our Author was in at this Time in *France* we know ^{An. 1582.} not, since neither he nor any other have mention'd it, but he tells us, That in the Year 1555, *Charles de Coze Marishal de Brissai*, to whom he had dedicated the Year before his *Jephthes*, called him to *Piemont*, where he then commanded the *French King's Forces*; and made him Preceptor to his Son; *Timoleon de Coze*, with whom he stay'd for five Years; during which Time he apply'd himself to Theology, but especially to the controversial Part of it, betwixt the Church of *Rome* and the Reformers: But at the same Time, we find, that he did not neglect the Muses, for it was then that he composed his noble Poem upon the Sphere, the Ode upon the Duke of *Guise's* taking of *Calais*, and his admired Epithalamium upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* to the Dauphine of *France*. About the Year 1560, he returned to *Scotland*, and finding the Reformation in a Manner settled, there he openly renounced the *Romish Religion*, and declared himself *Calvinist*, the prevailing Party at that Time; and shortly afterwards, he was made Principal of St. *Leonard's College* in the University of St. *Andrews*; where he taught Philosophy for some Time, and at his Hours of Leisure; he collected together all his Poems, excepting such of them as were in the Hands of his Friends, and of which he had no Copies.

The best Edition of these Poems is that of *Saumur*, in the Year 1620 by *John Bureau*, for tho' the Title Page bears by *Abraham Elzevir* at *Amsterdam*, yet the Title of the second part and the Characters, shew that it was done in *France*. In this Edition we have 1st, The Psalms, then his Tragedy of *Jephthes* and St. *John Baptist*, then his *Franciscanus* and other Satyrs against the Monks, some Poems in Elegiac Verse in Imitation of *Ovid*; his *Sylva* in Heroick Verse in Imitation of *Statius*; Verse of eleuen Syllables in Imitation of *Catullus*, Jambick Verses in Imitation of the same Poet, which are for the most part Satyrs. Three Books of Epigrams, and one of Miscellanies, consisting of Odes, Epigrams and all Sorts of Poems, his imperfect Poem upon the Sphere in V. Books, in Imitation of *Aratus*. And Lastly, His *Medea* and *Alceste* translated from *Euripides* in the Year 1564. He composed on the Marriage of Queen *Mary* with the Lord *Darnly*, an admirable Poem, which is in the third Book of his Epigrams, with several others, upon a *Diamantine Form of a Heart*, which Queen *Mary* sent Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Year 1566. And upon the Birth of King *James* the 6th, he composed a Poem which we have amongst his *Sylva*, and another upon his *Baptism*, which is in the third Book of his Epigrams.

As these Poems gain'd him the Love and Esteem of all Men of Learning, so his Biggery and Zeal for the Principles and Doctrine of the *Calvinists*, gained him such an Esteem amongst the Ministers, that although he was a meer *Laick* (as indeed most or all of themselves were) they made Choice of him for their Moderator to the National Assembly of their Church, met at *Edinburgh* upon the 25th of June 1567.

He goes from France to Italy, where he is made Preceptor to the Marishal de Brissai's Son.

He returns to Scotland, and is made Principal of St. Leonard's College.

He is made Moderator to the General Assembly.

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In this Assembly the Superintendants of *Angus* and *Bargeny* were sent to the Lords of the Privy Council, to desire their Lordships to meet and concur with them, in settling the Affairs of the Church, upon which they made an Overture to the Assembly, that the Noble Men who adhered to the Queen and her Interest should likewise be advertised to meet with them; that all of them might concur in so good a Work. *Buchanan* and his Brethren were very well pleased with this Overture, so they prorogued their Meeting to the 20 of *July* next; and in the mean Time appointed circular Letters to be wrote to the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntly*, *Caitness*, *Rothes*, *Crawford* and *Monteith*, the Lords *Boyd*, *Drummond*, *Hereis*, *Cathcart*, *Tesler*, *Fleeming* and *Somervel*, and to the Commendators of *Aberbrothock*, *Killwinning*, *Dumfermling*, *St. Cobuke*, *Newbottle*, and *Haly-Rood-House*. These being the Noblemen and Gentlemen whom they suspected most, for favouring of the Queen's Interest, and that their Letters might obtain the greater Credit, they sent *John Knox*, Mr. *John Douglas*, Mr. *John Row* and Mr. *John Craig* their Commissioners, to enforce them, either by fair and gentle Means, or by threatening to cut them off from the Communion of the Church: But most of all these Noblemen either absolutely refused to meet with them, or sent their Excuses either by Writing or Word of Mouth, upon the Account of the Imprisonment of the Queen their lawful Sovereign, and the strong Garrison that was then in *Edinbuegh*. And the Earl of *Argyle* and the Lord *Boyd*, told them in their Answers, *That as to what concerned the Policy of the Church, they hoped that they would make no Alterations till there was a Meeting of the Estates*. Although both of them had subscribed the Book of Policy long before, and made no Scruple either of Law or Custom at that Time.

The Noblemen who opposed the Queen, finding that they could not induce the other Noblemen to meet with them, they joined with the Assembly, who had appointed a solemn Fast to be kept at *Edinburgh* the Day before they sat: So the next Day *Buchanan* and his Brethren opened the Assembly, and the following Articles were agreed to. *First*, That the Acts made in the Parliament on 24th of *August* 1560, concerning Religion, and the abolishing of the *Pope's Authority*, should be extracted furth of the Registers, and have the Force of a publick Law, and that the said Parliament, in so far as concerns the Acts made by them in Favours of the Reformed Religion, should be maintain'd and defended by them as a lawful Parliament held by sufficient Commission from the Queen then being in *France*, and be ratify'd in the first Parliament which should happen to be kept within the Realm. *2dly*, That till perfect Order might be taken for restoring the Patrimony of the Church, the Act of *Assignation* of the Thirds of Benefices, for the sustaining the Ministry should be put in due Execution. *3dly*, That an Act of Council made with the Consent of her Majesty, touching the conterrинг of small Benefices within the Value of 300 Merks to Ministers

nisters should be put in Practice, as likewise the Acts for Annals, Obits and Aulterages, especially within Brughes. *4thly*, That the first lawful Parliament that should be kept, or sooner if Occasion might serve, the Church of Christ within this Kingdom should be fully restored unto the Patrimony belonging to the same, and that nothing be past in Parliament before that, and other Matters of the Church were first considered and approved. In the mean Time, the Barons and other Professors of Religion then present, did willingly offer and consent to reform themselves in the Matter of the Church Patrimony, according to the Book of God, and to put the same in Practice for their own Parts, ordaining the Refusers and Contraveeners of the same to be secluded from all Benefits of the Church; and it was further agreed, that in the next Parliament, or otherwise, at the first Occasion, Orders should be taken for the Ease of the Labourers of the Ground, in the Payment of their Tithes; and that the same should not be disposed to any others, without their Advice or Consent. *5thly*, That none should be permitted to bear Charge in the Schools, Colleges and Universities, nor allowed publickly or privately to instruct the Youth, except such as should first be tryed by the Superintendants and Visitors of the Church, who being found duely qualify'd, should be admitted by themselves to their Charges. *6thly*, That all Crimes and Offences committed against the Law of God, should be severely punished according to the Word of God, and Judges deputed for Execution thereof, or if there be no Laws as yet made, nor Judges appointed for the Punishment of such Crimes, that the same should be done in the first Parliament. *7thly*, That seeing the horrible Murder of the King her Majesty's Husband, is a Crime most odious before God, and tending to the perpetual Shame and Infamy of the Realm, if the same should not be exemplary punished. The Noblemen, Barons and other Professors of Religion, should employ their whole Forces, Strength and Power, for the just Punishment of all and whatsoever Persons that should be try'd and found guilty of the same. *8thly*, Since it has pleased God to give a native Prince to the Country, who in all Appearance shall become their King and Sovereign, least he should be murdered, and wickedly taken away as his Father was, the Nobility, Barons and others undersubscribing, should assist maintain and defend the Prince, against all that should attempt to do him any Injury. *9thly*, That all Kings and Princes, that in any Time hereafter shall happen to Reign, and have the Rule of the Realm, shall in the first Entry, and before they be either crowned or inaugurated, give their Oath, and faithfully Promise unto the true Church of God, for maintaining and defending by all Means, the true Religion of Christ, presently professed within the Kingdom. *10thly*, That the Prince's Education should be committed to the Care of four wise and godly Men, to be trained up in Virtue and the Fear of God, that when he cometh to Age, he may discharge himself sufficiently of that Place and Honour,

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whereunto he is called. And, *Lastly*, That the Nobility, Barons and others undersubscribing, should faithfully promise to conveen themselves in Arms, for the rooting out of Idolatry, especially the blasphemous Mass, without Exception of Place or Person. And likewise, should remove all Idolaters and others, not admitted to the preaching of the Word, from the bearing of any Function in the Church, which may be a Hinderance to the Ministry in any Sort, and in their Places appoint Superintendants, Ministers and other needful Members of the Church. And further, should faithfully bind themselves to reform all Schools, Colleges and Universities throughout the Realm, by removing all such as are not of the Reformed Religion, and planting faithful Teachers in their Rooms, least the Youth should be corrupted with poisonable Doctrine in their younger Yeats, which afterwards would not easily be removed. They likewise (*a*) appointed, That the Queen should renounce the Crown and Royal Power, in Favours of the Prince her Son, with a Commission to invest him in the Kingdom, and a Procuration was given to the Lords *Lindsay* and *Ruthven*, to give up and resign the Realm in Presence of the Estates, and another Commission was given, ordering the Earl of *Murray*, the Queen's Bastard Brother, and *Buchanan*'s old Pupil, to be Regent during the Prince's Minority, and that in Case he refused to accept of it in his single Person, that he with the Duke of *Chattelherault*, the Earls of *Lennox*, *Argyle*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Glencairn* and *Mar*, should jointly govern and administrat all publick Affairs.

These Articles were agreed to, and subscribed in Presence of the Assembly, by the Earls of *Morton*, *Glencairn* and *Mar*, the Lords *Home*, *Ruthven*, *Sanquhar*, *Lindsay*, *Graham*, *Innermeath* and *Ochiltrie*; and many Barons and Commissioners of Burghs, and published over the Market Cross of *Edinburgh*, upon the 29th Day of July ----.

Thus rose this monstrous Assembly, who like their Head, *Buchanan*, acted in a double Capacity as Clergy and Lay-men, tho' they had no Commission or Power to act as either, dethroning their Sovereign, and prescribing Rules for the Successor, and States of Parliament. Hitherto *Buchanan* had lived privately at St. Andrews, and rather seemed to favour the Queen than her Enemies; as it appears from the several Verses that he wrote in Commendation of her, and for which he always tasted of the Royal Bounty, which she largely bestowed upon him: 'But according to his accustomed

*His mon-
strous Ingra-
titude to the
Queen.*
*He is made
one of the
Prince's Pre-
ceptor's, and
one of the
Commissio-
ner's for ac-
cusing the
Queen.*

Gratitude to his Benefactors, after this, he fell into all the Indelicencies that enraged and hellish Malice could be guilty of. And the first Thing that was done in Obedience to them, was the Crowning of the young Prince in the Church of *Stirling*, upon the 29th of *August*. And in a Meeting of some of the Nobility at *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Murray* the Queen's Bastard Brother, was declared Regent, and *Buchanan* was chosen one of the King's Preceptor's, and

and the next Year he was chosen one of the Commissioners that was sent to *England* against the Queen. And *Cambden* tells us, that it was about this Time he wrote his *Detection of the Doings of Mary Queen of Scots, and of James Earl of Bothwell*, against *Henry Lord Darnly*, tho' it was not published till some Years thereafter; in this scandalous Libel, he endeavours not only to blacken the Queen with the murdering of her Husband, but by several counterfeit Letters and Verses to represent her as one of the lewdest Women of the Age. All which we shall shew to be mere Aspersions and Lies, in the Life of that illustrious Princess; but he not only thus aspersed his Royal Mistress, but likewise acted a disgraceful Part, both as to his Nation, and the Character which he bore, by the begging Verses which he sent to the *English* Courtiers, and for which he was often rewarded, as we find by his Poems.

After *Buchanan's* Return from *England*, for the good Service that he had done by his scandalous Lybels, he had the Abbacy of *Cross-Raguel* bestowed upon him, and was made Director to the Chancery. Upon the 23d of *January* 1569, his Pupil the Regent was murdered at *Linlithgow*, which was a heavy Stroke to him, for he loved him as his own Life. Yet we find his Successor the Earl of *Morton*, who was made Regent or Governour of the Realm, did not neglect him, for he made him one of the Lords of the Privy Council, and Lord Privy Seal. Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* forget the Service that he had done to her, whilst he was in *England*, in defaming her Royal Sister Queen *Mary*, for which he had a Pension of an 100 Pound *Sterling* settled upon him yearly, as I find by a List in the *Cotton Library* of the *Scots* Pensionaries, whom she yearly rewarded for fomenting Divisions in their native Country. And so grateful he was to Queen *Elizabeth* for this Pension of his, that he no sooner entered into Pay, but without any Regard to his native Country, his Duty to his lawful Sovereign, the Obligations that he owed to his Pupil the young Prince, he immediately published his Book of the *Right of the Scots Kings*, which has laid a lasting Foundation of Rebellion with the unthinking Mob, and has been one of the main Defences of all the Rebellions that has been ever since that Time raised against our Monarchs. This Book is wrote by way of Dialogue in Imitation of those of *Cicero's*, whose Stile he has so well imitated, that for the Language, it is deservedly esteemed as a Master-Piece in its Kind, the Dialogue is betwixt *Buchanan* and Mr. *Thomas Maitland*, a learned and a Loyal Gentleman, whom he represents as newly returned from his Travels, and surpriz'd at their rebellious Proceedings against their Sovereign. For vindicating of which, *Buchanan* endeavours, First, To prove in general, that Men were born to live in Society, and for this they made Choice of the most virtuous Men to be their Governours, that as Discords and Divisions obliged Men to creat Kings at first, the Injuries that these Kings might do their Subjects, obliged them to make Laws, according to which they should be obliged

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*Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam
posse volunt.*

Now to make an Application of all this to the *Scots*, *Buchanan* says, that the ancient *Scots* made choice of such Persons to be their Kings as they knew to be virtuous, and under whose Government they happened to live happily ; and those who answered not their Expectations, but reign'd tyrannically, they never failed to call them before the Parliament, to imprison, banish or execute them, without ever their Successors (who were not chosen as nearest of Blood, but those who were most capable to govern) revenging the same, that on the contrary, whenever factious Subjects rose in Rebellion against their good Kings, the Assassins and Rebels were most severely punished ; that since King *Kenneth III's* Time, who made the Monarchy hereditary, the *Scots* had not lost their ancient Rights and Privileges, as it appears from the Examples of those Kings, who since that Time have been punished for abusing their Authority : And yet in his Time, in several of the ancient Families of the Western Islands of *Scotland*, the Chiftains of Clans were deposed if they followed not the Advice of their nearest Relations and Friends : And the Truth of all this further appears from this, that since the Kings swear at their Inauguration, to observe inviolably the Laws and Privileges of the Nation, it makes it appear that they are only Kings upon that Condition, and whenever they transgresst these Laws, they are no more our Kings, but perjured Tyrants. After this, *Buchanan*

Buchanan answers the Objections that are brought against this ^{An. 1582.} Doctrine from the Old and New Testament, and says, that the King that is spoken of, *1 Sam. Chap. viii. 11.* is a tyronical King, because God discharged them from making him, *Deut. xvii. 16.* and following Verses, and which *Samuel* foretold he should be; and as for those Passages of *St. Paul's*, where he enjoins all Christians to pray for the Powers that are set over us, and for Kings to whom we are desired to submit, not only for Fear, but for Conscience Sake. *For they that resist, receive unto themselves Damnation, 1 Tim. Ch. ii. v. 2.* *Tit. Chap. iii. 6. Rom. xiii. 6.* He says, we ought to pray for wicked Princes, as well as for good ones, that we may live in Peace under them, as *S. Paul* says, for Prayer and Submission have a Relation to all Sorts of Magistrates, as well as to Kings, whose Powers are not unlimited, as some affirm: Besides, *S. Paul* makes not this Address to the Senate or Parliament as Representatives of the People, nor to the subaltern Magistrates, but to a few of the poor indigent People, who had no Share in the Government of the Empire; and it belonged not to such People to oppose the Emperor, or the meanest Magistrate of the Empire, the safest and wisest Way for them, being to submit without Murmuring, or making of the least Resistance.

Buchanan, to show that Kings are answerable for their Conduct here upon Earth, brings as a Proof of it, the usual Conduct of the Church of *Rome*, who in all Ecclesiastical Matters makes them subject to the Popes and Bishops, and yet the Church of *Rome* never pretended that either the Popes or Bishops could not be called to an Account for their Doings, but on the contrary, have done it very often: And here he approves and brings in the Distinction betwixt the Pope and the Papacy, and shews how the Pope may be punished, without any Hurt done to the Papacy, which he applies to the Monarch and the Monarchy: And shews that the punishing of a wicked Monarch is noways prejudicial to the Monarchy: And altho' he acknowledges that the Scripture says nothing of all this, yet he says, that we have as good Right to do it, as to establish an Infinity of Laws, of which the sacred Writers have said nothing. Moreover, if *S. Paul* had wrote to Societies, of which the Magistrates and Sovereign were Members, as they are at this Day amongst Christians, he would have given Precepts to these Powers, and marked out the Limits of their Power, as well as he had done to those that obey them: If the Christians that live at this Day under the *Turks*, should demand Advice of our Christian Bishops; no doubt they would give them *S. Paul's* Advice, to submit and pray, because it were Folly in them to attempt to do otherwise.

Our Author says, that if any one desires an Example from sacred Scriptures of Subjects punishing their Kings, he answers them, that there are a great many good Laws in all States and Kingdoms, that are not to be found in the Scriptures. And on the other Hand, he demands of them a formal Passage from the sacred Scriptures, discharging the People from killing a Tyrant, he says, he is sure, that



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no such Passage can be found, the Scriptures being silent in such Matters of Politicks. Then our Author shews from the *Grecian*, *Roman*, *French*, *Danish* and *Scots* Histories, that these Nations have often punished their Kings, when they abused the Power that was given to them by the People : Many Instances of which are to be shown in the *Scots* History, particularly in *Culennus*, *Evenus*, *Fir-quhard*, and *James III.* And tho' what he has said, may, as he thinks, sufficiently convince the *Scots* of the Lawfulness of punishing their Kings, yet for their further Satisfaction, he appeals to them, and to all the World, if it be not better that Kings should be subject to the Laws, and punished by them, than that they should be above them, and act according to their Caprices : Neither is this prejudicial to good Kings, who observe the Laws of their Country, and as for the wicked Kings, none can doubt but that it's better both for the People and themselves that they be kept in Order : They who disengage such from the Bounds that are prescribed by the Laws, loose against the Laws and Reason two furious Monsters, *viz.*, Cruelty, and an unbounded Avarice. For, says he, *Aristotle* was certainly in the Right, when in the Third Book of his Politicks, he says, *That he who orders what Reason commands, seems to order what the Gods and the Laws command, but he that joins any Thing of Man to it, joins a wild Beast, or an unbounded Avarice.*

'Tis very evident, says our Author, that Kings were made for the People, for if there were no People or Societies, there would be no use for Kings ; and since that which is only because of another Thing is less excellent than it, it follows that Kings are less excellent than the People, who are subject to them in their Members that constitutes their Societies, and consequently these Societies have greater Authority than their Kings, and call them to an Account for their Maladministration ; neither ought we to be surprized at this, since they appear even before Inferior Judges by their Procurators, when they would join to their Dominions any Thing that does not properly belong to them : And is it not absurd and ridiculous, says our Author, to suppose that they should be obliged to give an Account for their usurping a Garden, a Meadow, or such like Trifles, and that they should not be obliged to give an Account of their Massacres, Oppressions, and other Acts of Cruelty and Injustice done to their Subjects : Besides, there is a Contract betwixt all Princes and their Subjects, and they who first break it, lose their Dominion and Power ; and this has been the Sentiment of all those who opposed their lawful Kings when they became Tyrants, and such were of old the wisest and happiest People in the World. The *Grecians* and the *Romans* who sometimes endured a moderate Tyranny, when they could live with any Security, as in the Reigns of *Vespasian*, *Titus* and *Pertinax* amongst the *Romans*, and of *Alexander* and *Hieron* amongst the *Grecians* ; so loth were they to oppose their Princes, till they came to Extremities. But that Kings may and ought to be judged, our Author endeavours lastly to make appear

appear from this, that they are subject to the Church, who can ~~damn~~^{Ann. 1582.} Excommunicate them, and consequently Damn them, which is worse than Death, and whatever other Nations may think of this Doctrine, (says he) *I am sure that it is according to the Constitution of the Scots Monarchy.* This Book of Buchanan's was severely animadverted upon, and fully answered by *Adam Blackwood*, an eminent Lawyer in the Presidial Court at *Poitiers*, as the Reader will find in that Author's Life.

Our Author's next Performance; was his celebrated History of the *Scots* Nation, which he dedicated to his Pupil the young Prince, as he did likewise his Book, *de Jure Regni*, and Indeed his History seems to be written upon no other Design, but to support the Principles that he had laid down in that rebellious Book, and for which both of them were afterwards condemn'd by Act of Parliament. This History contains the Reigns of an hundred and eight Kings, from *Fergus* the I. to King *James* the VI. commencing from the 330 Year before the Birth of Christ, till the Year 1581, in which he ends. Here we have the Transactions of the Affairs of *Scotland* for one thousand and nine hundred Years. It consists of 20 Books wrote in a Stile of Latine little inferior to any of the Ancients, in the first three Books, he treats at length of the ancient Names given to *Great-Britain*, gives a Geographical Description of *Scotland*, an Account of some ancient Customs amongst the *Scots*, of the first Inhabitants of *Britain*, the Manner of peopling it, a Defence of our Antiquity, and first Settlement, against *Humphry Lluyd* and other *English* Writers. All the other Books contain the Lives and Transactions of the several Kings that he mentions, of which we have given already an Account in the second Volume of this Work; and by the whole Tract of this History, one will find as we have said, that he wrote it only to justify all the Rebellions that had been raised against the Royal Family, upon the Principles which he lays down in his Book *de Jure Regni*: But above all, he seems to have had a special Eye to justify the Measures that were taken against his Royal Mistris and Benefactor Queen *Mary*, in which his beloved Pupil, her Bastard Brother the Earl of *Murray*, had the greatest Hand.

This History was no sooner published, but as we have said, it was condemned, and he was cited by the Lords of the Privy Council to appear before them, but he died betwixt the Day of his Citation and Compearance. Besides Buchanan's Works which we have already spoke of, he published an Admonition to the true Lords, printed by *Lypriwick* at *Stirling*, in 1571, which is a bloody Satyr against the Family of *Hamilton*, wrote in the old *Scots* Language. Sir *Robert Sybbald* in his Commentary upon our Author's Life printed at *Edinburgh* in 1702, has published a Poem under his Name, against the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, which he had from the learned Doctor *Jameson*. Mr. *Oliphant* has published another Poem from the *Cotton Library*, called the *Chamelion* against Secretary *Lithington*.

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ton. The same Gentleman has likewise published some of our Author's Letters to his Friends, and their Answers to him, all which, with several others that were never before published, are to be found in that most beautiful and correct Edition of *Buchanan's Works*, printed by Mr. *Freebairn* in two Volumes in Folio, at *Edinburgh* 1714. And most accurately compared with the various Editions and Manuscripts, by *Thomas Ruddiman* Keeper of the Lawyers Library, whose Knowledge in the *Belles Lettres*, has deservedly gained him the Esteem and Reputation of one sufficiently qualify'd for such an Undertaking. It is true, that in this Edition we have not his *Detection*, nor some other Writings under his Name, such as the Notes upon *Virgil*, which are in the Library of the College of *Edinburgh*, the Life of Queen *Mary* in the old *Scots* Language, which is nothing but the *Detection*, translated by one who has not been very well versed in the Latin, the Meaning of which he very often mistakes; so that considering that none of these were worthy of committing to the Press, the Republick is at no great Loss by them, and now I shall proceed to give an Account of his Death and Character amongst the Learned.

His Death
and Char-
acter. He died at *Edinburgh* upon the 5th Day of *December* 1582, in the 76 Year of his Age. I was told by the right Honourable the Earl of *Cromarty*, who died in the 83 Year of his Age, who had it from his Grandfather the Lord *Invertyle*, one of Mr. *Buchanan's Scholars*, being brought up with the young Prince King *James* the VI, that when *Buchanan* was dying, he called for Mr. *Young* his Servant, and asked him how much Money he had of his, and finding that it was not sufficient for defraying the Charges of his Burial, he commanded him to distribute it amongst the Poor. Upon which Mr. *Young* asking, who then would be at the Charges of burying him? He answered, That he was very indifferent about that, for if he was once dead, if they would not bury him, they might let him lye where he was, or throw his Corps where they pleased, and that accordingly the City of *Edinburgh* was obliged to bury him upon their own Expenses.

Cambden says (a), speaking of the Murder of King *Henry*, " That " a Rumour was forthwith spred over all *Britain*, laying the Fact " and Fault upon *Morton*, *Murray* and other Confederates, they " insulting over the weak Sex of the Queen, laid it upon her. What " *George Buchanan* hath written hereof, both in his History, and in " a little Book entituled the *Detection*, there is no Man but know- " eth by the Books themselves printed : But for as much as he be- " ing transported with partial Affection, and with *Murray's Bounty*, " wrote in such Sort, that his Books have been condemn'd of Fal- " shood, by the Estates of the Realm of *Scotland*, to whom more " Credit is to be attributed, and since he himself, sighing and sor- " rowing sundry Times, blamed himself as (I have heard) before " the King, to whom he was Schoolmaster, for that he had em- " ploy'd

(a) Eng. Fol. Ed. of Ann. of Q. Eliz., Book 1. Pag. 88.

" ploy'd his Pen so virulently against that well deserving Queen, ^{An. 1582}
 " and upon his Death-bed, wished that he might live so long, till ^{An. 1582}
 " by recalling the Truth, he might, even with his Blood, wipe away
 " those Aspersions which he had by his bad Tongue unjustly cast
 " upon her : But that (as he said) it would now be in Vain, since
 " he might seem to dote for Age, so far *Cambden*". And the late
 learned and reverend Mr. *Sage*, in a Letter to the much honoured
 Mr. *Archibald Campbell* (*a*), dated 17th of October 1709, confirms
 this Story of *Cambden's*, of *Buchanan's* repenting, for he says,
 " That about 28 Years ago I had Occasion at *Drummond of Inner-*
 " *my's House in Strathern* ; to be in Conversation with an ancient
 " Lady (the Lady *Rafyth* in *Fife*) a Woman of very bright Parts,
 " and of very good Principles, she was a Daughter of the House of
 " *Buchanan*. In the Progress of our Discourse, we came to talk of
 " the famous Mr. *George Buchanan*, I told that I had not long be-
 " fore read over *Famianus Strada's* Book, *de Bello Belgico*, and had
 " found in it I think (*ad Annum 1586*) an Account of Mr. *Bucha-*
 " *nian's Confession* when on his Death-Bed, that he had been most
 " injurious in Papers published by him to *Mary Queen of Scots*;
 " wishing earnestly that God would allow him Time and Strength
 " before he died, to do her Justice. I added, this Account was
 " new to me (for I had not then seen *Cambden's Elizabeth*) and
 " that I was afraid *Strada* was partial, having many other Things
 " in his Book too like Romance, and that therefore I was not for-
 " ward to believe him in that Matter. The Lady forthwith desired
 " me to take her Word for it, that it was a certain Truth, for she
 " remembred nothing better, than that in her younger Years she had
 " oftner than once heard a very aged Man called *David Buchanan*;
 " who was maintain'd in her Father's Family, affirm, that he was
 " present in Mr. *Buchanan's* Bed-Chamber, and an Ear Witness to
 " that Confession when he made it ; this so far as my Memory
 " serves me, is the Substance of what I learned from that Lady at
 " that Time : It made the deeper Impression on me, when I re-
 " flected on the Time of Mr. *Buchanan's* Death, which was in Sep-
 " tember 1582, at which Time *David Buchanan* might have been
 " very capable to consider what Mr. *George* said, tho' he had after-
 " ward lived to the Year 1630 or 1636, and about that Time the
 " Lady was capable to have received it from him".

M. *Le Clerk* (*b*), a Man of *Buchanan's* own Principles, and one
 of his great Admirers, is at a great deal of Pains to prove that this
 Story of *Buchanan's* repenting for what he had said against Queen
Mary is false ; but since all his Arguments are founded upon meer
 Conjectures and wrong Accounts of Matters of Fact, I shall not
 trouble the Reader with them.

Some of the Writers of the *Romish Church* say (*c*), That *Bucha-*
 nan died an Atheist, and that when the Ministers came to see him
 upon

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upon his Death-Bed, they found him reading *Pliny's* natural History, whereupon they exhorted him rather to spend the small Time he had to live, in reading the sacred Scriptures; upon which he told them, *That he found more Truth in one Page of that Book, than in all their Scriptures.* And *Maximilian Sandæus* a Jesuite tells us, That when they desired him to repeat the Lord's Prayer, altho' he was noways delirious at that Time, yet with a loud Voice he began the first Elegy of *Propertius*.

*Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis
Contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.*

And that he told them, that for 40 Years he had no other Lord's Prayer, and showing them a Piece of Wine that he had by his Bed-side, he said that he hoped, that that generous Liquour would make him have a quiet and peaceable Death, so says he, " This proud " and infatuated Grammarian stupidly died in his Cups, whose " Soul having quit the Tavern of his Body, went to the opposite " Point of the Heavens, through the various Regions of the lower " World to its deserved Place". Much to the same Purpose is that of Father *Geraffa* another Jesuit (*a*), who says, " That he was an " impious, self conceited, factious and drunken Grammarian, and " that he died of an Hydropsy, caused by his excessive drinking; " and that when the King's Physicians were sent to him, they found " him in his Cups, and having told him, that unles he abstained " from drinking he could live but a few Days, he asked them how " long he might live if he abstain'd? They told him six Years, If " that be all, says he, I would not want the Pleasure of one Day's " drinking for all the Time that you have promised to prolong my Life". But several other Writers of the *Romish* Church have been much more favourable to him. For,

The learned *Thuan* says (*b*), " That *Buchanan* being old, be-
gan to write the History of his Country, and altho' according
to the Genius of those of his Nation, he oftentimes inveighs
against crowned Heads, yet that Work is written with so much
Purity, Wit and Discernment, that it does not appear as the Pro-
duction of a Man that past all his Days in the Dust of the
School, but as a Minister of State, so true it is, that the Lowness
of his Condition and Fortune was not capable to hinder his great
Spirit from penetrating into the most hidden Things, and writing
with Prudence and Judgment; and I remember that *Peter Ron-*
sard, who was a Man extremely Judicious, when he spoke of
Buchanan, *Adrian Turnebus*, *Anthony Govea* and *Muretus*, who
were all of them his intimate Friends, he used to say, that these
great Persons had nothing of the Pedant in them, but the Bonnet
and the Gown; although he believed that the Employment of a
School-master imprinted upon the Minds of the most of that Pro-
fession a Character of Pedantry and Impertinency, that all their
Care

(a) *M. Bayle ubi sup.* (b) *Thuan ad An. 1582. Lib. 76.*

" Care was not able to efface ". Father *Rapin* a Jesuite considers him as an Historian and a Poet ; as an Historian, in his *Reflections upon History* he says (*a*), " That he is too servile an Imitator of *Titus Livius*, whom he had often read over before he had put Pen to Paper ; that he has robbed from the Ancients all that he has good in him ; that he writes good Sense, but has little Elevation in his Sentiments ; that his long Citations in the Third Book do not please more than his long Account of the Nation of which he speaks in the Second. As a Poet, he says (*b*), " One of the greatest Ornaments of Poesy, consisting in the Numbers and Cadency of the Verses, and *Buchanan*, who otherwise had a great deal of Spirit and Imagination, not being sensible of this Agreement, or having neglected it, he is at a great Loss by it : For perhaps (says he) this Perfection was only wanting to make him an accomplished Poet. And in another Place of the same Book he says, That he has Odes worthy of Antiquity, but that they are all not alike : For *Buchanan* has a Character composed of many Characters, he has a delicate Wit, and is very natural, but has very little Elevation and Greatness of Thought ; his *Jephthes* and *John Baptist* having nothing considerable in them, but the Purity of the Language in which they are wrote. But Father *Vavasseur* (*c*) another Jesuite, gives a more favourable Account of his Poetry ; for he says, " That of all those that have wrote in Latin, he knows of none beyond *Buchanan*, or who was so great a Master of his Ideas, and who so easily made his Stile and Expressions subservient to his Thoughts and Designs.

Mr. *Balzac* censures *Buchanan* for making the Furies come in, in his *Baptistes* : " Is it not a fine Thing, says he (*d*), that a Jew should dogmatize upon a Religion that he is a Stranger to, and that immediately after a long Conference with St. John, he should vent upon the Theatre a deal of idle Fables, as if he had been conversing with a Grecian Priest.

David Chalmers Lord Ormond, who was cotemporary with him, and knew him very well, says (*e*), " That in the Reign of King *James V.*, *Buchanan*, and several others with him were apprehended taking the Jewish Passover in the Time of Lent, in Derision of the Christian Religion ; for which some of them were burnt, but that he made his Escape, and fled over to France.

Mr. *Patin* was so great an Admirer of *Buchanan*, that he had the most of all his Poems by heart ; and he says, " That in his Opinion *Virgil* himself did not exceed him (*f*). But it requires many Centuries to produce such a Poet as *Virgil* was. And M. *Menage* says (*g*), " That he was the best Poet of his Age, [and that tho' all of his Verses be excellent in their kind, yet there were some of them that he took a particular Pleasure in repeating of them ; as for that where he speaks of his Mistresses.

(*a*) Recd. sur l' Hist. (*b*) Recd. sur la Poet. d' Aris. (*c*) Remarks. Anon. touch. les Ref. sur le Poet. (*d*) Differ. sur l' Hist. infant. (*e*) Hist. d' Ecosse, vid. etiam Camer. de Scot. son. Lib. 4 Cap. 2. Pag. 269. (*f*) Lett. de M. Patin. Lett. 151. (*g*) Menagiana, Tom. 2.

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*Illa mihi semper praesenti dura Nera,
Me, quoties absum, semper abeve dolet.
Non desiderio nostri, non mæret amore,
Sed se non nostro posse dolore frui.*

And these are the Characters given him by some of the Writers of the *Romish* Persuasion: We shall now give an Account of the Characters given him by several learned Protestants.

Bishop *Burnet* says (*a*), "That in his Writings there appears not "only all the Beauty and Graces of the Latin Tongue, but a Vigor "of Mind, and Quickness of Thought beyond *Bembo*, or the other "Italians, who at that Time affected to revive the Purity of the "Roman Stile, it was but a feeble Imitation of *Tully* in them; but "his Stile is so natural and nervous, and his Reflections on Things "are so solid (besides his immortal Poems, in which he shows how "well he could imitate all the *Roman* Poets in their several Sorts of "Writings, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to "prefer the Copy to the Original) that he is justly reckoned the "greatest and best of our modern Authors.

Arch-Bishop *Spotswood* says (*b*), "That in his old Age he applied "himself to write the *Scots* History, which he renewed with such "Judgment and Eloquence, as no Country can show a better; only in "this he is justly blamed, that he sided with the Factions of the Time, "and to justify the Proceedings of the Noblemen against the Queen, "he went so far in depressing the Royal Authority of Princes, and "allowing their Controlment by Subjects, his Bitterness also in "writing of the Queen, and of the Times all wise Men have dis- "liked; but otherwise no Man hath merited better of his Country "for Learning, nor thereby did bring to it more Glory. He was "buried in the common Burial-Place, tho' worthy to have been laid "in Marble, and to have had some Statue erected to his Memo- "ry; but such pompous Monuments in his Life he was wont to "scorn and despise, esteeming it a greater Credit, as it was said of "the *Roman Cato*, to have it asked why doth he lack a Statue, "than to have had one, tho' never so glorious, erected".

The Bishop of *Carlisle* says (*c*) "That his Book *de Jure Regni*, "and his History was condemned by Act of Parliament (*d*). And "it's observed that this pass'd in the very first Parliament after the "Dialogue was printed (*e*), but some Years before, it was put by the "Author in his Pupil's Hands, *viz.* 1579. When he describes any "barbarous Assassination or Murder of any King, he does it with such "an Air of Satisfaction and Pleasure, as shows that he delighted to "dwell on the Subject, and that the Head of a slaughtered Monarch "was to him what he too often says it was to the People, *Gratum Spectaculum*. He laughs at the pretended Miracles of devote "Times, and yet upon the Occasion of *Henry's* Murder, he gravely "furnishes us with a couple of as plump ones, as ever any Legend afforded

(*a*) Hist. of the Rector. (*b*, Book 6. Pag. 325, (*c*) Scots Hist. Lib. (*d*) Parl. 8. Jacob. 6. Ao. 1584. Chap. 154. (*e*) Sir George Mackenzie *Jus Regium*, Pag. 8.

" afforded (a). And comparing him with *Spotswood*, he says, " The ~~An. 1581.~~
 " Difference betwixt these two Historians is pretty considerable, the
 " Arch-Bishop had Liberty to represent Queen *Mary's* Frailties
 " plainly, and did it modestly; and Mr. *George*, without any Cere-
 " mony, treats her with all the Barbarity that his licentious Wit
 " could invent.

Mr. *Teijier* says (b), " That it cannot be denied but *Buchanan*
 " was a Man of admirable Eloquence, of rare Prudence, and of an
 " exquisite Judgment; he has wrote the History of *Scotland* with
 " such Elegancy and Politeness, that he surpasses all the Writers of
 " his Age; and he has even equalled the Ancients themselves, with-
 " out excepting either *Salust* or *Titus Livius*: But he is accused by
 " some of being an unfaithful Historian, and to have shewn in his
 " History an extreme Aversion against Queen *Mary Stewart*; but
 " his Master-Piece is his Paraphrase upon the Psalms, in which he
 " outdid the most famous Poets amongst the *French* and *Italians*,
 " as *Charles Utenehovius* informs us in the following Distich.

*Tres Italos Galli senos vicere, sed unum
 Vincere Scotigenam non potuere virum.*

The three *French* were the Chancellor *de l' Hopital*, *Adrian Turnebus*, and *Joannes Auratus*: And the six *Italians* were, *Sannazzarius*, *Fracaslorius*; *Flaminio*, *Vida*, *Nauger* and *Cardinal Bembo*, Persons sufficiently known in the Republic of Learning for their admired Performances in the *Belles-Lettres*.

Henry *Steph*, cited by M. de *Almelhoeven* says (c), That *Buchanan* found in a Bibliothec the Latin Version of the *Medea* of *Euripides*, which he published as his own. *Scaliger* prefers him to all the Latin Poets that have written since the Days of *Augustus* (d). *Grotius* (e) censures his Tragedies, as noways answering the Rules of the Theatre.

Mr. *James Crawford* says (f), " *Buchanan* not only excelled all
 " that went before him in his own Country, but scarce had his equal
 " in that learned Age in which he lived: He spent the first Flame
 " and Rage of his Fancy in Poetry, in which he did imitate *Virgil*
 " in Heroicks, *Ovid* in Elegiacks, *Lucretius* in Philosophy, *Seneca*
 " in Tragedies, *Martial* in Epigrams, *Horace* and *Juvenal* in Satyrs;
 " he copied after these great Masters so perfectly, that nothing ever
 " approached nearer the Original: And his immortal Paraphrase
 " on the Psalms does shew, that neither the Constraint of a limited
 " Matter, the Darkness of Expression, nor the frequent Return of
 " the same, or the like Phrases could confine or exhaust that vast
 " Genius. At last in his old Age, when his Thoughts were purify'd
 " by long Reflection and Businels, and a true Judgment came in the
 " room of one of the richest Fancies that ever was; he wrote our
 " History with such Beauty of Stile, Easiness of Expression, and Ex-
 " aetnels

(a) Book 18. (b) *Llages des Hommes Savans*, Tom. 1. Pag. 10. (c) Plag. Syll. in addend. Pag. 87. (d) *Scaligeriana*.
 (e) *Eph. ad Gallos*. *Eph. sc.* (f) Hist. of the House of *Este*.

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" actness in all its Parts, that no Service or Honour could have been
 " done the Nation like it : Had he ended so noble a Work as he
 " begun, and carried it on till King *James V's* Death ; but being un-
 " happily engaged in a Faction and Resentments working violently
 " upon him, he suffered himself to be so strangely byassed, that in
 " the Relation he gives of many of the Transactions of his own
 " Time, he may rather pass for a Satyrift than an Historian.

The learned Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Straloch* has given a long Character of our Author, which is to be found in the Life of Doctor *Forbes of Corse* ; the Substance of which is (a), " That it is not to be doubted but *Buchanan* was an excellent Scholar, and the Prince of Poets, not only for the Age in which he lived, but that many preceeding Ages could not pretend to such another Poet : But for his History, in the three last Books, he acts the Calumniator, and not the Historian. Then having blamed him for his insipid and superficial Description of the Kingdom, he says, to the learned he seems to have done nothing, which he attributes to his Ignorance in the Antiquities of our Nation, and passing over innumerable Escapes and Blunders of his, he chastises him for his Invectives against King *Kenneth*, who restored and confirm'd the Kingdom to the next Heir of the Royal Family, tho' under Age, excluding all other Princes of the Blood from Accels to the Throne, and for his running down all Female Government in Kingdoms, but says, when he has brought his History down to his own Times, and Affairs being then in great Confusion, and the Kingdom miserably embroil'd with Tumults, good God ! how bare facedly does he Side with a Party, he is no longer an Historian, but an Advocate for the Faction, wretchedly perverting the Truth of Facts, so as hardly any Thing that is either sound or candid is to be met with in him; and all this to get his Patron the Earl of *Murray* fixt in the Height of Power, whom nevertheless he lived to see taken off the Stage by a bloody Death : But even that could not bring his factious Spirit to any Temper, witness his notorious Dialogue *de Jure Regni*, written after he came to a great Age, in which forgetting himself, he treats of such Matters as require the Pens of the best Divines, and skillfulest Lawyers, thus from instructing and discipling Boys, he straight commences a States Man, and dictates new Schemes of Government, but for that he received due Correction from two most learned Country Men of his own, who were also eminent Lawyers, *Blackwood* and *Barclay*, whose most learned Books on that Subject are still extant, whoever reads them without Prejudice, must own that they treated him as he deserved ; for compare exactly his Rhapsody *de Jure Regni* with his History, and you will soon be satisfy'd that his *Treatise de Jure Regni* is his Scheme of Government, and the History so wretched by him, as it might best serve to confirm and establish his Hypo-

"Hypothesis. The Act of Parliament in which these Books are prohibited, declare the Judgment of King *James* when a Youth, and that of the Estates of the Kingdom concerning them, and *Basilikon Δωρον*, which was written by the King in the full Maturity of his Age, and Judgment will witness for him that he did not alter his Opinion, but that he was more confirmed in it. My Design in taking notice of these Things is, not to insult the *Manes* of that most famous Man, that indeed were a very great Crime, but in Matters of so great Consequence not to do Justice to Truth, to suffer it to be run down and oppressed were heinous Impiety". Sir *James Melvil* who was well acquainted with our Author tells us (*a*), "That he was a Stoick Philosopher, who looked not far before him, a Man of notable Endowments, famous for his Learning in other Countries, pleasant in Conversation, rehearsing at all Occasions, Moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted, he was also Religious, but easily abused, and so facil, that he was led by every Company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old Days, he spoke and wrote as those that were about him informed him, for he was become careless, following in many Things the vulgar Opinion, for he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any Man who had offended him, which was his greatest Fault, for he did write deceitful Things against the Earl of Monteith, for some particulars that were betwixt him and the Laird of Buchanan; he became the Earl of Morton's great Enemy, for that a Nagg of his chanced to be taken from his Servant during the civil Troubles, and was bought by the Regent who had no will to part with the said Horse, because he was sure footed and easy, but because he would not part with him, from being the Regent's great Friend, he became his mortal Enemy, and from that Time forth, spoke evil of him at all Times, and on all Occasions".

And this seems to be a very just Character of him from several Things that are related of him by the vulgar, but since their Authority is not much to be rely'd upon, I shall relate here, for confirming of this Character of Sir *James Melvil's*, some Things which I have heard from the Earl of Cromarty, who had them from his Grand-Father the Lord Invertyle, who (as we have said) was Buchanan's Scholar at the same Time with King *James*.

The King one Day having got prescribed him for his Theme, the History of the Conspiracy at Lauder Bridge in King *James* the III. Time, where Archibald Earl of Angus obtain'd the Name of *Bell the Cat*, from his telling them the Fable of some Rats that had combin'd against a Cat, whom they resolved to felze, and to tye a Bell about his Neck, to warn them for the future, by the ringing of that Bell of their Danger, but as they were going to put their Project in Execution, one of the old Rats asked which of

An. 1582. which of them would be the first that would seize upon the Cat? This Question put them all in a profound Silence, as it did likewise the Conspirators, which the Earl perceiving, told them that he would *Bell the Cat*. The King having I say got this for his Theme, as he was diverting himself after Dinner with the Master of *Erskine*, the Earl of *Mar's* eldest Son, *Buchanan* desired the King to hold his Peace, for he disturbed him in his Reading, the King taking no notice of this, he reprov'd him for a second Time, and told, *That if he did not hold his Peace, he would whip his Breech*, the King answered, *That he would gladly see who would Bell the Cat*. Upon this, in a Passion *Buchanan* throws the Book from him, and whips the King severely, the old Countess of *Mar* who had her Apartment near them, hearing the King cry, run to him, and taking him up in her Arms, asked what the Matter was? The King told her, that the Master (for so *Buchanan* was called) had whipt him, *She asked how he durst put his Hand on the Lord's Anointed?* To which he made this unmannerly Reply, *Madam, I have whipt his Ar--, you may kiss it if you please.*

At another Time the Mr. of *Erskine* having a tame Sparrow, the King would needs have the Sparrow from him, and he refusing to give it, they fell a strugling about it, and in the Scuffle the Sparrow was killed, upon which the Master of *Erskine* fell a crying, *Buchanan* being inform'd of the Matter, gave the King a Box on the Ear, and told him, *That what he had done, was like a true Bird of the bloody Nest of which he was come.*

When he was upon his Death-Bed, they told him that the King was highly incensed against him, for writing his Book *de Jure Regni* and his History, he told them, *That he was not very much concerned about that, for he was shortly going to a Place where very few Kings were.*

M. *Menage* tells us (*a*), That one Day at the Marishal *de Brisac's* Table, having taken a Spoonfull of a Dish which was intolerably hot, he was so surprised with it, that he made an Escape, upon which, without being any ways abashed, he look'd over his Shoulder, and said, *You had very good Reason to make your Escape, for if you had stay'd any longer, you had certainly been burnt alive.*

These few Stories I have related of him, to shew the natural Genius of the Man, for as *Plutarch* observes in the Life of *Alexander the great*, *Sometimes a Word or a casual Jest, betrays a Man more to our Knowledge of him, than all his other Actions.* And now I shall conclude with Sir *George M'kenzie's* Character of our eminent Author, who on the one Hand having considered the many Beauties and Excellencies of his Wit and Genius, and on the other, his Ingratitude to his Benefactors, and his factious and rebellious Temper (*b*) says, *That he was the Ornament and Disgrace of his Country.*

Many

(*a*) *Menagiana Tom. 2. Pag. 134.* (*b*) *Jus Regium.*

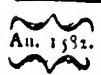
Many Epitaphs and Poems were composed upon him by the most eminent Wits of his Age, a few of which I shall insert here, for, to collect them all, would make a large Volume of it self.

Julius Caesar Scaliger ad Georgium Buchananum.

Felix *Georgi* lacteæ venæ Pater,
Quæ ditat immensum mare :
Quid Barbarorum voce squalentem absona,
Merisque nugis obsitum,
Inepturientem non ferendis artibus
Audire memet postulas ?
Plectrumne Phœbo temperante, Marsyas
Tentabit ictum pollicis ?
Amabilis Thalia si faciat modos,
Garrire pica gestiet ?
Te natum ad alta Pegasi cacumina,
Tepente suscepimus sinu
Regina facri magna *Calliope* soni
Liquore non noto imbuit,
Deditque palmam ferre de tot gentibus;
Latina quo colit cohors,
Puris beata voce tessellis nitor
Perstringit aures candidas :
Flexuque ducta vena dulcis aureo
Quam sustulit iterat sitim.
O me superbum, mole sublatum nova,
Te literatorum Deo
Desideratum abesse me, ut scribis, doles,
Quod aliquid esse me putas.
Te te ipse contemplator, in quò cuncta sunt;
Et vota lenies tua.

Epitaphium Georgi Buchanani per Josephum Scaligerum, Julii Caesaris Filium.

Postquam laude tua patriam, meritisque beasti,
Buchanane, tuis, Solis utrumque latus.
Contemptis opibus, spretis popularibus auris,
Ventoque fugax ambitionis, obis
Præmia quina quater, Piseæ functus olivæ,
Et linquens animi pignora rara tui :
In quibus haud tibi se anteferent quos *Itala* vates
Terra dedit : nec quos *Gallia* mater alit,
Æquabunt genium felicis carminis, & quæ
Orbis habet famæ conscia signa tuæ.
Namque ad supremum, perducta Poetica culmen
In te stat, nec quo progrediatur habet
Imperii fuerat *Romani* *Scotia* Limes,
Romani eloquii *Scotia* finis erit.

 Epitaphium *G. Buchanani*, qui obiit 28 Septembris. 1582, per
Andream Melvinum.

A. 1582.

ERGO silent magni *Buchanani* in funere *Musæ*
Nec vatem *Aonidum* flet pia turba suum !
An secum *Buchananus* habet mentem, unde *Camœnæ*,
Devolvunt mœstos murmura truncæ modos ?
An secum *Buchananus* habet fontem unde poetæ
Pieriis poti collachrymantur aquis !
Aonio frustra queruntur vertice *Musæ*
Castilio frustra e fonte petuntur aquæ.
Pro monte est cœlum, pro fonte est Christus, utrumque
Et Christus et cœlum nunc *Buchananus* habet.
Hausti hinc sacros latices Divine Poeta
Fudisti hinc summo carmina digna Deo.
Hauriat hinc, quisquis *Buchanani* in funere mœret ;
Ut vatum fundat carmina digna Deo.

In *G. Buchananum Theodori Bezae Carmen.*

AUDIERAM *Gottos*, & quos Septentrio quondam
Barbarus immanes ultricem in numinis iram
Etudit populos, sceleratæ mœnia *Roma*
Et quæcumque prius spoliato ex orbe sacrarant
Imperii fastusque sui monumenta *Quirites*
Consumenda rogo : ut quæ olim fastigia cœlis
Intulerat, septem attollens in nubila montes,
Nunc prostrata suis celebretur *Roma* ruinis.

At non ingenium solers, linguamque disertam.
Æternis quibus illa opibus tot secula felix
Roma, olim cunctas inter caput extulit urbes,
Hæc inquam reliquis longe ante ferenda trophæis
Non equidem audieram, *Gottosve* aliasve feroceis
Quas procul oceanus gentes glacialis inundat
Noscere, mirari nedum potuisse, rapaces
Barbarus ut prædæ istius dulcedine captus
Injiceret Musis unguis, quas deinde rigenti
Captivas sic diligenter, coleretque sub arcto
Ut medias inter glacies Boreæque sonori
Pectora nata gelu, Musarum ardore calerent.
Attamen hoc factum si quis dubitaverit, idem
Vel medio lucere die Titana negarit,
Vel te virtutesque tuas ignorat ineptus,
Aonidum immortale decus, *Buchanane*, sororum
Namque tibi extremæ prope nato ad littora *Thules*,
Os tenerum Aonides sic formavere puellæ,
Sic *Graio* pariter melle illevere labella,
Pectora *Romano* sic implevere sonore,
Ut te, *Roma*, licet *Scotorum* ad littora natum,

Æquo-

Æquoreas inter cautes atque horrida cete
 Tanquam turbe in media, civem sibi vindicet ortum.
 Inde autem magni te *Mantua* clara *Maronis*
 Juret stirpe satum, at contra *Verona* *Catulli*
 Afferat hinc *Venusinus*, & hinc *Pelignus* & inde
Corduba te repetat, repetat quoque *Bilbilis* inde
 At vatem interea *Buchananum* *Scotia* jactes.
 Una tuum, felix tantis natalibus una
 Macte quoque ingenii tanta virtute, *Georgi*
Æternum, & *Latii* spoliis ornatus opimis
 Invidiaque omni major *Buchanane* triumpha.

An. 1582.

Nec minus celebre Encomium de eo est apud *Stephanum Paschafium* in *Iconibus*.

Virgiliis, Flaccis, Nasonibus atque Catullis
 Hisne ego si tantis vatibus inferior?
 In genere unicuique suo concedo; sed in me
 Collige cuncta simul, plus ego promerui.

Idem alio Epigrammate

In te uno quod sint multi, *Buchanane*, Marones,
 Ac dederant talem saecula nulla virum
 Hoc de te primo cœluni spondebat ab ortu,
 Nomine subque tuo nomen & omen erat.
 Nam canere est vatum, vatum tuba, buccina, bucca
 Et canis annis nobilitatur opus.
 Hæc tua sunt *Buchanane*, tuoque in nomine cuncta
Canus & *Annus*, item *Buccina*, *Bucca*, *Cano*.

I shall conclude with Mr. John Adamson's Poem upon his being buried in the *Gray Friars*, without a Monument or Tomb erected to his Memory.

Momoreæ cur stant hic omni ex parte columnæ,
 Signaque ab Artificum dædala facta manu
 Ut spectent oculis monumenta insignia vivi
 Per quæ defunctis concilietur honos
 Talia nonne etiam debet *Buchananus* habere
 Doctius aut melius, quo nihil orbis habet?
 Gloriolas vivus qui contemnebat inanes;
 An cupiat Divus se decorent lapides?
 Illis fas, pulchro nomen debere sepulchro
 Qui nil quo melius nobilitentur habent
 Per te olim tellus est nobilitata *Britanna*,
 Et decus es tumulo jam, *Buchanane*, tuo.

The learned Sir Robert Sibbald, in his Commentary upon *Buchanan's* Life writ by himself, has collected a great many more Elogiums, which I refer the Reader to, and shall now give the Catalogue of his Works, and their various Editions.



The Catalogue of his Works.

I. **R**erum Scoticarum *Historia apud Alexandrum Arbutinnetum*, Edinburgi 1582. in Folio Genevæ ad exemplar Alex. Arbutinneti 1583. in Folio. Francofurti ad Moenum 1594. in 8vo. Lugduni Batavorum ad exemplar Alex. Arbutinneti 1643. in 8vo. Ultrajecti apud Petrum Elzevirium, 1688. in 8vo. Ibidem 1697. in 8vo. Edinburgi e Typographo Georgii Mosman 1700. in 12mo.

II. *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica apud Henricum Stephanum Typographum regium in 8vo.* Par. anno non adjecto, & apud Henricum Stephanum in 12mo 1566, cum Jephthe Tragœdia, cum Jephthe Antwerpiae ex officina Christ. Plantini, 1566. in 12mo. cum Psalmis aliquot in versus Græcos translatis, Argentorati excudebat Jos. Richelius 1566. in 12mo. cum Jephthe Lutetiae ex officina Roberti Stephani 1575. in 12mo. cum ornamentis marginalibus & argumentis Antonii Flamini in singulos Psalms Argenorati, 1572. in 8vo. cum Jephthe Lutetiae ex officina Roberti Stephani 1580. in 12mo. cum Jephthe, excudebat Thomas Voutollerius, Lond. 1580. in 12mo. cum Bezae Psalmorum paraphrasi & Jephthe, Morgiis, excudebat Joan Le Preux illust. dominorum Bernensium Typographus 1581. 8vo. cum argumentis & melodiis N. Chyträi, ejusdemque Collectaneis Herbornæ Nasloviotorum 1590, in 12mo. cum Jephthe & Baptiste Typis Jacobi Stoer. 1591 in 12mo. cum Bezae Psalmorum paraphrasi & Jephthe & Baptiste Genevæ apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595. in 12mo. cum Argumentis & Melodiis N. Chyträi, ejusdemque Collectaneis Herb. Nasloviorum 1600: in 12mo. cum Jephthe, ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1603. in 12mo. cum Jephthe & Baptiste, ex officina Plant. Raphelengii 1609. 240. cum Jephthe & Baptiste, sumptibus Henrici Laurentii 1618. in 12mo. cum Argumentis Melodiis & Collectaneis N. Chyträi, Herb. Nasl. 2619. in 12mo. cum Ecphrasi Alexandri Julii Lond. apud Geo. Eld. 1620. in 8vo. cum Jephthe & Baptiste Edinburgi apud And. Hart 1621 in 12mo. cum Jephthe & Baptiste Lug. Bat. typis Isaaci Elzevirii, jurati Academiae Typographi, sumptibus Henrici Laurentii 1621. & 12mo. cum Jephthe & Baptiste Edinburgi, apud Gid. Lithgo. 1660. in 8vo. cum Jephthe & Baptiste Edinburgi, apud Georgium Mosman, 1694. in 12mo. cum Ecphrasi Alexandri Julii, Edinburgi.

III. *De Jure Regni, apud Scotos, Dialogus Edini apud Joannem Rossæum, pro Henrico Charteris 1579. in 4to.* Ibidem 1580 in 4to. Item, cum precedentibus Editionibus Hist. Scot. præter primam Alexandri Arbutinneti.

IV. *Psalmus CIV. cum iudicio Gulielmi Barclaii de certamine Geo. Eglishemii cum Buchanano pro dignitate paraphraseos ejus Psalmi, Lojdini apud Georgium Eld. 1620.*

V. *Psalmus*

V. *Psalmus CIV. cum judicio Barclaii; Edinburgi, apud heredes Andreæ Anderson 1696 in 8vo.*

An. 1583.

VI. *Psalmus CX. cum Analyſi organica Joan. Jacobi Beureri & aliis aliorum ejusdem Psalmi paraphrasibus Basileæ, per Sebastianum Henrici Petri; 1569. in 8vo.*

VII. *Baptistes sive Calumnia Francofurti apud Andream Wechelum, 1578, in 8vo.*

VIII. *Alcestis Tragædia Lutetiae apud Mich-Vassosinum, 1557, in 4to.*

IX. *Tragædia sacra & extera apud Petrum Sanct. Andreanum, in 8vo.*

X. *De Caleto recepto Carmen, apud Robert. Stephanum, 1558, in 8vo.*

XI. *Franciscanus & Fratres, quibus accesserunt varia ejusdem & aliorum Poemata, Basileæ 1568, in 8vo.*

XII. *Franciscanus, Elegia, Sylvæ, Hendecasyllabi, Jambi, & Epigrammata apud Henr. Stephanum 1569, in 8vo.*

XIII. *Elegia, Sylvæ, Hendecasyllabi, & Baptistes, Lutetiae apud Mamerum Patissonium Typographum Regium, in officina Rob. Stephani 1576, in 12mo.*

XIV. *De Sphæra Libri quinque cum commentariis, supplementis & argumentis Adami Regii, Scoti MS. in Bibliotheca Academiae Edinburgenæ cum supplementis Joan Pincieri, Herbornæ; ex officina Christophori Corvini 1687, in 8vo.*

XV. *Franciscanus, Elegia, et Libri de Sphæra, An. 1594, in 8vo.*

XVI. *Franciscanus, Elegia, Sylvæ, Libri de Sphæra & Tragædia sacra & Extera 2 partibus in Bibliopolio Commeliniano 1609, in 8vo.*

XVII. *Poemata omnia (præter Medeam & Alcestin) Edinburgi, apud And. Hart. 1614. 24to. cum Medea & Alcestide apud Abr. Elzevirium 1521, in 24to. ex officina Elzeviriana 1628, in 24to. Amstelodami apud Joannem Jansonium 1640, 24to. Amstel. apud Wassbergium 1665, in 24to. Amstel. apud Dan. Elzevirium 1676, in 24to. Edinburgi apud Joan. Cairns 1677, in 12mo. Londini apud B. Griffin 1686. Amstel. apud Henricum Wetstenium 1687, in 24to.*

XVIII. *Satyra in Cardinalem Lotharingium cum aliis ejus, & aliorum carminibus apud Israelem Taurinum 1590, in 8vo.*

XIX. *Rudimenta Grammatices Thomæ Linacri, ex Anglico Sermone in Latinum versæ, Lutetiae ex officina Rob. Stephanii 1546, in 8vo. Ibidem 1550, in 8vo.*

XX. *An Admonition to the true Lords, by Lyprivick at Stirling 1571, in 4to.*

XXI. *De Prosodia Edin. 1667, in 8vo.*

XXII. *Chamelion 1572, and Lond. 1709.*

XXIII. *Ad viros sui seculi clarissimos eorumque ad eundem Epistola ex MSS. accurate descripta Londini 1711 in 8vo.*

Anno 1583. XXIV. *Eadem Epistola cum aliis nonnullis nondum editis MSS. autograph e Bib. Jurid. Edinb.*

XXV. *Litteræ Reginae Scotiæ ad Comitem Bothwelliæ scriptæ 1572, in 8vo.*

XXVI. *A Detection of the Doings of Mary Queen of Scots, and of James Earl of Bothwell, against Henry Lord Darnly, 1572, in 8vo.*

XXVII. *Vita ab ipso scripta biennio ante mortem, cum Commentario, D. Roberti Sibbaldi M. D. & Equitis aurati Edin. 1702. in 8vo.*

XXVIII. *The Life of Queen Mary, in the black Letter, without the Year, or Place of the Impression.*

XXIX. *Omnia Buchanani opera hæcenus enumerata in unum collecta & cum MSS. Cod. & Antiq. Edit. comparata, cura Roberti Fribarnii, Typog. Reg. Edin. 1704, in 2 Vol. in Folio.*

T H E

The LIFE of Mr. ALEXANDER ARBUTHNET, Principal of the King's College of Aberdeen.

His Parentage, Birth
and Education.

He goes
over to
France,
where he stu-
dies the
Laws.

THIS Gentleman was a Brother of the Baron of *Arbuthnet's*, in the County or Shire of the *Merns* (a), a very ancient and noble Family, for Sir *George Mackenzie* tells us (b), that they had their first Rise from a Gentleman, who came from the South, and married one of the Daughters of *Olofard* or *Olyphant*, Sheriff of the *Merns*, with whom he got the Lands of *Arbuthnet*, from whence they have their Surname; and he says, that he had seen a Charter granted by the Abbot and Convent of *Kelso* in 1178, to *Reginald*, then elected to be Abbot of *Arbroth*, freeing him from his Obedience and Subjection to *Kelso*, and amongst the Witnesses, is mentioned *Richardus de Arbuthnet, Clericus Regis*; since which Time, they have had several Honours conferred upon them, and about the Year 1641, King *Charles I.* made them Viscounts of *Arbuthnet* (c). Our Author was Born in the Year 1538, he had his Education at the University of *Aberdeen*, where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in the *Belles-Lettres* and Philosophy, he was sent over to *France* by his Parents, where he studied the Laws for five Years, under the famous *Cujacius*, and being licentiat in the Laws, he returned to *Scotland* in

(a) See the Appendix in *Sprottwood's History*, Page 24. (b) MS. *Genealogy of Scotland*. (c) Sir *James Dalrymple's* Ed. of Camb. Desc. of Scot Page 156.

the Year 1563 : Upon his Arrival, finding the Reformation prevailing, he declared himself for the Reformers, and was very instrumental for carrying on the Work of the Reformation, and the Reformers prevail'd with him to apply himself to Theology, and to enter into Orders, but what sort of Ordination he got I cannot learn, but I find him a Member of the General Assembly in the Year 1568, and *Thomas Bassanden* Printer in Edinburgh, having printed a Book, entitled, *The Fall of the Romish Church*, wherein the King is called the Head of the Church, and a Psalm Book with a baudy Song at the end of it, the Assembly ordained that (a) Printer, to call in all these Books, and to sell no more of them, till such Time as he change the Title of the one, and expunge the baudy Song out of the other, and that in all Time coming, he print not without the License of the Supreme Magistrat, and their revising such Books as he shall print concerning Religion, and that particularly the Book concerning the *Fall of the Church of Rome*, should be revised by Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnet*, and about this Time, I find him designed Parson of *Arbuthnet*, and *Logy-Buchan*.

An. 1581.
But is made
a Minister,
and Member
of the Gene-
ral Assembly

Mr. *John Erskine* Superintendent of *Angus*, having got a Commission from the Council and the General Assembly conveened at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *July 1568*, for visiting the King's College at old *Aberdeen*, the Superintendent went thither in the Month of *June 1569*, and having called the Masters of the said College before them, and they having refused, after two Days Conference with them, to subscribe the Confession of Faith, the following Sentence was pronounced against them (b).

“ I *John Erskine* Superintendent of *Angus*, Principal of the “ Kings College at *Aberdeen* and *Mervyn*, having Commission of “ the Church, to visit the Sheriffdoms of *Aberdeen* and *Bamff*, by “ the Advice, Counsel and Consent of the Ministers and Elders “ and Commissioners of the Church present, decern, conclude and “ for final Sentence, pronounce, that Mr. *Alexander Anderson* “ sometimes Principal, Mr. *Andrew Galloway* sometimes Subprinci- “ pal, Mr. *Andrew Anderson*, Mr. *Thomas Austin* and Mr. *Duncan* “ *Nory*, sometimes Regents in the College of old *Aberdeen*, are “ not to be reckoned Members of Christ's Church ; and therefore, “ secludes them and every one of them, to teach privately or pub- “ licky in Time coming in that College, or any other Part within “ this Realm, and decern them to remove forth of the said Col- “ lege with all Diligence, that other godly Men may be placed “ there, for the upbringing the Youth in the Fear of God, and good “ Letters. This our Sentence pronounced, we ordain to be pub- “ lished and intimated to the said Persons, and to the Congrega- “ tions of New and Old *Aberdeen*, publickly the next Sunday, ‘ the “ third of *July* Instant’. This Sentence was no sooner put in Exe- “ cution, but Mr. *Arbuthnet* was instaled in the Place of Mr. *Anderson*, Principal of the King's College at *Aberdeen*. ”

*Is made
Principal of
the King's
College at
Old Aberdeen.*

A a a 2

In

An. 1583. In the General Assembly held at St. Andrews in the Year 1572, we find our Author one of the Commissioners that were appointed to meet in Mr. John Knox's House, to examine the new Book of Policy, and consider what they could find therein, that was agreeable to God's Word, and for the Utility of the Kirk, and to report the same to the Assembly: But Petrie and Calderwood tell us (*a*), *That they knew not what was done in this Conference*. But, says Calderwood, *We may easily collect, that the Book was not approved by a new Commission appointed in the next Assembly to revise the Book, or else that the Conference was not holden.*

A General Assembly having met at Edinburgh, on the 6th of August 1573, Mr. Arbuthnet was chosen Moderator (*b*): In this Assembly there were a great many Earls, Barons, Lords, and Superintendants: The Books of the Bishops, Superintendants, and Commissioners of Visitation were produced, and certain Ministers appointed to examine them; and Mr. John Douglas Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews was accused for admitting a Popish Priest into the Ministry, to whom the Superintendant of Lothian had prescribed certain Injunctions, and he had not obeyed them, for not visiting his Diocess, nor Preaching for half an Year before that Time, for giving Collation of a Benefice, which was before bestowed on a Minister to another suspected of Popery, for suffering the Exercise to decay through his Fault; for admitting some to Functions in the Church that were not sufficiently qualified and examined. And *Lastly*, That he visited his Diocess by others, and not himself. To the first of these, the Arch-Bishop answered, That he did not admit the Priest till he had recanted openly in the Church of St. Andrews. To the second, he affirmed, That he did not only visit his Diocess, but preached personally to them, when either his Health or Strength (both which were much empaired by his Age) could permit him; and the rest he absolutely denied. Whereupon the Assembly only ordered the Priest to satisfy the Injunctions prescribed to him by the Superintendant of Lothian. Then Mr. James Paton Bishop of Dunkell was accused, that tho' he was a Bishop, yet he did not the Office of a Bishop; that he had not proceeded against Papists within his Bounds; that he was suspected of Simony and Perjury for having made a Paction with the Earl of Argyle for the Profits of the Bishoprick, and accordingly at his Admission, contrary to his Oath, he had given Acquittances, and the Earl had received the Money; but it seems the Bishop acquit himself so well of what was laid to his Charge, that they were found to be mere Calumnies; for we do not find that the Assembly pass'd any Censure upon him. Alexander Gordon Bishop of Galloway was accused that he intruded himself into the Office of the Ministry within Edinburgh, that he enticed the People to Rebellion against the King, that he refused to pray for him, and approved of the Queen's Authority, that being discharged by the General Assembly to have any Thing to do with the Parishioners

(*a*) Vid. Calder. Hist. of the Ch. of Scot. ad An. 1572. Pag. 56. (*b*) Petrie, Pag. 379. Calder. Pag. 63.

Parishioners of *Holy-Rood-House*, yet he compelled them to receive ^{An. 1583.} the Sacrament, and caused pretended Baillies and Soldiers to compel the People, that being sworn to maintain the King's Authority, and yield Obedience to him, yet he had broken his Oath, by sitting in a Parliament for dispossessing the King of Crown and Authority : That he had given Thanks publickly in the Pulpit for the Slaughter of *Matthew Earl of Lennox*, and exhorted the People to do so likewise. And *Lastly*, That he was a Perverter of the People both before and after the Reformation. The Bishop could not deny his Loyalty to the Queen, and therefore he gave them a general Answer, that he was freed from all these Things by the Act of Pacification agreed to betwixt the Queen's Friends and the King's ; but the Assembly told him, that the States had not absolved him *qua* Bishop from the Censure of the Church *in talibus*, so he was ordain'd under the Pain of Excommunication, to make publick Repentance for three several Sundays, one in the Church of *Edinburgh*, another in the Church of *Holy-Rood-House*, and the third in the Queen's College Church. Mr. *Calderwood* says (a), "That several other Enormities were laid to his Charge, and that when he craved the Benefit of the Act of Pacification agreed upon at *Perth* 23d of *February*, when the civil Wars ended ; to the which Act the Reformed Bishops, Abbots and Priors having Vote in Parliament, condescended in Name of the Kirk, and therefore alledged that he could not be compelled to answer for any Complaint given in against him for maintaining another Authority, or for any Thing depending thereupon ; and this Answer he sent them by a Servant : Whereupon the Assembly sent one to the Regent and Council to crave their Advice, who returning, reported, his Grace was willing to observe the Heads of the Pacification, but without Prejudice of the Discipline of the Kirk, and Satisfaction to be made for all notorious and open Slanders ; and the Bishop being again summoned, and not appearing, and in respect his Offences were notout, it was concluded that he should make his publick Repentance in Sackcloth three several Sabbath Days, one in the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, another in *Holy-Rood-House*, and the third in the Queen's College ; and two Brethren were appointed to admonish him in the Assembly's Name, to perfom the said Injunction, and begin the next Lord's Day in *Edinburgh*, and after in the other two Kirks successive, under the Pain of Excommunication". Mr. *Robert Pont* Commissioner of *Murray* was accused for Non-residence in *Murray*, and for not visiting the Kirks there, excepting *Inverness*, *Elgin* and *Forres* for these two Yeats bygone ; but he excused himself upon his being obliged to attend the Session, being one of the Lords of the Session : Whereupon the Superintendent of *Lothian* moved the Question, Whether it was lawful by the Word of God, that the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, and the Administration of criminal and civil Justice should be so confounded,

B b b

that

(a) *Calderwood*, ubi supra.

^{Au. 1593.} that one Man should have both Charges, and the Assembly agreed that it was neither agreeable to the Word of God, nor to the Practice of the Primitive Church.

The Reader of *Dalray* was accused by Mr. *David Cunningham* Commissioner of *Kile, Carrick* and *Cunningham*, that notwithstanding finding that they had discharged him from administrating the Lord's Supper, yet he did administrate the same after his own Manner at *Kilbirnie* the last *Easter*; for which the Assembly ordained him to make his Repentance two several Sabbaths, the one in *Kilbirnie*, and the other in *Dalray*; and ordered, that if for the future, he, or any other Readers shall be found doing the like, they shall be deposed.

Besides the Accusations that were brought against these Persons in the Assembly, they appointed certain of their Number to give Answers to such Questions as should be proposed to them; and the Question being moved, Whether a Superintendant or Commissioner, with Advice of any particular Kirk in their Jurisdiction, may dispense with the Rigour of Sackcloth, prescribed by the Acts of the General Assembly, and that for a pecunial Penalty *ad pios usus*. And it was answered in the Negative. The Question being moved, If great Men who are guilty of Crimes, may be dispensed with for Money *ad pios usus*. It was answered in the Negative. The Question being moved about the Punishment that is due to such as shall receive and entertain excommunicated Persons. It was answered, That those who receive excommunicated Persons should be censured with Excommunication, after due Admonition, and if they desist, they shall make publick Repentance for that Fault. The Question being moved concerning these that consult with Witches and Enchanters: It was answered, That they should be excommunicated. The Secretary of the Council having presented certain Heads concerning the Assignment of Ministers Stipends; Licence was given to Bishops, Superintendants and Commissioners of Visitation to take Notice of the Situation of Parish Churches, and to change them for the Commodity of the People, as also of the Glebes. After which the Assembly rose.

The next Year in an Assembly held at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *March 1574*. *George Douglas* Bishop of *Murray* being accused for Fornication committed with the Lady *Ardross* (a), craved leave to advise upon his Vindication till the 10th Day of the Month; and then refusing to compear, the Assembly appointed our Author with others, to call before them the Chapter of *Murray*, and to

He is made
one of the
Commissioners for draw-
ing up the
Articles con-
cerning the
Jurisdiction
of the Kirk.

examine them, how they came to give that Bishop their Testimonial, without just Tryal and due Examination of his Life, and Qualifications in Literature, and, in the same Assembly, he is appointed one of the Commissioners for penning the Heads and Articles concerning the Jurisdiction of the Kirk.

In

In a General Assembly at *Edinburgh* upon 24th *April* 1576, the ^{An. 1583.} Bishop of *Murray* being ordained to give a Proof of his Doctrine in the next Provincial Assembly, which was to be at *Aberdeen*, Mr. *Arbuthnott* and Mr. *John Craig* were appointed to report their Judgment to the Assembly concerning it, and in the Year 1577, the General Assembly having met at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *April*, our Author was again chosen Moderator to that Assembly, wherein they had large Conferences and Disputes, concerning the Policy of the Church, and at length, all was appointed to be revised by Mr. *James Lawson*, Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, Mr. *John Craig* and Mr. *George Hay*. Mr. *Patrick Adamson* Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* was accused, of which we shall give an Account in that Bishop's Life, Mr. *James Blackwood* having the Parsonage of *Savochar* and Vicarage of *Saline*, he was ordered to demit one of them. The Regent was by a Commission from them informed of their Proceedings, and petition'd, that Provision might be made for Visitors, that Persons deprived of their Office by the Church, might be deprived of their Benefices, that he would take some Course with them who sell their Benefices, and bestow all vacant Benefices upon these recommended by the Church : But the Brethren who petition'd his Grace, having no written Commission from the Assembly, after they had attended for some Days, were dismissed without any Answer, and a Fast being appointed, they rose : But in the beginning of this Assembly, because our Author their Moderator was not in the preceeding Assembly, therefore, they ordered that the Superintendant of *Angus*, and other six Ministers should attend him every Morning from seven of the Clock till the sitting down of the Assembly, for preparing such Things as should be brought before them : And Mr. *Petrie* observes, that (a) in all the following Assemblies these privy Conferences, as they were called, were like to that which in the Council of *Trent* was called the Congregation. For within some Years all Matters were debated and concluded in these privy Conferences, and the Assembly had little to do. Another Assembly having met the same Year at *Edinburgh*, and a Letter being presented to them from Queen *Elizabeth*, shewing them, that a Council of Protestants was to meet at *Magdeburg*, and desiring them to send some of their Number to it, our Author was nominate for one, but none of them went, that Project having failed. The same Assembly having presented the Regent with a Copy of the Policy of the Church as approved by them, Mr. *Arbuthnott* was appointed, with several others, to attend the Regent for solving of his Doubts, in case he should have any against the said Form of Policy. In a General Assembly met at *Edinburgh* upon the 24th *April* 1578, he was one of those that were appointed to attend upon the King and Council, and to reason with them concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, and how far Ministers may meddle with civil Affairs, and if they may vote in Council or Parliament : And the same Year in a Parliament



An 1583.

held in the Castle of *Stirling*, he was nominated to be one of the Ministers that should confer with them concerning the Book of Discipline. In a General Assembly held at *Edinburgh* upon the 18th of October, he was appointed, with some others, to draw up an Order for the Examination, Admission and Ordination of Ministers.

*He prints
Buchanan's
History.*

In the Year 1582, Mr. *George Buchanan* having committed the Care of the revising and printing of his History to Mr. *Arbuthnet*, he published that History, which gave great Offence not only against the Author, but against Mr. *Arbuthnet*, who by an Act of the General Assembly, was ordered to be removed from *Aberdeen* to St. *Andrews*; but his Majesty suspecting that it was only to have his Advice in their factious Proceedings, St. *Andrews* being nearer the capital City where they ordinarily met than *Aberdeen*, he discharged Mr. *Arbuthnet* from removing from the College of *Aberdeen* under Pain of Horning; which the General Assembly that met at *Edinburgh* in 1583 complained of as a Grievance: But his Majesty in his Reply to their Grievances, told them (a), That they had no Reason, all Things being well considered, to think that this was either too proper for the Church, or so improper for the Civil Estate; for he and his Council had good Reason to direct his Letters as he did, upon the general Esteem the Northern Parts had for him, wherein none was prejudged, seeing there was nothing containing Power in the Order to denounce at the first, but rather to do the Thing required, or to compear and show a Cause for the contrary. But this Controversie betwixt them and the King was soon removed by the Death of our Author, who died in the 46 Year of his Age, and was buried in the College Church of *Aberdeen* on the 20th of October 1583.

*His Death
and Charac-
ter.*

He was, as we have said, one of the great Promoters of the Reformation, and consulted by all their General Assemblies in the Affairs of their Church: And altho' he was of the same Principles with *Buchanan* and Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, yet he was much more moderate; and if he was not so good a Poet as *Buchanan*, or so great a Master of the Purity of the *Roman Language* as he was, yet he was a learned and more universal Scholar; for Bishop *Spotswood* tells us (b), That he was expert in all the Sciences, a good Poet, Mathematician, Philosopher, Theologue, Lawyer, and skilful in Medicin; so that in every Subject he could promptly discourse, and to good Purpose. And the same Reverend Prelate tells us, That besides these Qualifications, by his diligent Teaching and dexterous Government, he not only revived the Study of good Letters, but gained many from the Superstitions to which they were given: He was greatly loved of all Men, hated of none, and in such Account for his Moderation with the chief Men of these Parts (meaning the North) that without his Advice they could almost do nothing, which put him to great Fisherly, whereof he did often complain; yet he was very pleasant and jocund in Conversation.

We

(a) *Pettie*, Part 3. Pag. 441. (b) *Lib. 6. Pag. 335.*

We have nothing extant of this Author, but some Orations in ^{An. 1583.}
Praise of the Laws, and their first Rise : Upon which excellent
Performance of his, Mr. Thomas Maitland has the following
Elegy (a).

Elegia *Alexandri Arbuthnai orationibus de origine & dignitate
juris praesixa.*

Tempus erat, cum glans dura Jovis arbore nata,
Et facilem vilis præbuit herba cibum.
Cumque foret vini nec adhuc bene cognitus usus,
Sedavit gelidi fluminis unda sitim.
Ast ubi Trinaciis errans dispersit in oris
Frugiferæ messis semina flava Ceres ;
Et cum pampineos proles Semeleia colles,
Lataque pinxit vitibus arva suis :
Amplius insuaves jam nemo ex ilice glandes,
Ex rivo gelidam nemo petebat aquam.
Hinc Cereri tribuit Cerealia festa vetustas,
Sacra Deæ Cnidiae non violanda jocis.
Sacra racemiferi sic & Trieterica Bacchi,
Æra puellari queis sonuere manu.
Sic quondam nobis, præclara scientia Juris,
(Præcipites error sic malus egit avos ;)
Non bene culta fuit, nec enim gens effera legum,
Constringi passa est libera colla jugo.
At tu doctarum spes *Arbuthnae* sororum,
O decus o patriæ splendor amore tuæ ;
Eloquii postquam monstras velut amne citato :
Gentibus humanis commoda quanta ferant :
Fallimur ? an legum reverentia sancta nepotes
Obstringit, quæ vix ante tenebat avos ?
Et pudor assuetis cohibens fera pectora frænis
Justitiam referet, barbariemque premet.
Nec Cereris laudi, aut Bacchi tua gloria cedet,
Si modo jus potius frugibus atque mero est.
Quod si forte tibi sacra *Arbuthnae* negantur,
Nomine nec niteant templa dicata tuo :
At celebris memori tua fama sacrabitur ævo,
Factaque posteritas grata stupenda canet.
Macte igitur juris cultor doctissime, perge
Cælicolum laudes æquiparare tuis.

Mr. Andrew Melvil composed the following Epitaph upon him (b).

Flere mihi si fas privata incommoda, si fas
Publica, nec tua mi commoda flere nefas :
Flerem ego te, mihi te ereptum, pater *Arbuthnæ*,
Et pater, & patriæ lux oculisque tuæ.

C c c

Flerem

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Flerem ego te Superis carum caput *Arbushnete*,
 Et caput, & sacri corque animusque chori.
 Flerem ego : nec flenti foret aut pudor, aut modus, cheu !
 Flerem ego te, te eheu ! flerem ego perpetuo ?
 Deliciae humani generis : dulcissime rerum :
 Quem Musæ & Charites blando aluere sinu.
 Cujus in ore lepos ; sapiens in pectore virtus :
 Et Suadæ & Sophiae vis bene juncta simul.
 Cui pietas, cui pteca fides, constantia, candor,
 Et pudor, & probitas non habuere parem.
 Sacras & Themidis, medicas & Pæonis artes,
 Et potis immensi pandere jura poli.
 Vis animi, vis ingenii, vis vivida mentis
 Et terram, & pontum, & sidera perdomuit.
 Talis erat hic ævum agitans : nunc æthere summo
 Celsior, & summo non procul inde Deo.
 Perfrueris vera in patria cæloque Deoque
 Felix : hæc tua me commoda flete nefas.

The Catalogue of his Works.

ORATIONES de origine & dignitate juris, Edinburgi 1572, in 4to.

THE

LIFE of Mr. THOMAS SMETON, Principal of the College of Glasgow.

His Birth,
Parentage
and Education

His Travels
thro' France.

He enters in-
to the Order
of the Jesuits

MR. Thomas Smeton was born in the Shire or County of Perth (a), of a mean, but honest Parentage, at a small Village called *Gask*, not far from the Town of *Perth*, in the Year 1536. He was taught his Grammar at the School of *Perth*, and his Philosophy at *S. Salvator's College* in the University of *St. Andrews*, under Mr. *William Cranston*, at that Time Provost of the House. Mr. *Cranston* finding him a Youth of excellent Parts, persuaded him to travel, hoping that by the improving his Parts in foreign Countries, he might become serviceable to his own : And accordingly he went over to *France*, where, after he had stayed for some Years at the University of *Paris*, he went to *Rome*, and entred into the Order of the *Jesuites*, having stayed for three

three Years at *Rome*, he returned to his Native Country about some private Business of his own ; which after he had settled, he went over again to *France*, where he stayed at *Paris* till the Year 1571. At which Time Mr. *Thomas Maitland* coming to *Paris*, he prevail'd with Mr. *Smeton* to go alongst with him to *Italy*, where that Gentleman contracting a Sickness, died, much lamented and regreded by all that knew him, and particularly by his Tutor Mr. *Smeton*, and was honourably interr'd according to his Quality : Which sufficiently exposes that Prediction of *John Knox's* concerning this Gentleman's Death, as related by *Spotswood* (a), who tells us, " That the Word " of the Regent the Earl of *Murray's* Death coming to *Edinburgh*, " *Thomas Maitland* a younger Brother of *Lithington's*, whom " *Buchanan* makes his Collocutor in his Book de *Jure Regni*, know- " ing what Esteem *John Knox* made of the Regent, and loving " none of the two, caused a Writing to be laid in the Pulpit, where " *John Knox* was that Day to preach, to this Sense, and almost in " the same Words, *Take up the Man whom you accounted another* " *God*, and consider the End, whereto his Ambition hath brought " him : *John Knox* finding the Paper, and taking it to be a Memo- " rial for recommending some sick Persons in his Prayers, after he " had read the same, laid it by, nothing, as it seemed, commoved " therewith ; yet in the End of the Sermon, falling to regrate the " Loss that the Church and Common-Wealth had received by the " Death of the Regent, and shewing how God did often for the Sins " of the People take away good Rulers and Governours, I perceive, " said he, that albeit this be an Accident that we should all take to " Heart : There be some that rejoice in this wicked Fact, making it " the Subject of their Mirth, amongst whom there is one that caused " a Writing to be cast in this Place, insulting upon that which is all " good Mens Sorrow. This wicked Man, whosoever he be, shall " not go unpunished, and shall die where none shall be to lament " him : The Gentleman was himself present, and being come to the " Lodging, asked his Sister, who was also there, if she did not think " *John Knox* was raving, to speak so of the Man he knew not ? " But she weeping, said, that she was sorry that he had not followed " her Counsel ; for she had diswaded him from doing that : None " of this Man's Denunciations, said she, are wont to prove idle, but " have their own Effect shortly. After, the Troubles of the Country " increasing, the Gentleman betook himself to Travel, and passing " into *Italy*, died there, having no known Person to attend him " This, says the Bishop, I thought not unworthy of Record, being " informed thereof by the Gentleman's Sister, to whom these Speeches " were uttered, and who was privy to the whole Purpose, for an " Advertisement to all Persons not to make a light Account of the " Threatnings of God's Servants ". But with all due Submission to the Judgment of this learned and worthy Prelate, there is nothing in this Story that should make us believe Mr. *Knox* a Prophet, for

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it was very usual for Mr. *Knox* and his Brethren to threaten God's Judgments to their Enemies, and if their faithful Friends the Mob put them in Execution, they were esteemed Prophets, and if they failed, no more notice was taken of it. Mr. *Maitland* was just going to his Travels at that Time, for this was in the Year 1570, and it was in the Beginning of 1571 that he came to *Paris*: And there is no great Wonder if Mr. *Knox* should know of his Design of travelling, and it is a great Hazard if a Man that designs to travel for several Years abroad, returns home again. And if what *Dempster* says be true, that he never resolved to return till the *Romish* Religion was established, as Things then went, it was no great Difficulty to prophecy what the Event would be; but how he should have so luckily happened upon his Man is not surprizing, neither if we consider, that he saw Mr. *Maitland* in the Church, whom he knew to be there upon no good End, and whom he knew to be the Regent's Enemy and his, and consequently had reason to suspect that he had put that Trick upon him, tho' he had nor known his Hand Writ, as 'tis probable he did, having had several Controversies with him; neither had the Thing been kept so secret, but that it might have come to Mr. *Knox*'s Ears, for the Sister knew of it, who was so great an Admirer of Mr. *Knox*, that she believed him to be a Prophet: And it is not singular for Female Zealots to reveal their Secrets to the Men of God, nor for them to make their own use of them. And *Lastly*, It was absolutely false that he died without being attended, or lamented by any that knew him. But to return to Mr. *Smeton*; upon the Death of his Pupil, he went to *Geneva* to confer with the Reformers there, being inclined to embrace the Protestant Religion; and being by them confirmed in his Resolution, he went straight to *Paris* with a Design to return to his own Country with the first convenient Occasion: The Massacre of *Paris* happening at this Time, he narrowly escaped by the Favour of Sir *Thomas Walsingham* the *English* Ambassador, and came in his Company to *England*.

Mr. *Smeton* was no sooner arrived in *England*, but he renounced the Popish Religion, and taught a Grammar School for five Years at *Colchester* in *Essex*. And in the Year 1578 he returned to *Scotland*, and having joined the Reformers, he was made Minister at *Paisley*, and chosen a Member of the General Assembly that met at *Edinburgh* in the Year 1578. Another Assembly having met at *Edinburgh* on the 7th Day of *July* 1579, he was chosen their Moderator in this Assembly.

He renounces the Popish Religion.
In the Year 1580, he had a Controversie with *Nicolas Burn*, Professor of Philosophy in the University of St. *Andrews*, who had turned Popish; of which I shall give an Account in that Author's Life. At the first Erection of Presbyteries in the Year 1587, our Author, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *Andrew Polwart* and the Bishop of *Glasgow* were appointed to oversee the Presbytery of *Glasgow*, in the Place of Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who was removed to St. *Andrews*.

drews. Whilst he was Principal of the College of *Glasgow*, he was held in great Esteem by all that knew him, for his Knowledge in the Controversies betwixt the Papists and Protestants : He was a right *Calvinist*, and factious towards the latter End of his Days. He died at *Glasgow* upon the 6th of December 1583, and was buried in the Cathedral Church. Arch-Bishop *Spotiswood* says (a), *That he was a Man learned in the Languages, and well seen in the ancient Fathers, the reading of whose Works he did ever seriously recommend to the Youth; the Answer that he penn'd in Defence of this Church against Mr. Archibald Hamilton, and other Dictates, which are in the Hands of his Disciples, do shew his Worth, and the Loss that this Church hath received by his Death.* We have still extant his Book against Mr. *Hamilton*, wherein he treats of the Universality of the Church, and of the Primacy of the *Romish* See; to which he has annexed an Historical Narration of Mr. *Knox's* Death, whom he endeavours to represent as a Saint. Mr. *Andrew Melvil* has composed the following Epitaph upon him and Mr. *Arbuthnet* (b).

In Alexandrum Arbuthnetum & Thomam Smetonium, duo nostræ gentis lumina, ad Septentriones & Meridiem nuper extincta.

Vix heu, vix raptum deflevimus *Arbuthnetum*,
Vix heu justa datis solvimus inferiis :
Et premit altera mors, & funere funus acerbat :
 Et magno extincto lumine majus obit.
Ille quidem Arctoa tenebras de nocte fugabat :
 Fulgebas medio *Glasguae* stella die.
Quod si luce sua spoliata est noxque diesque
 Nostra, eheu quantis obruiunt tenebris !
Aut ergo e tenebris revoca lucem : aut hominum lux
 Christe redi ; ut nobis stet sine nocte dies.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. **A**D virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltonii *Apostatae Dialogum de confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos impie conscriptum Orthodoxa responsio*, Thoma Smetonio Scoto auctore, in qua celebris illa quæstio de Ecclesia, de Universalitate, Successione & Romani Episcopi Primatu breviter, dilucide & accurate tractatur : adjecta est vera Historia extrema vita & obitus eximii viri Joan. Knoxii, Ecclesia Scoticanæ Instauratoris fidelissimi, Edinburgi apud Joan. Rosseum pro Henrico Charteris, Anno Dom. 1579. Cum Privilegio Regali, in 8vo.

D d d

T H E

(a) *Spotiswood*, ubi supra. (b) *Delitius Post. Scot.* Vol. 2. Pag. 121.

An. 1583.

T H E

LIFE of JAMES CRICHTON of Clunie, commonly called, the Admirable Crichton.

His Birth,
Parentage
and Educa-
tion.

His prodig-
ious Know-
ledge in all
the Parts of
Learning.

He goes to
France, where
he surprises
the whole
University of
Paris with his
extraordi-
nary Parts.

THIS Gentleman was descended from a very ancient Family, his Father *Robert Crichton* of *Clunie* was one of those who commanded Queen *Mary's* Army at the Battle of *Langside* in the Year 1568. He was born at *Clunie*, his paternal Inheritance, in the Shire of *Perth* in the Year 1551. He was taught his Grammat at the School of *Perth*, and his Philosophy at the University of *St. Andrews* (*a*) under Mr. *John Rutherford*, as we have shewn in the Life of that learned Person: He had hardly attained to the 20th Year of his Age, when he had run through the whole Circle of the Sciences, and could speak and write to Perfection in ten different Languages; but this was not all, for he had likewise improved himself to the utmost Degree in riding, dancing, singing and playing upon all sorts of Instruments.

Having thus accomplished himself at home, his Parents sent him abroad to accomplish him further by Travelling. And coming to *Paris*, it is not to be imagined what Consternation he raised in that famous University; as we have it from an Eye-witnes, who gives us this Account of it (*b*). "There came, says he, to the College of *Navarre* a young Man of 20 Years of Age, who was perfectly well seen in all the Sciences, as the learnedst Masters of the University acknowledged: In vocal and instrumental Musick none could excell him, in painting and drawing in Colours none could equal him; in all military Feats he was most expert, and could play with the Sword so dexterously with both his Hands, that no Man could fight him; when he saw his Enemy or Antagonist, he would throw himself upon him at one Jump of 20 or 24 Foot Distance: He was a Master of Arts, and disputed with us in the Schools of the College upon Medicine, the Civil and Canon Law and Theology; and although we were above Fifty in Number, besides above three thousand that were present; and so pointedly and learnedly he answered to all the Questions that were proposed to him, that none but they that were present can believe it. He spake Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabick, and other Languages most politely: He was likewise an excellent Horseman, and truly if a Man should live an hundred Years without eating, drinking or sleeping, he could not attain to this Man's Knowledge; which struck

(*a*) Vid. *vid. Minut. Epist. Ded. Paradox Cicer. Digt. Critiq. & Histor. par M. Bayle, Dempster Hist. Eccles. Pag. 1873 Joan. imperialis Mus. Histor. Pag. 241. Sir Thomas Urquhart's Vindication of the Scots Nation. &c. (*b*) Steph. Pasch. Disq. 1. Lib. 5. Cap. 23.*

" struck us with a panick Fear ; for he knew more than humane ^{An. 1583.}
 " Nature could well bear : He overcame four of the Doctors of the
 " Church ; for in Learning none could compete with him, and he
 " was thought to be *Antichrist*". But for the Reader's Satisfaction
 I shall here insert the Words of my Author.

*In Navarræ Collegium venit Adolescens quidam natus Annos XX,
 qui bonas artes apprime callebat, ut peritissimi quique Academæ
 Magistri testabuntur. Praeclare fidibus canebat : Numeris, voce,
 modis, Symphonia cunctos vincebat, pingebat, & imaginibus colores
 inducebat optime omnium : In militia experientissimus erat : gladium
 ambabus manibus disstringebat tam bene & fortiter ut cum eo certare
 nullus auderet statim atque videbit hostem suum, saltu se in eum
 projiciebat, remotus spatio pedum XX aut XXIV. Erat Magister
 in artibus, in Medicina, in utroque jure, in Theologia : Nobiscum in
 Navarræ Schola disputando congressus est, tametsi Magistrorum quin-
 quaginta perfectissimorum numerum excederemus : Mitto alios ter-
 mille, & eo amplius, qui concertationi interfuerunt ; tam argute &
 cumulate respondit questionibus qua propositæ sunt, omnibus ; ut nisi
 presentium, certe absentium fidem supereret. Latine, Græce, Hebraice,
 Arabice & linguis aliis pluribus loquitur, ut qui politissime, equita-
 bat quoque ut qui optime, Quin etiam si quis homo annos centum
 viveret, & sine cibo & potu, dies noctesque insomnes traducaret, quas
 ille animo complexus est scientias assequeretur nunquam, & revera
 metum ingentem nobis incusit, Nam plura novit quam natura hu-
 mana ferre possit : Doctores Ecclesiae quatuor redarguit, sapientia com-
 parandus nemini videbatur, pro Antichristo habitus est.*

Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty giving an Account of this Dispute, says, That Crichton, when he came to Paris, caused six Programs on all the Gates of the Schools, Halls and Colleges belonging to the University, and on all the Pillars and Posts before the Houses of the most renowned Men for Literature in the City, inviting all those who were well vers'd in any Part or Science to dispute with him in the College of Navarre, that Day six Weeks, by nine of the Clock in the Morning, where, God willing, he should attend them, and be ready to answer to whatever should be proposed to him in any Art or Science, and in any of these twelve Languages, Hebrew, Syriack, Arabick, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish or Sclovonian, and that either in Verse or Prose, at the Discretion of the Disputant ; and during all this Time instead of making a closs Application to his Studies, he minded nothing, but hunting, hawking, tilring, vaulting, riding of well managed Horse, tossing the Pike, handling the Musker, and other military Feats, or in House Games, such as Balls, Consorts of Musick vocal and instrumental, Cards, Dice, Tennis, and the other Diversions of Youth ; which so provoked the Students of the University, that they caused write beneath the Program that was fixt upon the Sorbonne Gate, *If you would meet with this Monster of Perfection, to make Search for him either in the Tavern or*

D d d 2 Bawdy-

An. 1585.

Bawdy-houſe, is the readieſt Way to find him. Yet upon the Day appointed he met with them in the College of *Navarre*, and acquit himself beyond Expression in that Dispute, which lasted from nine till six of the Clock at Night: At length, the Preses having extolled him highly, for the many rare and wonderful Endowments that God and Nature had bestowed upon him, he rose from his Chair, and accompanied by four of the most eminent Professors of the University, gave him a Diamond Ring and a Purſe full of Gold, as a Testimony of their Love and Favour, which ended with the Acclamations and repeated Huzza's of the Spectators. And ever after that he was called, *The Admirable Crichton.* And my Author says, that he was ſo little fatigued with that Day's Dispute, that the very next Day he went to the *Luvera*, where he had a Match of tilting, an Exercise in great Requeſt in those Days, and in the Presence of ſome Princes of the Court of *France*, and a great many Ladies, he carried away the Ring fifteen Times on End, and broke as many Lances on the *Saracen.*

The learned M. *du Launy* in his History of the College of *Navarre*, finding the History of this Dispute recorded in a MS. History of the College of *Navarre*, and the like Account of a *Spaniard* in *Trithemius*, confounds the two together, and robs our Author of the Glory of this Action, and places it in the Year 1445, whereas it ſhould be in the Year 1571, as we have Reaſon to believe, from the Authority of thoſe that were cotemporary with him, and knew him, and have recorded this of him; but we need not be ſurprized at M. *du Launy*'s denying him the Glory of this Action, when we find M. *Baillet*, another learned French Man denying there ever was ſuch a Man as our Author (*a*), notwithstanding that *Aldus Manutius* dedicates his Book of *Cicero*'s Paradoxes to him in the Year 1541, and that the moſt of the eminent Men in *Italy* in that Age were acquainted with him, as we ſhall ſhow in the remaining Part of the

He goes from Paris to Italy, where he challenges all the learned Men at Rome, to dispute with him. History of his Life. About two Years after his Dispute at *Paris*, *Trajano Boccalini* in his Adverſements from *Parnassus*, tells us, that he came to *Rome*, *Boccalini* being then at *Rome* himſelf, and by a Placad which he affixed upon all the eminent Places of the City, he challenged all the learned Men in *Rome*, in the following Terms, *Nos Jacobus Crichtonius Scotus cuicunque rei proposita ex improviso respondebimus*, that is to ſay, he was ready to answer to any Question that could be proposed to him, without being previously advertised of it. Upon which the Wits put a Paper in *Pasquin's* Hand, endeavouring to ridicule him; but that noways discouraging him, he came at the Time and Place appointed by his Placad, and in the Presence of the Pope, many Cardinals, Bishops, Doctors of Divinity, and Professors in all the Sciences; he gave ſuch ſurprizing Instances of his universal Knowledge, that they were no less ſurprized with him, than they had been at *Paris*.

From

From Rome he goes to *Venice*, where he contracted an intimate Friendship with *Aldus Manutius*, *Laurentius Massa*, *Speron Speroni*, and several other learned Men, to whom he presented several Poems in Commendation of the City and University, and amongst the rest, one to *Aldus Manutius*, which we have still extant in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (a). This Poem gave him a very agreeable Surprize, being presented by a Stranger, whom he judged by the Performance to be a Person of an extraordinary Genius; but when he came to discourse with him; he was struck with Admiratio-
An. 1535.
He goes
from Rome
to Venice.n, and finding him known in every Thing, he brought him to the Acquaintance of all the People of Learning or Note that were then in *Venice*, and all of them were so surprized with him, that they thought him, as he really was, the Wonder of the World, and never spoke of him but with Admiration; at length being brought before the Doge and Senate, he made an handsom Speech to them, which being accompanied with all the Graces and Beauties of Eloquence and Nature (b) that appeared in his Person in their outmost Lustre, he received the Thanks of the Senate, and nothing was talked through the whole City, but of this Prodigy of Nature. Having stayed for some Time at *Venice*, he went to *Padua* to visit the learned Men that were at that famous University; and he had no sooner arrived there, but there was a Meeting of all the learned Men in the City, in the House of *Jacobus Moysus Cornelius*, to wait upon him, and converse with him: He opened the Assembly with an extemporary Poem in Praise of the City, University and the Assembly that had honoured him with their Presence at that Time; and after six Hours of a Dispute, which he sustained against them, in whatever they could propose to him in all the Sciences: He concluded with an extemporary Oration in Praise of Ignorance, that *Aldus Manutius* (c) says, *That they all thought that they were in a Dream, and that he had almost persuaded them that it was better to be ignorant, than learned and wise.* Sometime after this he fixed a Paper on the Gates of St. John and St. Paul's Churches, wherein he offered to prove before the University, that there was an infinite Number of Errors in Aristotle's Philosophy, which was then only in Vogue, and in all his Commentaries, both in Theological and Philosophical Matters, and to refute the Dreams of several Mathematicians: He likewise made an Offer to dispute in all the Sciences, and to answer to whatever should be proposed to him, or objected against him, either in the common logical Way, or by Numbers and Mathematical Figures, or in a hundred different Sorts of Verses as they pleased. But for the Reader's Satisfaction, I shall insert here the Copy of this Paper, in his own Words.

Ut iis qui (virtute veraque animi nobilitate aliis praelucentes) bene de virtutis amatoribus sentire consueverunt gratias agat immortales Jacobus Critonius Scotus, profligatisque & perditis hominibus omnem in posterum jactandi occasionem auferat, errores Aristotelis penitentia numerabiles

(a) *Delitiae Poet. Scotor. ubi supra.* (b) *Joan. Imperial. ubi supra.* (c) *Aldus Man. Pref. in Cicer. Parad.*

Anno 1583.

numerabiles & omnium Latinorum Philosophorum, sive cum de ipsis mente disputant, sive cum res Theologicas attingunt, & nonnullorum quoque Mathematicos professorum somnia refutabit, & ad objecta respondebit. Liberam ad hanc in omnibus Disciplinis, sive illa publice doceri soleant, sive sapientissimis tantum hominibus perviae sint arguendi occasionem dat responsurus, sive Logicis & consuetis responsionibus, sive per secretam numerorum rationem aut Figuras Mathematicas, sive per aliquot ex centum carminum generibus ex proponentium arbitrio. In D. D. Joannis & Pauli æde sacra, ipso sanctissimo Pentecostes die post meridiem.

Aldus Manutius, who was present at this Dispute, says (a), That he performed all that he had promised, to their greatest Amazement : And he tells us likewise of another Dispute that he had before a great Concourse of People in the Bishop of Padua's House, without mentioning the Occasion or Particulars of it ; but *Joannes Imperialis* tells us (b), That he was informed by his Father, who was present at this Dispute, that it was with one *Archangellus Mercenarius*, a famous Philosopher, upon Philosophical Subjects, in which he acquitted himself so well, that his Adversary own'd before the Assembly that he had overcome him.

From *Venice* he went to *Mantua*, at this Time there was a Gladiator at *Mantua*, who had foil'd in his Travels the most famous Fencers in *Europe*, and had lately killed in that City three Persons that had enter'd the Lists with him ; the Duke of *Mantua* was highly offended that he had granted this Fellow his Protection, since it had such a fatal Consequence : *Crichton* being informed of this, proffered his Service to the Duke, to rid not only his Dominions, but *Italy* of this Murderer, and to fight him for Fifteen hundred Pistols : Tho' the Duke was unwilling to expose such a fine Gentleman as our Author, to such an Hazard, yet relying upon the Report of his Performances in all warlike Achievements, it was agreed to ; and the Time and Place being appointed, the whole Court were Witness to the Performance. In the Beginning of the Combat, *Crichton* was upon the Defensive, and the *Italian* attacked him with such Vigor and Eagerness, that he began to fag, having overacted himself ; then our Author attacked him with such Dexterity and Vigor, that he run him through the Body in three different Places, of which he immediately died. The Huzza's and Acclamations of the Spectators were extraordinary upon this Occasion, and all of them acknowledged, that they had never seen Art grace Nature, nor Nature second the Precepts of Art with so much Liveliness as they had seen that Day ; and to crown the Glory of this Action, *Crichton* bestowed the Prize of his Victory upon the Widows who had lost their Husbands in fighting with this Gladiator.

He is made Governor of Preceptor to the Duke of Mantua. These, and his other wonderful Performances moved the Duke of *Mantua* to make choice of him for Preceptor to his Son *Vincent de Gonzaga*, a Prince of a riotous Temper, and dissolute Life. The Court

(a) Ubi supra. (b) Ubi supra.

Court was highly pleased with the Duke's Choice, and for their Di-^{An. 1583;}
version, he composed a Comedy, wherein he exposed and ridiculed ^{He composes}
all the Weaknesses and Failures of the several Employments that
Men betake themselves to ; which was looked upon as one of the
most ingenious Satyrs that ever was made upon Mankind ; but that
which was most wonderful and astonishing, was, that he himself,
personated the Divine, Philosopher, Lawyer, Mathematician,
Physician and Soldier, with such an inimitable Grace, that every
Time he appeared upon the Theatre, he seemed to be a different
Person ; but from being the principal Actor of a Comedy, he be-
came the woful Subject of a most lamentable Tragedy, being most ^{He is mur-}
barbarously murdered by his Pupil, which happened thus : <sup>dered by his
Pupil.</sup>

One Night as he was walking alongst the Streets in the Time of <sup>His Death
and Char-
acter.</sup>
the Carnaval, and playing upon his Gitarre, he was attacked by half
a Dozen of People in Masks ; but they found that they had not an
ordinary Person to deal with, for they were not able to stand their
Ground against him, and having disarmed the principal Person
amongst them, he pulled off his Mask, and begged his Life, telling
him, that he was the Prince his Pupil. *Crichton*, who immediately
knew him, fell down upon his Knees, and told him, that he was
sorry for his Mistake, and that what he had done, was only in his
own Defence, and that if he had any Design upon his Life, he might
always be Master of it ; and then taking his own Sword by the
Point, he presented him with it ; which the Prince taking in his
Hand, and not being able to overcome his Passion for the Affront
that he thought he had sustained, in being foil'd with all his Atten-
dants, he immediately run him through the Heart.

What moved the Prince to this ungenerous and brutal Action, is
variously conjectured ; for some think that it was Jealousie, suspect-
ing that he was more in the Favours of a young Lady whom he
passionately loved than he was. Others say, that it was only to try
his Valour, and the Effect of a drunken Ramble ; but whatever
was the Cause of it, 'tis certain that thus he died, in the Beginning
of the Month of July, in the Year 1583, in the thirty second Year
of his Age, or as *Imperialis* says, in the twenty second.

His death was extraordinarily lamented by all the learned Men
in Europe, and from these *Italian* Writers, who knew, and were
cotemporary with him, ..it is, that I have most of all that I have said
of him : *Joannes Imperialis*, a Doctor of Medicine of *Vicenza* in
Italy, who has wrote our Author's Life, and who could not but
know the Truth of all; or most of what he has said of him, since
he lived upon the Places in which they were acted, and who had
them from his Father, who was an Eye and Ear Witness to them,
says (a), " That he was the Wonder of the last Age, the prodigious
" Production of Nature, the Glory and Ornament of *Pornassus* in a
" stupendious and an unusual Manner, and as yet in the Judgment
" of the learned World, the *Phoenix* of Literature, and rather a

E e e 2

" shining

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" shining Particle of the divine Nature and Majesty, than a Model
 " of what humane Nature and Industry can attain to. His Words
 " are, *Hic est Critonius ille Scotus, transalpi dudum faculi monstrum,*
" prodigioso naturæ opificis conatu editum, quo Parnassi spatha stupen-
" do & inusitato spectaculo illustrarentur : Hic est totius abhuc orbis
" judicio Phoenix habitus ingeniorum, divinae mentis igniculis summi
" potius datoris referens majestatem, quam mortalem ad emulandum
" laetessens industrium. And what can be more, continues he (a),
 " above our Comprehension, than in the 21st Year of his Age to
 " be Master of ten Languages, and to be perfectly well seen in Phi-
 " losophy, Mathematicks, Theology, the *Belles-Lettres*, and all the
 " other Sciences ; besides, was it ever heard of in the whole Com-
 " pass of this Globe, that one with all this, should be found expert
 " to Admiration, in Fencing, Dancing, Singing, Riding and the
 " other Exercises of the *Gymnaſtik* Art, Besides all this, he is said
 " to have been one of the most beautiful, and one of the handso-
 " mest Gentlemen the World ever saw, so that Nature had taken
 " as much care about his Body, as she had done about his Mind,
 " and in one Word, he was the outmost that Man could come to.
 " His Words are, *Quid humanum magis superans captum, quam vi-*
" gesimo primo etatis anno, decem linguarum peritia, nec non Philo-
" sophie, Mathematicæ, Theologiae, mitiorum artium, caterarumque
" omnium disciplinarum apicibus præstuisse, porro quid magis toto
" terrarum ambitu inauditum, quam digladiandi, saltandi, sonandi,
" equitandi, totiusque Gymnastica præstantiam singularem, tot arcanis
" elatae mentis junxiisse prærogativis?

Mr. Bayle says (b), That he was one of the greatest Prodigies of Wit that ever lived.

Felix Astolfus says, That he had such a prodigious Memory (c), that he retained more Books upon his Mind, than any of his Age had read ; *Plures libros memoriter tenebat quam quisquam ea etate legerat.*

Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, having insisted on all the Particulars of our Author's Life in a fustian and bombastick Strain, tells us, That in the Comedy which he composed, and was an Actor in, before the Court of Mantua, in the fifth and last Act, he himself personated no less than 15 different Characters of Persons and Employments in their different Habits.

And in his Character of him, he tells us, That he gained the Esteem of all Kings and Princes, by his Magnanimity and Knowledge of all Noblemen and Gentlemen, by his Courtliness and Breeding, of all Knights by his honourable Deportment and Pregnancy of Wit, of all the Rich by his Affability and good Fellowship, of all the Poor by his Munificence and Liberality, of all the Old by his Constancy and Wisdom, of all the Young by his Mirth and Gallantry, of all the Learned by his universal Knowledge, of all the Souldiers by his undaunted Valour and Courage, of all the Merchants

(a) *Museum Histor. Joa. Imper. ibidem, Venetiis apud Juntas 1650. in 4to.* (b) *Bib. Crit.* (c) *Othocina Hist. p. 102.*

chants and Artificers by his upright Dealing and Honesty ; and of all the Fair Sex, by his Beauty and Handsomness ; in which Respect, he was a Master-piece of Nature. The Reader, says he, perhaps will think this wonderful, and so would I too, were it not that I know, as Sir Philip Sidney says, That a Wonder is no Wonder in a wonderful Subject, and consequently not in him, who for his Learning, Judgment, Valour, Eloquence, Beauty and good Fellowship, was the perfectest Result of the joint Labours of *Pallas*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Venus* and *Bacchus*, that hath been since the Days of *Alcibiades* ; and he was reported to have been enriched with a Memory so prodigious, that any Sermon, Speech, Harangue, or other Manner of Discourses of an Hour's Continuance he was able to recite without Hesitation, after the same Manner of Gesture and Pronunciation in all Points, wherewith it was delivered at first ; and of so stupendious a Judgment, that nothing escaped his Knowledge : And for the Truth of all this, he appeals to above two thousand Witnesses, that were still alive, and had known him. And speaking of his Death, which he attributes to an Amour, he tells us, That it was in the 32 Year of his Age ; that the whole Court went in Mourning for him ; that the Epitaphs and Elegies that were composed upon his Death, if collected, would exceed the Bulk of *Homer's* Works, and that his Picture was still to be seen in the most of the Bed-Chambers and Galleries of the *Italian* Nobility, representing him upon Horseback, with a Lance in the one Hand, and a Book in the other.

Dempster, who was cotemporary with him, and a Professor of the Civil Law at *Bononia* in *Italy*, agrees as to the most of what we have said of him ; but he tells us (*a*), That he was for some Time at *Geneva*, as he was on his Travels to *Italy*, and that they offered him a considerable Salary, if he would remain with them ; but that he refused it, and that no Man offered to detract from his just Praises, but *Trajan Boccalini* ; but that he being a Person of no Erudition, it was rather a Glory than any Disgrace upon him to be so treated by a Person of his Character : His Words are, *Ab unico Trajan Boccalinio maledicentissimo male exceptus est, sed cum in eo homine scurrilis dicacitas sine ulla eruditio mixtura sit, honor erit Crichtonio nostro a tam imperito violari.* Yet the same *Dempster* blames our Author very much, not for his boasting of the Endowments of his Mind, but for his affirming that he was descended from the Royal Family of *Scotland*. *Hanc sane ingenii ostentationem lubentius ferrem & fidentius praedicarem, quam possem pati jactabunde ad Scotiæ Reges genus ipsius referendum, nam inane est ea se gentis aut sanguinis gloria perperam arrogata venditare, cum tanta claritudo in tenui fortuna ridicula videatur, quare ut verum sit, familiam Cluniæ nobilem esse, ita illud mendacissimum, Reges Scotiæ Jacobi Crichtoni majores ullos extitisse.*

F f f

Many

(a) Hist. Eccles. Gen. Scot. ubi supra.

Anno 1585.

Many Poems and Epitaphs were composed upon him, but I shall only insert three of them, that I have seen. The first is that of our own Countryman Dr. John Johnston, in his Inscriptions upon our Heroes, who makes him die in the Year 1581.

JACOBUS CRITONIUS CLUNIUS.

Musarum pariter ac Martis Alumnus, omnibus in studiis, ipsis etiam Italica admirabilis, Mantua a Duci Mantuani nocturnis infidiis occisus est, Anno Christi 1581.

ET genus & censem dat *Scotia*, *Gallia* pectus
Excolit: admirans *Itala* terra vitum,
Ambit, & esse suum vellit; gens amula vitam
Abstulit; an satis hoc dicat ut illa suum.
Mantua habet cineres scelus execrata nefandum,
At tumuli tanto gaudet honore tamen.

The other is by GEORGIUS ROTINUS an *Italian*.

IGnoto latuit *Phœnix Critonius* ævo,
Funereis postquam *Mantua* mersit aquis.
Scilicet ut surgat redivivus in æthera *Phœnix*,
Auxilium posset qui dare nullus erat.
Famigeras iterum *Critonius* exit in auras
Et volat ingenio docta per ora virum.
Addit imperio mansuras *Dædalus* alas,
Et penna has pennas imperialis habet.

The last is by JULIUS RANCONIUS, another *Italian*.

FERT præjudicium sapiens *Critonius* annis
Dum vincit roseis tempora cana comis
Hinc parat infidias ætas quibus illa recedat
Invida quæ tantum nollet habere virum.
Ait iterum superat languens fera secula, namque
Quæ superest, famam non gelida urna capit.
Ingenio *Phœnix*, *Phœnicis* sorte novare
Debuit occiduum non moritura dies.

I know nothing of this Author that is extant, but two Poems, one in Praise of the City of *Venice*, and the other addressed to *Aldus Minutius*. Both which are extant in the first Volume of the *Delitia Poetarum Scoticorum*.

Dempster gives us the following Catalogue of his Works, where it plainly appears, that he makes three Books out of that Placard, which he affixed upon the Gates of St. *John* and St. *Paul's* Churches in *Padua*.

The

An. 1583.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *O DÆ ad Laurentium Massam plures.*
- II. *Laudes Patavinæ, Carmen ex tempore effusum, cum in Jacobi Moysii Cornelii domo experimentum ingenii coram tota Academia frequentia non sine multorum stupore ficeret.*
- III. *Ignorationis Laudatio, extempore Thema ibidem redditum post sex horarum disputationes, ut præsentes somnia potius sovere quam rem se veram videre affimarint, ait Manutius.*
- IV. *De appulsi suo Venetias. Vid. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. Vol. I. Pag. 268.*
- V. *Oda ad Aldum Manutium. Vid. Decl. Poet. Scot. Vol. I. Pag. 269.*
- VI. *Epistola ad Diversos.*
- VII. *Prefationes solennes in omnes scientias sacras & profanas.*
- VIII. *Judicium de Philosophis.*
- IX. *Errores Aristotelis.*
- X. *Armis an Literæ præstant, Controversia oratoria.*
- XI. *Refutatio Mathematicorum.*
- XII. *A Comedy in the Italian Language.*

T H E

LIFE of Sir RICHARD MAITLAND of Lithington, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

SIR Richard Maitland of Lithington was Son to William His Birth; Maitland of Lithington (a), and Margaret Seaton, Parentage and Education, n^o. Daughter to George Lord Seaton, the second of that Name, having finished the Course of his Studies in Philosophy and the *Belles-Lettres* at the University of St. Andrews, he went over to France, where he studied the Laws; and upon his Return, became a great Favourite of King James IV. and in the Books of *Sederunt* is marked an Extraordinary Lord of the Session in 1553, and was admitted an Ordinary Lord of the Session (b) upon the 12th of November 1561, it being then customary to be first admitted Extraordinary, and then Ordinary Lords. In 1563, He is made Lord of the Session, and Privy Council; in all which honourable Stations he continued till 1583, Lord Privy Seal.

the Year 1584. In which Year, upon the first Day of July he resigned his Post as Lord of the Session, having been upon the 13th of December 1583, indulged by the Lords of the Session to come or not as he pleased, by Reason of his great Age, but now permitted to demit for altogether by a Letter under King James V's Hand, bearing, that he had served his Grand-sir, Good-sir, Good-dame, his Mother, and himself faithfully in many publick Offices, and now greatly disabled by Age ; he demitted in Favours of Sir Lewis Ballanden of Auchnouï Justice Clerk, reserving the Fees and Profits of his Place during Life : And this is the first Instance of a Lord of Session's being permitted to demit in Favours of another.

*An Account
of his Works.* There are several MSS extant of this learned Lawyer's, of which I shall give the Reader a brief Account. In the Library of the Right Honourable, the Earl of Winton, there is a Genealogical History of that Noble Family, under the following Title, *The Chronicle and Historie of the House and Surname of Seaton unto the Moneth of November, in the Zeir of God, an thousand five hundereth fifty ancht Zeirs ; collectit, writ and set furth be Sir Richard de Maitland of Leithingtoun Knicht, Douchter Sonne of the said Hous.* This MS. having been communicated to me by the present Earl, I shall give the Reader a brief Account of this Noble Family.

Our Author observes, that there was no Surname in Scotland before Malcolm Kenmore's Time, but the Father's Name, as *John William*, or *Williamson*, or *William M Alexander*, which Custom is observed till this Day in the Highlands ; but that King gave them other Surnames, either from their Offices or Lands ; and amongst those who had their Surname from their Lands was the first Founder of this Family, who was called *Seaton* from his being Master of a Town upon the Sea Coast. The first of which Name that is mentioned in Records, is *Dongal* or *Dougal*, who flourished in the Reign of King *Alexander I.* and married *Janet Quincy*, Daughter to *Roger Quincy* Earl of *Winton*, and Constable of *Scotland*. His Son was *Scher Seaton*, who flourished in the Reign of King *David* : His Son *Alexander* is Witness in a Charter of King *David I.* to *Walter de Riddcl*, his Son *Philip* died in the 14th Year of King *William*, from whom he got a new Charter of Infeftment of the Lands of *Seaton*, *Winton* and *Winchburgh* : The Tenor of which is as follows.

Willielmus Dci Gratia Rex Scotorum, Episcopis, Abbatibus,
Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Ministris : &
omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae sua ; Clericis & Laicis salutem.
Sciatis presentes & futuri me concessisse & hac Carta mea confirmasse
Philippo de Seaton terram quæ fuit patris sui sciz. Seaton, Winton,
Winchelburgh tenendam sibi & heredibus suis de me & heredibus
meis in feudo & hereditate, in bosco & plano, in terris & aquis in
pratis & pascuis, & in omnibus earundem terrarum justis pertinentiis,
cum sacca & socca, thol & them infangentheif, cum furca & soffa,
libere & quiete, plenarie & honorifice, per servitium unius militis.
Testantibus

Testantibus D. Davide Fratre meo Comite de Huntingtoun, Duncano Justitiario, Richardo de Morvit Constabulario, Waltero Olifero Justitiario, Alano Dapifero, Waltero de Berkley Camerario, Wilhelmo de Lindsay, Richardo de Munfer, Joanne de Lundun apud Strivling. He married *Helen*, Daughter to the Earl of *Mirch*.

His Son *Alexander Seaton* died in the 46 Year of King *William's* Reign, which was the Year of our Lord 1211, and King *William* gave to him a new Charter of Infestment of his Lands of *Seaton, Winton and Winchburgh*, the Tenor of which is as follows.

Willielmus Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum, Episcopis Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Praepositis, Ministris & omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae sua; Clericis & Laicis salutem. Sciat is presentes & futuri me concessisse & hac Carta mea confirmasse Alexander filio Philippi de Seaton terram quae suit Philippi patris sui scilicet Seaton, Winton & Winchelburgh tenendam sibi & hereditibus suis de me & heredibus meis in feudo & hereditate, in boscho & plano, in terris & aquis, in pratis & pascuis, in Moriis & Moresfis in Stagnis & Molendinis per rectas divisas predicularum terrarum, & cum omnibus aliis ad predictas terras iuste pertinentibus cum sacca & socca, cum tol & them & infangentheif, cum furca & foja, libere & quiete, plenarie honorifice, per servitium unius militis sicut carta mea patri suo inde facta testatur. Testibus Hugone Cancellario meo, Willhelmo de Morvel Constabulario, Roberto de Quinsi, Alano filio Walteri Dapifero, Philippo de Vallence Camerario, Sicro de Quinci, Wilhelmo de Haia, Joanne de Hastings, Roberto de Berkley, Davide de Haia, Wilhelmo Flandrensi, Herberto Marescallo, apud Forfar XVI Die Junii. He married *Jean*, Daughter to *Walter Barclay*, Chamberlain to King *William*.

To *Alexander* succeeded his Son *Bartime*, who married *Margaret*, Daughter to *William Cuming* Great Justice : To this *Bartime* Patrick Earl of *March* gave the Lands of *Rochlaw*, which Gift was confirmed by King *William* : He died in the Reign of King *Alexander II*.

To *Bartime* succeeded his Son *Adam*, a Master Clerk, who married *Janet Gifford*, Daughter to *Hugh Lord Yezter* : He died in the Reign of King *Alexander III*.

To *Adam* succeeded his Son *Christal*, who married *Maud Piercie*, Daughter to *Ingram Piercie* : He died in the Year of our Lord 1279.

To him succeeded his Son *Christal* or *Christopher Seaton*, who was one of those Worthies that join'd Sir *William Wallace* in the Defence of his Country against the *English*; he was obliged to leave his own House, and to retire for Shielter to the Forrest of *Jedburgh*; during which Time he performed many brave Actions against the *English*; amongst the rest, with 40 of his Name and Friends, he defeat Eight score of them, the Particulars of which Action are at large described in the History of Sir *William Wallace*: He married *Agnes*, Daughter to *Patrick Earl of March*, and died



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before Sir *William Wallace* was betrayed. His Son Sir *Christopher* was one of the bravest Gentlemen of his Age, and was called, *The good Sir Christopher*, for the many brave Actions that he did, in Defence of his Country, against the *English*; for he was one of the first who joined King *Robert Bruce*, and was present at his Coronation in the Month of *April* at *Scoon*, in the Year 1306. And at the Battle of *Methven*, when the King was taken Prisoner, and the *English* were in Derision, calling to the *Scots* to rescue their new King: Sir *Christopher*, with his Followers, came to the Place where the King was, and struck the Fellow dead with his own Hand, who had the King in his Arms, and set him at Liberty. For this, and his other noble Actions, the King knighted him, and gave him his Sister *Christian Bruce* in Marriage, with the Honour of adding to his Arms the double Tressure of *Flour de Lis*; the paternal Coat of this noble Family being (*a*) *Or, three Crescents with a double Treasure, counterflowered Gules*. At length this brave Gentleman was taken Prisoner by the *English* in the Castle of *Lindores*, and beheaded upon a little Eminence or rising Ground hard by *Dumfries*, where, not long afterwards, King *Robert* caused found a Chappel in Honour of the blessed Virgin, and in Commemoration of Sir *Christopher* and his Sister, allowing a yearly Pension of five Pound Sterling to a Priest for saying Mass for their Souls, as it appears from the Charter of Erection which is in the Lawyers Library; where, amongst other Expressions, is this; *Quia Christophorus miles dilectus, mortuus est in servitio nostro, & Christiana Bruce sponsa sua, nostra dilecta soror*. That is to say, Because our beloved Knight *Christopher* died in our Service, and that *Christian Bruce* his Wife was our beloved Sister. The *English* not only took this brave Gentleman's Life, but they forefaulted him of all his Lands, both in *Scotland* and *England*: And *Dugdale* tells us (*b*), That his *English* Estate was of as great Value as that which he had in *Scotland*.

To good Sir *Christopher* succeeded his Son Sir *Alexander*, not only in his Estate which was restored to him by the King, but likewise in his Valour and Loyalty; and I have seen an Indenture in the Year of our Lord 1308, wherein this Sir *Alexander*, Sir *Gilbert Hay* and Sir *Neil Campbell* agree upon defending King *Robert Bruce's* Right to the Crown, to the last Minute of their Lives; and this they solemnly swore to do upon the Sacrament at *Cambuskenneth*, and their Seals are appended to it in green Wax, with the Seal of *Galfrid Abbot of Cambuskenneth*. The Words of this Indenture are,

Conventum fuit & concordatum inter nobiles Dominum Alexandrum de Seaton, militem & Dominum Gilbertum de Haya, militem & Dominum Nigellum Campbell, militem apud Monasterium de Cambuskenneth, 9 Septembris, qui tacta sacrosancta Eucharistia magnoq[ue] juramento dato jurarunt se debere libertatem regni & Roberti nuper Regem coronatum contra omnes mortales Francos, Anglos

(a) Vid. Mr. Niebel's *Marks of Cadency*, Pag. 189. (b) Tom. 2. Pag. 736.

Anglos & Scotos defendere usque ad ultimum terminum vita*ipsorum.*

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This brave Gentleman was killed opposing *Edward Balliol* at his first landing at *Kinghorn*, as our Author says ; but our Historians say, that it was at the Battle of *Duplin*, both which happened in the Year 1332, being the second Year of King *David Bruce's Reign*. This Gentleman married *Isobel McDuff*, Daughter to *Duncan McDuff Earl of Fife*, and for his Valour and Loyalty got several Charters, besides these of Confirmation of his ancient Heritage, erecting it not only in a free Barony, but in *Liberam warrenam in perpetuum*, discharging all Persons to hunt, hawk or fish within the Barony, without Consent or Allowance of him and his Successors, dated at *Berwick* the 10th of *April*, the 16th Year of King *Robert Bruce's Reign* ; and by another Charter of the same Date, the Town of *Seaton* is made a free Burgh of Barony ; and by a Charter at *Dumfermling*, Date the 16th of *January*, the 18th Year of his Reign, he grants to the said Town of *Seaton* the Liberty of having a weekly Market every Lord's Day after Mass : This King likewise grants to this Sir *Alexander* several Lands, such as those of *Fauside*, *Elphinstone*, and that Part of the Barony of *Tranent* possessed by the *Ferrars*, and the Lands of *Dundass*, with the *villa Passagii Reginae*, or the *Queen's Ferry* : And by another Charter he gives him the whole Superiority of the Barony of *Cragie* ; all which Charters I have seen in the present Earl of *Winton's Custody*. But to show what the *French Language* was at that Time, I shall here insert a Copy of a *French Charter* to this Sir *Alexander*, of the Lands of *Barns*, " Robt. par la Grace de Dieu, d' Escose, a toutis les benes " gentz de tute sa Tre salutz, sachez, gen la p'sence de nre plein " consail a vomes gnate, qe por nule ordenance rep'se qe fa puise " faire deforenant de noz demandes, qe la donn qe noz avoms " fet a nra Foial, a Loial *Alexandre de Seton*, Chevalier, por son " bon service en *Hierland* e en *Escorse* de tre del *Bernes*, oue les " aportenances pres de *Hadingtone*, de la place diu molyn entre " *Hadyngton* ales sonemes q'est appelle *Bestmillne* he fa teigne ferma " e estable a towz jours en teismignance de quen Chose acetees noz " Cres a voms fet mettre nre seal pces. Tesmoignes le Honourable " pier en Dieu sire *William* par la Grace de Dieu Evesq's de *Seint Andrews*, *Duncan Count de Fyfe*, *Thomas Randolph Count de Muriffe* Seign de val de *Annande de Manne* *Walter Seign de Escosso*, *James Seign de Douglash et Robr. de Keth* Chevaliers. Done " a *Berwick sur Twede*, la XXVI Jour de Maiz L'An de nre rgne " quatorzieme.

By this Charter we find, that this Gentleman had been very serviceable to the King in *Ireland*.

To this Sir *Alexander* succeeded his Son Sir *Alexander*, who was the famous Gouvernour of the Castle of *Berwick*, who suffered his two Sons to be hanged by King *Edward*, when he laid Siege to the Town of *Berwick*, rather than betray his King and Country : The

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History of his Valour, and his Behaviour on this extraordinary Occasion, is fully related by all our Historians; but our Author blames them extremely for their making his Lady to be the main Occasion of this Heroick Action; whereas he says, the contrair is plain from her Speech to him in her Chamber, after that barbarous Action had been committed by King *Edward*: But whatever Truth is in this, it is certain, that this Lady, whose Name was *Christian Chayne*, deserves to have her Name transmitted to Posterity, with the largest Encomiums for her Behaviour upon this Occasion. She bore four Sons to him, *Thomas* and *William*, who were put to Death at *Berwick* by King *Edward*; *Alexander* who succeeded to his Father, and *John* who married the Heiress of *Parbroth*: Upon which our Author takes the Occasion of giving an Account of the Family of *Parbroth* from their first Rise till the Year 1580. This Sir *Alexander* died towards the latter End of King *David*'s Reign, having lived to a great Age, and lies buried in the Church of *Seaton*.

To this Sir *Alexander* succeeded his Son Sir *Alexander* the Third of that Name, who lived in the Reign of King *Robert I.* of the Race of *Stewart*: Our Author does not tell us whom he married, but he says, that *Allan Lord of Winton* ravished a Daughter of his in the Year 1335. His Son Sir *Alexander* the Fourth of that Name married *Jean Haliburton of Dirlton*, and lived to a good Age, and was buried in the Church of *Seaton*.

His Son Sir *William* was created Lord *Seaton* by King *Robert III.* He married *Katharin Sinclair*, a Daughter of *Hermiston's*, with whom he had seven Daughters and two Sons; his eldest Daughter was married to the Lord *Darnly*, his second to the Lord *Kennedy*, the third to the Predecessor of the Earl of *Airly*, the fourth to the Predecessor of the Lord *Carlisle*, the fifth to *Haddin of Gleneghies*, the sixth to *Hamilton of Preston*, and the seventh to *Lauder of Pople*; he designed to have married his eldest Son *John* to the Heretrix of *Gordon and Strathbogie*; but he being in Love with a Daughter of the Earl of *March's*, he married her privately without his Father's Consent; and he having the Ward of that Lady's Marriage from the King, he gave her to his second Son *Alexander*, who had two Sons with her, *Alexander*, the first Earl of *Huntly*, and *William*, who married the Heiress of *Meldrum*. This *Alexander Seaton* first Earl of *Huntly* married *Giles Hay* Heretrix of the *Enzie*, and several other Lands, and had but one Son with her, *Alexander Seaton of Touch and Tilibody*, of whom the present Laird of *Touch* is lineally descended; but having married for his second Wife *Margaret Crichton*, Daughter to the Lord *Crichton*, by her Persuasion he gave all his Lands of *Strathbogie*, the *Enzie*, &c. to her Son *George*, and made him Earl of *Huntly*. Upon this Occasion our Author makes a Digression concerning the Succession of the Families of *Huntly*, *Touch*, *Meldrum*, *Sutherland*, and other Branches of this Family: This Lord *William* died in a good Age, and lies buried in the *Cordelier Friars at Haddington*, to which

which he mortified six Load of Coals weekly from his Coal Pit at ^{An. 1586} *Tranent*, and forty Shillings annually out of his Lands of *Barns*.

To Lord *William* succeeded his Son Lord *John*, who was made Master of the Household to King *James I.* and sent by that Monarch to *France* to accompany his Daughter, who was married to the *Dauphin* upon the 24th of June 1436. After his Return to *Scotland* he died, and lies buried in the Church of *Seaton*, in the Isle founded by his Mother; he had a Daughter who was married to the Earl of *Marischal*.

To Lord *John* succeeded his Son Lord *George* in the 9th Year of his Age; the Lord *Crichton* being then Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, got him in keeping, which highly displeased his Mother, the Laird of *Johnston* falling in Love with his Mother, found the Means to convoy him secretly out of the Castle to his Country Seat at *Lochwood* in *Annandale*, and afterwards restored him to his Mother; which was so obliging to her, that he obtained his Design, and got her in Marriage. This Nobleman was a Person of great Hospitality; he was twice married, first to the Daughter and Heir of *John Earl of Buchan* Constable of *France*, who was killed at the Battle of *Vernoyl*, with whom he had two Sons, *John* and *Dugald*, and a Daughter called *Christian*: *John* was married to a Daughter of the Lord *Lindsay of Bayars*, who bore to him three Sons and one Daughter: *Dougald* his second Son died without Issue, and his Daughter *Christian* was married to *Hugh Douglass of Corehead*; his second Lady was *Christian Murray*, Daughter to the Laird of *Tilli-bardin*, with whom he had no Issue: He died in the Reign of King *James III.* and lies buried in the Quire of the *Black Friars* of *Edinburgh*, to whom he mortified 20 Merks annually, to be payed out of the Lands of *Hartside* and the *Clints*.

To this Lord *Gebrige* succeeded *George* the second of that Name, Son to *John Mastet of Seaton*, who died in his Father's Time. This Nobleman was a Person of great Learning, and was well seen in Philosophy, Theology, Musick and the Mathematicks, especially in Astrology and Musick, and a great Lover of all learned Men, but was much addicted to his Pleasures, having had many natural Sons and Daughters. After his Marriage he went to the University of St. *Andrews*, where he studied for some Years, and from thence to the University of *Paris*, where he studied likewise for several Years: As he was going to *France*, he was taken by a *Dunkirk* Privateer, that robbed and spoiled him of all that belonged to him; for which, upon his Return to *Scotland*, he bought a Ship called the *Eagle*, which he caused to be well mann'd, and maintained them upon his own Expences for several Years cruizing upon the Coast of *Dunkirk*, to the great Damage of the Inhabitants, and of his own Estate, being obliged to mortgage several of his Lands for that Purpose. He married the Earl of *Argyle's* eldest Daughter, who bore to him three Sons, *George*, who succeeded him, *Robert*, who died an Officer in the *French* Service in the Castle of *Millain*, who

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had two Sons, *William* and *Alexander*; the last of which was married to *Janet Sinclair* Heretrix of *Norrig* and third of *Moram*: His third Son died without Issue. He had likewise two Daughters, the eldest of which, *Margaret*, was married to *William Maitland* of *Lithington*, and was our Author's Mother; and the second, *Katharin*, died a Nun of the Sisters of the *Sheins* near *Edinburgh* in the 78 Year of her Age. He builded the Place of *Winton*, and quartered the Earl of *Buchan*'s Arms with his own, as representing that Family by his Grand-mother. He died in the 20th Year of the Reign of King *James IVth*, and lies buried in the Quire of the Church of *Seaton*, at the High Altar.

To him succeeded his Son *George*, the Third of that Name; a wise and valiant Nobleman, and in great Esteem with King *James IV*. By his wife and prudent Management he redeemed all the Lands that had been wadset by his Father, and was killed at the Battle of *Floudon*, fighting for his King and his Country in the Year 1513. He married *Jean Hepburn*, Daughter to *Patrick Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell*, who bore to him three Sons and a Daughter: The eldest of his Sons *George* died an Infant; the second, called also *George*, succeeded to his Father, the third *Archibald* died in the 15th Year of his Age. His Daughter *Marion* was first married to *Arthur Master* of *Borthwick*, to whom she had no Children: After his Dearth she married *Hugh Earl of Eglington*. This Nobleman's Corps was brought from *Floudon*, and buried beside his Father in the Quire of the Church of *Seaton*. His Daughter had several Children to the Earl of *Eglington*, who were all of them honourably married, and his Lady remained a Widow all her Life, performing many noble Acts of Charity, of which our Author gives a long Account.

George, the Fourth of that Name, was a Nobleman much given to all Sorts of Recreation, but withal very frugal in his Expences, having purchased several Lands to his Estate, and was, as all his Predeceisors had been, firm and loyal to his King and Country, for which the *English* burnt his Palace ar *Seaton*, spoiled and plundered the Church, raking away all the Bells, Organs and Vestments belonging to the Altar, in the Month of *May* 1544. And the next Year, upon the 17th of *July* he died, and was buried in the Abbacy of *Culross*; but after the *English* were expelled the Country, he was transported from *Culross* to the Church of *Seaton*. He was twice married, first to *Elizabeth Hay*, Daughter to Lord *John Hay* of *Tester*, who bore to him two Sons, and five Daughters: His eldest Son *George* succeeded to him, his second Son *John* married the Heretrix of *Carriston*; his eldest Daughter *Jean* died in the second Year of her Age, the second, called *Marion*, was married to *John Earl of Monteith*, the third, called *Margaret*, was married to the Laird of *Restalrig*, and died without Children; the fourth, *Beatrix*, was married to the eldest Son and Heir of Sir *Walter Ogilvie* of *Duntagus*, and the fifth, *Helenor*, to *Hugh Master of Sommervel*.

His

His second Lady was a *French Woman*, who came to *Scotland* with Queen *Mary*, in the Station of one of her Maids of Honour, and was called *Marie Piers*, who had two Sons to him, and one Daughter. To this Nobleman succeeded, as we have said, his Son *George*, the Fifth of that Name; he was sent by his Father, when young, to *France*, where he had his Education; and upon his Father's Death he returned to *Scotland*, and married *Iobel Hamilton*, Daughter to Sir *William Hamilton* of *Sanquhar*, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and Gouvernour of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and of *Katharin Kennedy*, Daughter to the Earl of *Cassils*; in the Year 1557. He was one of the Ambassadors sent over to *France* by the Estates of Parliament, to negotiate the Marriage betwixt Queen *Mary* and the *Dauphin of France*, which was agreed to, and performed in the Church of *Notre-Dame at Paris*, upon the 24th of April 1558: And for his good Service done in this Negotiation, the King of *France* made him one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, with a yearly Pension of 200 Franks, and gave him a rich Present of Silver-Plate: All which is instructed by the Writs of the Family, still extant in the Custody of the present Earl. After this he returned to *Scotland*, and lived privately at his Palace of *Seaton* till the Year 1560, that the *English* entred the Country with an Army of 2000 Horse and 6000 Foot, upon which he retired to the Queen's Army at *Leith*, and the *English* burnt his Palace of *Seaton*. The Lords of the Congregation having risen in Rebellion against Queen *Mary*, and imprisoned her in the Castle of *Lochleven*, he joined with such of the Nobility as declared themselves for the Queen at *Hamilton*, and her Majesty putting an entire Trust in him, not only upon the Account of his Family, which had never been stain'd with Rebellion, but upon his own personal Merit, she acquainted and intrusted him with her Design of making her Escape from *Lochleven*, which he faithfully and successfully performed upon the second Day of May 1568. He was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Langside*, where he was one of the Commanders of the left Wing of the Queen's Army: Not long after this he was set at Liberty, and the King of *Spain* having ordered the Duke *D'Alva* to supply the Queen's Friends against the Rebels, and he having accordingly sent some Money and warlike Provisions to them, this Nobleman was sent Ambassador from the Queen, with the Consent of her Friends, to the Duke *D'Alva*, to return her Majesty's Thanks and theirs, and to try what further could be done for her: Accordingly he went over to *Flanders* in the Year 1570, and was very civilly and kindly received by the Duke, notwithstanding that he was naturally of a sullen and morose Temper; and having by his dexterous Management gained the Duke's Favour, he told him (*a*), That he had a Project, which if he would concur and assist him in, would not only be a considerable Piece of Service done to the King of *Spain* his Master, but to his Royal and distressed Mistris Queen *Mary*, and that was, that he

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should

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should assist him with Money, to gain over to his Service all the *Scots* that were in the Service of the *Dutch*, which he would undertake to do, having the Character of representing his Royal Mistress, and that he would summon them to serve him upon their Allegiance, and such of them as would not yield in Loyalty, he would endeavour to gain by Money; and all that he required of him for this Piece of Service, was, that Ten thousand Men should be sent to *Scotland* for the Queen's Service. The Duke was very well pleased with the Proposal, and acquainted his Master the King of *Spain* of it, as a Matter of great Import for putting an End to the Wars of the *Netherlands*; but because the Duke could not spare so many Men at that Time, he was willing to advance him Money for paying Ten thousand Men for half a Year. This being agreed betwixt them, my Lord *Seaton* went straight to *Holland*, and by his prudent and wise Management, was just upon the Point of effectuating his Design, when the States were informed of it; and being brought before them, and Witnesses called to prove what was laid to his Charge, he told them that he was Ambassador from the Queen of *Scotland*, and that such Mercenary Rascals as were brought to witness against him, ought not to be sustained, and he appealed to the Lord Conservator as Judge ordinary for his Queen: Upon this they threatened him with the Rack, unless he discovered his Accomplices; but he boldly told them, that they durst not do it, being the Ambassador of a crowned Head, it being against the Law of Nations to treat Persons of his Character in such an unworthy Manner; and at the same Time the *Scots* Officers and Soldiers surrounded the House, and demanded the Prisoner, otherwise they would go in a Body and join the *Spanish* General; but if they would set my Lord at Liberty, they would continue faithful in their Service. Upon which he was set at Liberty, and the King of *Spain* upon the failure of this Attempt, could not be prevailed upon to advance the six Months Pay he had promised, his own Affairs in *Flanders* leaving no Room for his Assistance to Foreigners. Our Historians have represented this Action as a foolish Act, and inconsiderate Attempt, and that when he was brought before the States, he told them that he declined such infamous Rebels as they were to be his Judges, and that when the Rack was presented to him, he did not plead upon the Privilege of an Ambassador, but said, that it was a mere Mockery, and that they durst not proceed in earnest: But this is altogether improbable, for had he been so foolish as they represent him, it is not to be thought that ever he would have been employed in any publick Negotiations afterwards; whereas by an authentick Extract of a Licence to him and his Son, in the present Earl of *Winton's* Custody, under the Hand of a publick Notar, King *James VI.* that excellent and wise Prince, grants the Liberty to this Lord *George*, and his Son *Alexander* Lord Commendator of *Pluscardin* to go to *France*, or other Parts beyond Seas, and there to remain for seven Years if they thought fit upon the King's Affairs; and his Majesty takes

takes his Lands, Vassals, Tenants, and others belonging unto him under his Protection, and discharges all Actions Criminal or Civil against them, raised or to be raised during their Absence: And this is given under the King's Hand at *Stirling* upon the 29th Day of *October 1583*. And accordingly he went in Quality of Ambassador to *Henry III. King of France*, and performed what was committed to his Charge, to the Satisfaction of both the Kings; and returning to his own Country, died in great Honour and Reputation in the Year 1585. He had by his Lady four Sons and one Daughter; his eldest Son *Robert* who succeeded to him, was created Earl of *Winton* by King *James VI*. His second Son Sir *John Seaton of Barns* was one of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, and Lord High Treasurer of *Scotland*. His third Son, *Alexander Earl of Dumfierling*, and Chancellor of *Scotland*, we shall have Occasion to give an Account of afterwards: And his fourth Son Sir *William* was Sheriff of *Lothian*, and Warden of the *Scots* and *English* Borders. His Daughter *Margaret* was married to Lord *Claud Hamilton*, Son to the Duke of *Chatelherault*, and Mother to *James*, the first Lord *Abercorn*. Our Author ends his History of this noble Family with the Account of this Lord *Seaton*; to which I shall only add, that he builded the Palace of *Seaton* more magnificent than ever it had been before, after it had been thrice burnt by the *English*, and that he lies buried in the Church of *Seaton*, under a Marble Tomb, on which is engraven the following Epitaph, wrote by his Son the Chancellor.

D. O. M.

AD australe facelli hujus Latus condita sunt corpora *Georgii Setonii, & Isabellae Hamiltoniae*, nobilissimarum & æterna Memoria dignissimarum animarum domicilia.

Georgii hoc noniine quintus *Setonii* Dominus & Familia princeps *Latifundia* & rem a majoribus traditam, difficillimis Reipublicæ temporibus, honorifice tenuit & ampliavit, *Jacobo* quinto regnante natus, Adolescens cum in *Galiis* ageret patre optimo orbatus, ad suos reversus brevi post regni ordinum decreto eodem remittitur, ubique unus legatorum *Mariae Reginæ & Francisci Franciæ Delphini*: nuptias & antiqua *Gallorum Scotorumque* fædera sancivit, firmavitque, Dominum regressus religionis & sacrorum Innovatione bellis tum externis tum civilibus flagrantem patriam invenit, cum in *Scotia, Anglus, Gallusque, Germanus & Hispanus*, *Scoti* etiam inter se dimicarent. Ædes suas bis terve ab *Anglis* incensas & funditus deletas, devastatis etiam prædiis omnibus, in ampliorem denuo splendidioremque formam restituit, in omnem fortunam liber semper & intrepidus, trucidato a perditissimis hominibus Rege, acta in exilium Regina, a principum partibus, majorum more, semper constans stetit, sape in exilium actus, & bonis omnibus exutus, ejusmodi calamitates, fidei in patriam & veros principes testes sorti animo non modo tulit sed sprevit & superavit. Tandem ab *Jacobo* sexto, cuius auspiciis, prudentia &

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consiliis *Scotia* procellis omnibus & difficultatibus liberata, splendori suo restituta est, ipse etiam honorifice pro meritis acceptus & habitus, majorum suorum locum & dignitatem tenuit, primusque ab eo ad *Henr. III. Galliarum* Regem legatus cum amplissimis ad formandam amicitiam mandatis mittitur, quo in munere cum gratiam acceptamque utriusque principum operam navaret, lethalem ipsi mortem anteactæ vitæ labores adserunt, in patriam redit, intra mensem ad superos migrat VI. Id. Jan. Ann. Dom. MDLXXXV. ætat: circiter LV.

Domina *Isabella Hamiltonia* Nobilissimis parentibus nata, Patre Nibirum D. *Willielmo de Sanquhar*, equite & matre *Catharina Kennedie Caxillisia* comitis filia, ipsa forma, moribus, omnibusque tum animi tum corporis dotibus insignis, & inter æquales præstans, *Georgium hunc Setonii* Dominum maritum nacta, in adversis illi omnibus adjumento & sclatio, in prosperis ornamento fuit; conjugi charissimo viginti duos annos superestes, cum communibus liberis liberaliter & conjunctissime vixit, quicquid a marito fortunarum acceperat cum natis amanter communicavit, eorumque conatus omnes, & honesta studia bonis suis fovit & promovit, nec exiguo pietatis hujus & maternæ charitatis fructus vivens percepit liberorum muneribus dignitatibus & ornamentis ipsa quoque clarior & illustrior donec senio & articulorum doloribus morbisque afflita Deo animam reddidit. II. Id. Novem. Ann. Dom. MDCVI. Annum agens circiter LXXV.

Tam claris parentibus orta est hæc soboles *Robertus Setonius* primogenitus & primus *Wintonia* Comes hoc titulo ob propria & majorum merita a *Jacob sexto* ornatus.

Joannes Eques eidem Regi in primis charus, ab intimis consiliis, quæstura & pluribus muneribus auctus, in flore ætatis e vivis sublatus, liberis tamen relictis.

Alexander multis annis senator, & ab intimis consiliis tum princeps Senatus ab ipso ordine electus demum a Rege prudentissimo, qui primus *Scotiam*, *Angliamque* in unum contulit dominatum, utriusque Regni consiliorum particeps, *Fermiloduni* Comes, & Regni *Scotiae* factus est Cancellarius.

Willielmus Eques, *Louthonia* Vicecomes, & unus tum *Scotiae*, tum *Anglia* limitum e præfectis & procuratoribus.

Margareta Filia *Claudio Hamiltonio Pasleti* Domino nupta, *Jacobi* primi *Abercornii* mater, totiusque illius prosapiaæ fratribus sororumque dicti comitis fœcunda parent.

Hæc posteri norint, & tanti viri, spectatæque adeo fœminæ memoriam colant, virtutes æmulentur bonis moribus.

Magnorum virorum memoria non minus utilis est quam præsentia!

A. S. F. C. F. A. S. MDCX.

Mr. *Forbes* in his Preface to his Collections of the Decisions of the Lords of the Session tells us, that there is still in MS. a Collection of their Decisions made by our Author, from the 15th of December

1550,

1550, till the 30th of July 1565: And the Bishop of *Carlisle* gives us an Account of a large Volume of Poems wrote by him; wherein some of the most remarkable Revolutions towards the End of Queen *Mary's Reign* are passionately considered and reflected on, and the Miseries of the Civil War, which brought in the *French* on the one Side, and the *English* on the other Side, are recorded in a very lamentable Manner, showing how fatal the prevailing of the Auxiliaries on either Side may probably prove to the Liberties of *Scotland*; here is likewise a frank Admonition to the Earl of *Mar*, upon his being advanced to the Regency, wherein the great Wisdom and Loyalty of his Ancestors are recommended to his Imitation, and such a virtuous Conduct proposed, as the noble Poet thinks most becoming so high a Station; but he particularly dissuades him from calling in the *English* upon any Occasion whatsoever, and lays before him the ancient Behaviour of their *Saxon* Predecessors, who vanquished and enslaved those *Britons* who had craved their Assistance. In this Collection there are three Poems on the Case of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had fled into *Scotland* for Sanctuary, but was delivered back upon mercenary Terms. The first of these Poems is called, *An Exclamation made in England, upon the Deliverance of the Earl of Northumberland furth of Lochlevin; quho immediately thereafter was execute in York:* In which are a great many severe Things said on the Treachery of that Management. The second Poem is a Sort of a Reply to the foregoing; and is intituled, *The Answer to the English Ballad, tho' it is only a general Vindication of the Nation against the Villainy of a few mercenary Lords.* The third is a further Satyr against those mercenary Lords, who were concerned in that scandalous Fact, unworthy in it self, and contrary to the Practice and Generosity of their Ancestors, who as he says, *Always acted honourably on the like Occasions, as might be instanced in the Cases of many great Lords, Dukes and Kings, who in their Distress fled to Scotland for their Refuge, and were protected.*

Quose Luc was gude they came not at Lochlevin: This excellent Person died upon the first of April 1586, much lamented by all that knew him; being a Man of an excellent Temper, great Learning, a loyal Subject to his Prince and Country, a good Lawyer and Poet, and well seen in the Antiquities of our Nation:

His Death
and Charac-
ter.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **T**HE History of the Family of Winton MS. penes Com. de Winton, in 4to.
- II. **T**he Decisions of the Lords of the Session from 15th of December 1550, till the 30th of July 1565 MS. in Bibl. J. C. Edin. in Folia.
- III. Poems on several Subjects MS. penes, D. Sam. Pepy's Armig. in Folia.



T H E

LIFE of Sir WILLIAM MAITLAND of Lithington, Secretary to Queen Mary.

THIS Gentleman was eldest Son to Sir *Richard Maitland*, of whom we have given an Account: After he had finished the Course of his Studies in his own Country at the University of St. *Andrews*, he was sent by his Parents to *France*, where he studied the Civil Law, and was much favoured by Queen *Mary*, then married to the *Dolphin*. At his Return from *France*, he found the Country divided into Factions, upon the Account of the Reformation, and he joined with the Queen Regent against the Reformers; but in the Year 1559, when the Rebels besieged her at *Leith*, they were upon the Point of raising the Siege, had they not been encouraged by him, who in the Night-time came out of *Leith* and joined them; and at a Meeting of the Rebels at *Stirling* the same Year, it was agreed that he and *Robert Melvil*, Brother to the Laird of *Raith* should be sent to the Queen of *England* to represent their Case, and to implore her Aid and Assistance; and he was so successful in his Negotiation, that he brought them the joyful News of her firm Love and Favour to them and their Cause, with a Promise of a Supply of Men and Money to them, according to the Agreement that should be made betwixt the Duke of *Northfolk* and them, who was ordered to meet them at *Berwick*.

In the Beginning of the Year 1560, in a Meeting of the Rebels at *Cowpar* in *Fife*, they made Choice of him as one of the Commissioners to treat with the Duke of *Northfolk*; and having embarked upon the Coast of *Fife*, they came to *Berwick* about the Beginning of *February*, where an Agreement was made betwixt *Thomas Duke of Northfolk Earl Marischal of England*, and Lieutenant to the Queen's Majesty in the North, in Name and Behalf of the High and Mighty Prince *Elizabeth Queen of England* on the one Part, and the Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Lord *Ruthven*, and the Master of *Maxwell*, the Master of *Lindsay*, young *Lithington*, the Lairds of *Pitarrow* and Mr. *Henry Balnaves of Hallhill* on the other Part, in Name and Behalf of the Noble and Mighty Prince, *James Duke of Chatelherault*, as second Person of the Realm of *Scotland*, and the Lords joined with him: By which it is agreed (*a*),

The Sub-
stance of this
Treaty.

"That the Queen of *England* shall assist the *Scots* against the *French*, as long as the Queen was married to the *French King*,
"and a Year after; that she should immediately send Forces with all
"necessary Provisions to join the Forces of the Congregation for the
"expelling

(a) Vid. *Spots. Lib.* 3. Pag. 142.

" expelling of the *French Forces* out of *Scotland*; That her Majesty ^{An. 1572} should continue her Aid and Assistance ay and till the *French* were expelled; That what Forts were taken from the *French* should either be demolished, or delivered to the Duke of *Chatelherault*, and that the *English* shall not build any new ones without their Advice and Consent; That they shall provide her Majesty's Army and Fleet with Victuals as long as they remain in *Scotland*; That if the Realm of *England* shall be invaded by the *French*, they shall assist them at least with 1000 Horse, and 2000 Foot upon the Queen of *England*'s Charges; but if the Invasion should be upon the North of *England*, it should be upon their own Charges, and that they should continue in the Fields 30 Days, or so much longer as they are accustomed to abide in the Fields for Defence of *Scotland*; That the Earl of *Argyle* Lord Justice of *Scotland* should assist her Majesty in reducing to her Obedience the North Parts of *Ireland*, as it shall be agreed betwixt the said Earl and her Deputy for the Time; That Hostages should be delivered, being lawful Sons, Brethren or Heirs of the Nobility and Barons of *Scotland*, who should be exchanged every 6th or 4th Month as *Scotland* pleased: That these Articles, after the delivering of the Hostages, should be subscribed and sealed by the Duke of *Chatelherault*, and the Lords joined with, him in the Space of 20 or 30 Days at most, and that they should do all that in them lay to persuade the rest of the *Scots* Nobility to join them; That the said Duke and Nobility did not in the least withdraw their due Obedience to their Sovereign and her Husband, of which certainly they themselves were Judges". This Treaty bears Date at *Berwick* 17th of *February*, and was confirmed by the Queen of *England*, and a Patent under the Great Seal of *England* to the Duke and Nobility. The Lords of the Congregation on the other Hand, did ratify the same, by their Subscriptions at the Camp before *Leith* the 10th of *May* following. And by this Action; in which our Author had so great a Hand, he involved his Country in a most bloody War; but upon the Queen's Arrival in *Scotland*, he quit the Rebels, and was advanced by Queen *Mary* to be her Secretary, who sent him Ambassador to Queen *Elizabeth*, to acquaint her of her safe Arrival. *Spotswood* tells us (*a*), That he had Letters both from the Queen and the Nobility, that the Queen's Letter was only a Compliment, expressing the Love and Affection that she bore to her, as her Sister and nearest Kinswoman, and the Desire she had to continue in true and sincere Friendship with her. But in the Letter from the Nobility, they told her, "That the surest Way to preserve Friendship and true Amity amongst them two, was to declare the Queen of *Scotland* her nearest and lawful Heir to the Crown of *England*: This highly offended Queen *Elizabeth*, and when our Author urged to know her Mind in this Affair, she told him, I expected another Sort of Message from your Queen than this is

*He is sent
Ambassador
to England.*

*An Account
of this Am-
bassy.*

K k k

" which

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" which you have brought me, and do marvel that she should forget
" the Promise made before her coming out of *France*, touching the
" Ratification of the Treaty of *Leith*, which was, that how soon she
" returned to her own Country, she should give me a full and re-
" solute Answer: I have long enough suffered my self to be abused
" with fair Speeches, and now it had been Time, if she had regarded
" her own Honour, to have made good her Promises ". To this
the Secretary replied, That within a few Days after the Queen's
landing, he was employed in this Legation, and that the Queen his
Mistress had not as yet any Time to deliberate about the publick
Affairs of the State, being entirely taken up with admitting the
Noblemen that came to visit her, and congratulate her happy
Arrival in her own Kingdom, and settling the Affairs of Religion,
which her Majesty understood to be a Work of great Difficulty and
Importance : Neither had all the Noblemen come as yet to Court,
whom she designed to advise in Matters of State. Here the Queen
interrupted him, saying, " What need is there of Advice or Counsel
" to do that which by her Subscription and Seal she is bound to
" perform. To this the Secretary answered, That no Commission
" was given to him in that Matter, nor did the Queen his Mistress
" think that any Account would be required of him, and that she
" could very justly excuse her self for the Reasons above-mentioned.
" At length, falling upon the Affair of the Succession, she said, I
" have observed that you have often in your Discourse said, that
" your Queen is descended of the Blood Royal of *England*, and that
" I am obliged to love her, as being nearest to me of Blood of any
" other, which I neither will, or can deny; neither have I in any
" of my Actions (as the World knoweth) attempt any Thing against
" her Safety and Tranquillity, or her Kingdom ; yea those that are
" most intimate with me can witness, that even when I had just
" Cause of Offence given me, by her usurping the Title and Arms
" of *England*; I could never be induced to think, but that this was
" a politick Contrivance of our Enemies to breed Dissention amongst
" us: But however that be, I hope so long as I live, she shall not
" bereave me of my Kingdom, nor yet be able, if God shall bless
" me with Children, to impede their Succession : If it shall happen
" otherwise that I be taken away, she shall never find that I have
" prejudged the Right which she claimeth to the Kingdom of *En-*
" *gland*: What a Right it is, I have never been curious to know,
" nor do I purpose to search and examine it, but will leave the same
" to the Cognition of those whom it concerneth. This your Queen
" may assuredly expect at my Hands, that I shall never wrong her
" nor her Cause, if it be just, in the least Point. And I take God
" to witness, who heareth this our Conference, that next to my self,
" I know not any whom I would prefer to her, or who (if the Title
" fall to be controverted) might exclude her: You know who the
" Competitors are, but alas what Power or Force have these weak
" Creatures to attempt so great an Enterprize; always the Matter
" it

" it self is weighty, and of great Importance, which I will take Time ^{An. 1572.} 
" to think upon.

Some few Days after this, she called for our Author, and had a second Conference with him, wherein she told him, " That it seemed strange to her, how the Nobility at the Queen's first coming should put such a Request to her, since they knew that there was no Re-paration made for former Wrongs, and to desire that I should gratify their Queen, having received so great an Injury without any Amends made ; is it not in Effect to boast and threaten me if I take such a Course : I would have them think that I am strong enough for them at home, and want not Friends abroad that will maintain and defend my Right ". The Secretary told her, That in his first Speech he had clearly discovered the Intention of the Noblemen, who partly out of that Duty which they owed to their Sovereign, and the Defence of her Honour, and not of a Desire to confirm and assure the Peace begun betwixt the two Realms, they had made this Overture ; and that the Reason why they dealt so plainly with her, was not only the Experience they had of her Favour in Times past, but also the Respect of their own Safety : For if any should oppose the Queen's Right, and thereupon Wars should arise betwixt the two Kingdoms, they must needs be driven to hazard their Lives and Estates : Therefore they thought that such an Overture could not have been disagreeable to her, seeing it tended to the cutting off a War that might arise betwixt the two Nations, and of composing Differences by a firm and certain Peace. To this the Queen replied,

" 'Tis true, that if I had attempted any Thing to the Hurt of your Queen's Right, they might with Reason have required me to amend it ; but when I am yet in Health and Life, to desire me to prepare mine own Winding-sheet, is a Thing without Example ; nor hath the like ever been required at the Hand of any Prince : Yet I take in good Part the Meaning of your Lords, and am glad of the good Affection they bear to their Queen, and the Care they have to advance her Honour : I think it likewise Wisdom in them to foresee the Danger they may run into, and like well that they do abhor the shedding of Christian Blood, which, I confess, could not be avoided, if any Faction should arise and lay claim to the Crown ; but where or what is that Faction, or what Force can they have : But leaving these Things, suppose I had a Desire and Inclination to satisfie them, think you that I would rather gratify your Lords herein, than the Queen herself ? No, I will tell you, that I have many other Reasons that hinder me from taking such a Resolution. *First*, I know what a dangerous Thing it is to touch this String, and I have ever, upon great Respects, abstained from bringing in Question the Right of the Crown ; for so often hath the Controversie of Marriage lawful and unlawful, of legitimate and base born Children been agitated according as Mens Affections and Humors led them ; that even in regard of

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" those Discepcations, I have hitherto forborn to match with any Husband. Once at my Coronation I was married to this Kingdom, whereof always I carry this Ring for a Pledge (pointing to a Ring upon her Finger) and however Things go, I shall be Queen of England so long as I live, when I am dead, let them succeed who have the best Right : If your Queen hath it, I shall not wrong her in the least Point, and if it belong to another, it were not reasonable to desire me to do them an open and manifest Wrong : If there be any Law which may bar her Title, it is unknown to me, for I do not willingly think of these Matters; but if there be any such when I received the Crown, I swore to my People, that I would not change their Laws. Now where you say, That by declaring your Queen my Successor, our Affection should become more firm ; I rather fear that it should be the Seed of a most bitter Hatred : For think you that I will behold willingly the Preparation of my own Funerals ; it is natural to Princes to be jealous even of the Children that by Birth-Right are to succeed them : How did Charles VII. of France carry himself towards Lewis XI. and he again towards Charles VIII. or King Francis of late towards Henry who succeeded him : And is it probable that I should be otherwise disposed towards my Cousin, if once she shall be declared Heir unto my Crown ? No, be sure I shall have the same very Mind which Charles VII. showed to Lewis XI.

" There is another Thing which I esteem of an exceeding great Weight, I know the Inconstancy of the People, how they loth always the present Government, and have their Eyes continually set upon the next Successor ; and naturally there are more that look (as its said) to the Sun rising, than to the setting of the Sun, to omit other Examples, this I know by my own Experience : When my Sister Queen Mary reigned, how earnestly did a Number wish to see me placed in her Throne ? What a Desire had they of my Advancement, if I had but given my Countenance to their Practices, they would have refused no Peril in bringing the same to effect ? Now it may be that the same Persons are not of the same Mind towards me, as Children that dream that Apples are given them, are greatly joy'd ; but in the Morning when they are awaked, and find themselves deceived they fall a weeping : So they who loved me exceedingly when I was but called Elizabeth, and if perhaps I gave them any good Countenance, thought with themselves, how soon I was made Queen, they should be rewarded rather according to their own Conceit than any Service done to me : And now when they find that the Issue answereth not their Expectation, some of them it may be in Hope of a better Fortune, would not be displeased with a Change in the Government : For the greatest Wealth that ever any Prince had, or can have, is not able to satisfie the insatiable Covetousness of Men. And if this be our Case, that the Affections of our People are so easily changed, when we keep a greater Moderation in our Largeesses than " they

" they think we ought, or perhaps for some other light Cause they ^{An. 1572.} grow discontented ; what may we think shall come to pass when ~~the~~ feditious People have a certain Successor designed, to whom they may open their Griefs, and betake themselves, if they be in any Sort displeased : In what a Peril, think you, I should live, having so mighty neighbouring Princes to succeed me, to whose Grandeur how much I shall add by confirming her, Successor, so much I shall detract from mine own Security ; this Peril no Caution can assure, nor the Bonds of any Law avert : Princes also who live in Expectation of Kingdoms, do hardly contain themselves within the Limits of Right and Reason, surely I my self would never think my Estate assured, if once my Successor were known to the World". The Ambassador finding that he could not prevail with her at this Time, not many Days after had a third Conference with her, and desired to know what Answer he should return to the Nobility. " At this Time, says she, I have no Answer to give, but that I approve of the Affection and sedulous Care they have of their Sovereign's good Estate ; but the Matter is of such Weight, as I cannot on a sudden, or directly answer it. When your Queen shall perform her Promise concerning the Treaty of *Leith*, it will be Time to require a Proof of my Affection towards her ". The Ambassador resolving to put an End to this Affair, told her, That as he had said before, he had no Commission in that Business, and that in the Matter of the Succession he had shown more his own Judgment than the Mind of the Queen his Mistris : For he could never think the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Leith* to be a Thing of that Importance, as for the Delay or Refusal of that, the Queen of *Scotland* should be excluded, and all her Posterity from the Succession to the Crown of *England*. Neither will I now enquire by whom that Treaty was concluded, at what Time, in what Manner, by what Authority, and for what Cause it was done; for I have no Warrant to speak of those Things : But this I dare affirm, that albeit the Queen my Mistris, following her Husband's Direction, had ratified the Treaty, she should have found herself thereby so far interested, as she would, doubtless, used all Means to free herself of the same : And this I say, not in the Queen's Name, but only to make it seem, that our Noblemen have Reason to endeavour that all Debates and Controversies may cease, and a firm and perpetual Peace may be established. At length the Queen, after some other Reasonings, gave her final Answer, and it was agreed betwixt them, That the Queen of *Scotland* after this should abstain from using the English Arms, and from the Titles of the Crown of *England* and *Ireland* during the Life of Queen *Elizabeth* and her Posterity. That on the other Part, the Queen of *England* should oblige herself, and the Children begotten of her, to do nothing in Prejudice of the Queen of *Scotland*'s Succession.

After this our Author returned to *Scotland*, and was very serviceable to his Mistris against the violent and rebellious Proceedings of

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He returns
to Scotland,
and has a
Conference
with the Re-
formers.

the Reformers, who at that Time begun to have Assemblies and Meetings of their own ; upon which our Author having called some of the principal Persons before him, told them, That these Meetings of theirs gave just Grounds to her Majesty to suspect their Proceedings, since Subjects ought not to hold Assemblies or Meetings without the Knowledge and Permission of their Prince. To which they replied (a), That she understood that there was a Reformed Kirk within this Realm, and they had their Orders and appointed Times for meeting. It is true, says our Author, the Queen knows that well enough ; but the Question is, Whether such Conventions be by the Queen's Permission or Allowance : If the Liberty of the Kirk, say they, should depend on the Queen's Allowance or Disallowance, we are assured we shall be deprived not only of Assemblies, but also of the publick Preaching of the Gospel.

He opposes
the Book of
Discipline,
and their
Doctrine of
resisting
Princes.

The Secretary endeavoured to convince them that their Fears and Jealousies of the Queen were groundless ; but nothing could prevail with them. Not long after this, he had another Dispute concerning their Book of Discipline, which they would needs have the Queen ratifie ; and in their General Assembly in the Year 1564, he had a long Dispute with Mr. *Knox* concerning the Doctrine of Non-Resistance : And as Mr. *Calderwood* informs us, when he urged from the Writings of *Luther*, *Melanchton*, *Bucer*, *Musculus* and *Calvin*, the Lawfulness and Duty of Passive-Obedience and Submission to superior Powers, Mr. *Knox* told him, That the Citations that he brought from *Luther* and *Melanchton* were to be understood of the Anabaptists, who denied any Sort of Subjection of Christians to Magistrates, and the rest spoke only of Christians subject to Tyrants and Infidels that were so oppressed and dispersed, that they had not a sufficient Power to oppose them ; but a People assembled together in one Body of a Common-Wealth, to whom God had given a sufficient Power, they were obliged and ought to resist when Princes were in the wrong, and this he likewise applied to the Case of the primitive Christians, notwithstanding of the express Testimony of *Tertullian* to the contrary,

He is sent by
the Queen
to treat of
her Marriage
with the
Lord Darnly.

In the Year 1564, the Earl of *Murray* and he were appointed by the Queen to satisfie Queen *Elizabeth*'s Commissioners, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir *Thomas Randolph*, of the Reasonableness of her Marriage with the Lord *Darnly* ; and having met at *Berwick*, the English Commissioners urged the Marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*, upon which they promised that she should be declared the adoptive Daughter, Sister and apparent Heir of the Crown of *England* by Act of Parliament, and that a constant Amity and perpetual Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms for ever should be agreed to. To this our Author replied, That such a Match was below the Dignity of a Queen, who had in her Offer the Emperor's Son *Charles Duke of Austria*, the King of *Swedland*, the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Ferrara* ; and likewise he thought it below the Queen of *England* to propose

(a) *Udal's Life of Queen Mary*, Pag. 36. *Martyr d' la Royne d' Escosse*, Pag. 56.

propose such a mean Match to her nearest Kinswoman, a new made Earl, and a Subject of *England*; neither did the Earl of *Bedford* insist further upon it, he, as it is said, having Instructions from *Leicester* not to urge it, having some Expectations to gain Queen *Elizabeth* to himself, and so their Conference broke up, and nothing was done in it.

The Queen designing to marry the Lord *Darnly*, our Author was sent Ambassador to Queen *Elizabeth*, to acquaint her of the Queen's Resolution, and to satisfie her as to the Reasonableness of the Match, which that Princess violently opposed; and in this Negotiation he ^{An. 1572.} ^{He is sent Ambassador to England to acquaint Elizabeth of the Queen's Marriage.} acquitted himself with great Wisdom and Prudence, to the entire Satisfaction of the Queen, and the whole Nobility.

In the Year 1565, *David Rizio* being murdered, the Particulars of which we have given in the Life of the Lord *Ruthven*; the Secretary being suspected to have a Hand in this Murder, was turned out of his Place: But the Queen being convinced of his Innocency, ^{He is in Disgrace, as being suspected to have a Hand in Rizio's Murder, but is reinstated.} he was again made Secretary in the Year 1567: And the same Year we find him one of the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to examine and enquire (*a*) into the Jurisdiction, Privilege and Authority of the Church: When the Queen was imprisoned in *Lochleven*, he joined with the Lords of the Congregation, and became so great a Favorite of the Regent's, that at the Battle of *Langside*, he was one of the Officers of his Army, and he accompanied him to *York*, but it was thought, that he took him amongst with him, rather out of Fear than any Love that he had for him, knowing that the Bent of his Inclinations was for the Queen, and that no Man was more capable of serving her Friends in his Absence than he was; and this he found to be true, for they were no sooner arrived at *York*, but he wrote a Letter to the Queen, wherein he told her, that he had been brought up by the Regent, contrary to his Inclination; but that he hoped he might prove like the Mouse in the Fable, that did rid the *Lion* of his Snares, and accordingly he did her all the Services he could; for every Night he met with the Queen's Commissioners, and not only revealed to them what he knew, but assisted them with his best Advice. The Duke of *Northfolk* finding this, having met our Author one Day opportunely alone; after the common Complements were over, he fell upon the Business of Queen *Mary*, being the only Subject then talked of, and told him very frankly (*b*), That he had ever esteemed him a Man of good Sense, but that his Conduct at present agreed not with that good Opinion he had hitherto entertained of his Discretion; since he thought it reasonable to accuse his Sovereign criminally, and before a foreign Judicature, and by that Means tacitely confessed *England* a competent Judge of all Actions committed by the Princes of *Scotland* within their own Dominions, that for his Part, he did not at present foresee how they would be able afterwards to answer for this inhumane Act, since by bringing the Mother's Honesty ^{He joins with the Rebels, but under Hand assists the Queen's Party.} ^{He joins with the Duke of Northfolk, to serve the Queen.}

^(a) Ubi supra. ^(b) See Crawford's Mem. Pag. 108.

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publickly in Question, they manifestly endangered the Title of the Son to the *English* Crown. This Discourse highly pleased the Secretary, who, as we have said, strenuously opposed Murray's Proceedings against the Queen, and he told the Duke, that the Regent being surrounded with a Company of Sycophants, Slaves to Avarice and to *England*, he had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from his scandalous Undertaking, having waited upon him thither only in Hopes to prevail upon him to desist, and not to serve him in the Design ; and therefore begged his Grace not to believe him (whom he had once honoured with a Place in his Esteem) rashly guilty of a Crime, which he had not only abhorred himself, but faithfully endeavoured to reform in others. The Duke, after a very generous Reply, asked him if the Regent was at the Bottom, a Man of Honour, and if he thought him fit to be trusted with a Secret of Importance ? Our Author assuring him of the Regent's Honour, Wisdom and Fidelity, the Duke told him, he would then try him to Morrow : And the Secretary having got them together, the Duke dissuaded the Regent to insist any further against his Queen, and if the Regent had been faithful to his Word and Honour, he had in all Probability relieved, by the Assistance of the Duke, the Queen from her Imprisonment ; but by his treacherous Villainy he brought the Duke to the Scaffold, as we have shown in the Life of Bishop *Leslie*, in the second Volume of this Work.

The Regent had no sooner resolved to betray the Duke of *Northfolk*, but he resolved at the same Time to make a Sacrifice of the Secretary ; and a very fit Occasion offered at that Time, for the Lord *Boid* having brought Letters from both the Queens to the Regent, and from Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to the Regent, and the Secretary giving an Account of the Progress that had been made in the designed Marriage betwixt Queen *Mary* and the Duke of *Northfolk* advising the Regent with all speed to send the Secretary to them, as the wisest and fittest Man he could choise (a) for managing the Affair upon the Queen's Side : The Regent designing to make use of those Letters for impeaching the Secretary for conspiring with the Duke of *Northfolk*, to effect the Restauration of the banished Queen, he endeavoured to have got him secured ; but the Secretary being no Stranger to his Practices and Resolutions, kept himself out of his Reach, and lived mostly in the North, and rarely went abroad, but when his Friends were about him : At length a Rumour being spread, That *Northfolk* had made his Escape out of the Tower of *London* (b), That his Friends had set Queen *Mary* at Liberty, and that they were preparing with a mighty Army to invade *Scotland*. This Rumour made the Regent so uneasie, who had become a Burden to himself with his Jealousies and Fears, that he immediately wrote to all the Nobility in whom he most confided, to meet him at *Stirling*, to give their Advice and Concurrence in such an extraordinary Juncture, and amongst the rest, he wrote to his

(a) Vid. *Sotswood*, Lib. 5. Pag. 230. (b) *Crawford's Mem.* Pag. 133.

his old Friend the Secretary, as putting an extraordinary Confidence An. 1512 in him.

The Earls of Athole and Crawford, as they were coming to this grand Council, happened to meet with the Secretary at Dumblain, where they spent a whole Day together in Hunting: The Regent being informed of this Meeting, his Mind was immediately over-clouded with the black Thoughts of a deep Plot against him; so calling to his Assistance his faithful Friend the Earl of Morton, they contrived a Counter-Plot, which was to suborn one to accuse the Secretary at his first sitting in Council, of having a Hand in the King's Death; and accordingly when the Council met, just as they were beginning upon the Affairs of the Publick, the Door-keeper informed them, that a Gentleman called Thomas Crawford, who had served the Earl of Lennox, craved to be instantly admitted, having Business of very great Importance to be communicated to their Lordships: Every Body (save Murray and Morton who knew of it) expected mighty Matters; but they were extraordinarily surprized to find, that when the Gentleman was called, he accused the Secretary of being Accessory to the Murder of the late King: The Secretary, who easily fathom'd the Contrivance of all the Council, seemed the least surprized with the Accusation, and rising from his Chair, after a long Harangue, wherein he extolled the many Services he had done to his Country, he offered to give immediate Bail to answer according to Law for the Crime with which he was charged: To this Crawford replied, "That the Authors of the Regicide could never be brought to suffer an exemplary Punishment, if those who out of Zeal to the Royal Family, and Detestation of so barbarous a Fact informed against them should be over-ruled, and have that Justice denied them, which the Law allowed: For as he humbly conceived, my Lord Secretary being accused of High Treason, it was unprecedented, and wholly new to admit him to Bail; but according to the common Custom in such Cases, he should be detained a close Prisoner, till tried and condemned as guilty, or acquitted as innocent, and the Informer rewarded or punished, if he made good the Charge, or was found guilty: Upon which the Secretary was immediately sent to Prison, none of the Council daring to plead for him". At the same Time he caused imprison the Lord Seaton, and Sir James Balfour and his Brother. These arbitrary Proceedings of the Regent's created him many Enemies, and amongst the rest, the Laird of Grange Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, who came in the Night-time with some of the most resolute Men of his Garrison, and rescued the Secretary out of the Prison he was in, and brought him to the Castle: For at first he was committed Prisoner to a Chamber in the Castle of Stirling, and from thence removed by a Troop of Horse under the Command of Alexander Hume of Northberwick, to a Lodging near the Castle of Edinburgh, out of which, as we have said, he was rescued by the Laird of Grange. Bishop Spotswood says (a), That Grange relieved

By the Re-
gent's Con-
trivance, he is
accused of
the King's
Murder, and
imprisoned.

He is resqu-
ed out of Pri-
son by the
Laird of
Grange.

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him

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him by counterfeiting a Warrant under the Regent's Hand, and that the next Day when the Regent demanded him, *Grange* refused to deliver him up ; and that the next Day the Regent went to the Castle himself, and got *Grange*'s Promise to deliver the Secretary upon the Day appointed for his Trial, and that when the Day was come, there was such Multitudes of People that met, that the Regent was obliged to prorogue the Diet for four Months Time : But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain, that in the Beginning of the Year, after the Regent's Death (who was shot by *James Hamilton* of *Bothwelhaugh* at the Town of *Linlithgow*, upon the 23d of *January 1570*) the Secretary was set at Liberty, and upon the 8th of *April* we find him in a Meeting of the Queen's Friends at *Linlithgow*, who had met to draw up an exact State of the Affair of the Nation for the *French King*, from whom they expected Assistance ; and shortly after he was admitted into the Privy Council, and declared innocent of all that was laid to his Charge: But the Earl of *Lennox* being declared Regent, he was turned out of his Place, and *Robert Pitcairn* Abbot of *Dumfermling* made Secretary in his Place.

*He is turned
out of his
Place by the
Regent, the
Earl of Len-
nox.*

*The Regent's
Reasons for
his Proceed-
ings against
the Secretary*

At this Time there was a Treaty set on Foot by the Queen of *England* in Favours of Queen *Mary*, and a Cessation of Arms, or Abstinence, as they called it, betwixt the two contending Parties, and the Regent having during this Time not only turned the Secretary out of his Office, but likewise denounced him Rebel. The Earl of *Suffex* the General of the *English* Forces challenged this as a Breach of the Treaty. To which the Regent replied (*a*), That the Secretary could claim no Benefit by the Abstinence, seeing he was the King's Subject, and stood to the Defence of the King's Cause both in *England* and *Scotland*, professing himself as much displeased with the Proclamation of the Queen's Authority, as any Man else ; and howbeit of late he had accompanied the contrary Faction, yet he never declined his Subjection to the King ; That being required to attend his Office, he had refused, whereupon the same was justly taken from him : And for the Confiscation complained of, if he would yet declare upon what Side he was, he should be reasonably used.

Upon this the Secretary was desired to declare himself, and sent this Answer to the Earl of *Suffex*.

*The Secre-
tary vindi-
cates himself
against the
Regent.*

That he did think it strange that the Regent should enquire on which Side he was, seeing his Speeches, Writings and Actions had declared the same ; but now he would plainly profess that he was not of the Lord Regent's Side, nor would he acknowledge him for Regent : That he was of that Side which would perform their Duties to the Queen of *Scotland*, and to her Son ; so as neither of them should have Cause to find Fault with him : That he was of that Side which wished to either of them the Place which in Reason and Justice they ought to possess ; and that he was of that Side which requested the Queen of *England* to enter into good Conditions with

the

the Queen, whereby *Scotland* might be brought in an Union, and she restored to her Liberty and Realm. He confessed, That he did not allow of the proclaiming of the Queen's Authority, nor of the Parliament indicted by those of her Party, because he foresaw the same would impede the Treaty betwixt the two Queens, and might do Hurt many Ways, and hinder the Good he was about to do ; but that would not infer an Allowance of their Doings : And this, says he, may give the Regent to understand of what Side I am.

An. 1572.
This being delivered to the Regent, in his Return to the Earl of *Sussex*, he told him, That it was no wonder he should not acknowledge him for Regent, having deserved so ill at his Hands ; and being attainted of the foul and cruel Murder of his Son, the King's Father, that his Declaration did not satisfie that which was demanded ; for where he made shew to observe a Duty to the Queen and her Son, and would have it appear that he was about the effectuating great Matters, the Duties he had done to either of them were well enough known ; neither could any Man look for any Good to proceed from him : Therefore, however he had against his Promise and Subscription declined from the King's Party, he must still be subject to answer such Particulars as should be laid against him in the King's Name : And seeing it was neither her Majesty's Meaning that any Person guilty of the King's Murder should enjoy Benefit by the Abstinence, he that was challenged thereof in the late Regent's Time, and had in Council offer'd himself to the severest Trial that could be taken, could not complain of the Breach of Abstinence for any Thing done or intended against him ; but that neither this Particular, nor any other should be occasion to dissolve that Treaty begun ; and that he was content the Notes of all Injuries alledged on either Side should be delivered in Writing to the Earl of *Sussex*, and the Trial or Redress thereof continued till it should appear what Effect the Treaty brought forth.

Yet notwithstanding of all these fair Promises during the Truce, the Regent sent 300 Horse (a) to *Hamilton*, where they seized upon the Duke's Plate and Household Furniture, and sold them at the Market-Place of *Linlithgow*, and put the Money in his own Pocket, the like was done to our Author, who now had declared himself openly for the Queen.

The Civil Wars daily increasing, and the Castle of *Edinburgh* being obliged to surrender to the *English*, in which our Author was, he was sent Prisoner to the Tolbooth of *Leith* ; and *Morton*, the then Regent, and our Author's mortal Enemy, having caused the Captain to be hang'd, he noways doubting but to meet with the like Fate ; to prevent an ignominious Death, he took a large Dose of Poison ; but that not doing his Business so quickly as he expected, the Regent caused him to be brought to *Edinburgh*, and carefully attended (b) by Physicians, that he might be brought to the Gallows ; but in spite of all their Endeavours, he died in their Hands

He is taken
Prisoner, and
poisons him-
self.

An. 1572.
His Char-
acter.

upon the 3d of September 1573. *Spotswood* says, That he died at *Leith* suddenly, and was only thought to have poisoned himself: And Sir *James Melvil* says (*a*), That he died, as it was said, after the old *Roman* Fashion, to prevent his coming to the *Shambles* with the rest. But Dr. *Johnston* in his History (*b*) says, That he had been very long afflicted with the *Gout*, and being quite exhausted and decayed in his Body, this new Affliction put an End to his Days, and that his Enemies gave out that he had poisoned himself. These are the various Accounts that our Historians give of the Manner of this great Man's Death: But all of them agree, That he was a Man of excellent Learning, of deep Insight into State Affairs, of great Prudence, but cunning and variable. *Spotswood* says (*c*), That he was a Man of deep Wit, great Experience, and one whose Counsels were held in that Time for Oracles, but variable and inconstant, turning and changing from one Faction to another, as he thought it to make for his Standing, which did greatly diminish his Reputation, and fajl'd him at last: Which should warn all Counsellors to direct their Courses by the Lines of Piety and true Wisdom; without which the most politick Prudence will prove nothing but Folly in the End.

All the rest of our Historians agree in this Character of him; and certainly he was a Man of very great Parts, well versed in all the Parts of polite Learning, and in all the Intrigues of the Court, and the Inclinations of the common People, which rendered him very popular: He was singularly cunning, bold and eloquent, but very variable, which gave the Occasion to *Buchanan* to write a very bitter Satyr against him, both in Prose and Verse, wherein he compared him to the *Chamaleon*. No Man knew better how to dissemble than he did, an eminent Instance of which he gave, when *Morton* his mortal Enemy was advanced to the Regency, at which Time he wrote to him a very eloquent Letter (*d*), neither too stiff nor too mean, but kept a *medium* betwixt the haughty and submissive Address of one that would purchase his Friendship honestly, and not beg it meanly, modestly hinting to those good Offices he had done him when his Lordship was in Disgrace: And when he was aspersed with his having a Hand in the King's Murder, he obtained the following Testimonial of his Innocency, to vindicate him to Posterity.

WE undersubscribers conveened at Edinburgh on the Day of February 1570, Do with one Voice declare and testifie, That none of us know that Secretary Lithington is culpable of umquhile the King's Murder: And seeing no Person whatsoever compears to accuse him of the same, we must esteem him to be innocently calumniate, in Time bygone, in the said Matter, tending to the Prejudice of the King's Estate and his free Subjects: And therefore acknowledge and recognosce him as an honest Man, innocent of the said Matters, where-

(*a*) *Mem.* Pag. 122. (*b*) *Pag.* Lib. 1. (*c*) *Lib.* 5. *Pag.* 272. (*d*) *Vid. Crawf. Mem.* *Pag.* 273.

wherefore, heretofore he was wrongfully accused, accepting and receiving him in his own Place again. Likeas, we acknowledge him to have been a good and profitable Instrument in this Common-Weal in divers great Causes, for the furthering of God's Glory, and the Repose and Quietness of this Country native. Signed, Athole, Morton, Cassilis, Mar, Glencairn, Montrose, Buchan, Ruthven, Glamis, Lovat, Ochiltrie, Methvin, Lindsay, Cathcart, Adamus Orcaden, Dumfermling, Cambuskenneth, Dryburgh, Balmerinoch, Pittenweem, Tillibardin, Comptroller, or Justice Clerk.

Besides the Fragments of the Disputes that this learned Gentleman had with the Reformers, and which are inserted in Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Calderwood's* Histories, we have still extant in MS. of his the following Works.

A long Letter to Sir William Cecil, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, dated from Edinburgh 10th August 1569, wherein he informs the English Secretary of the State of the Nation, the great Progress that the Reformation had made in Scotland, the Fears and Jealousies that they had of the Queen's opposing them, whenever she should arrive from France; and the Necessity there was for keeping a good Correspondence betwixt England and Scotland. And lastly, Concludes with a Protestation of the Love and Esteem that he had for the English Nation, and how capable he might be to serve them; since he knew that none in Scotland of his Quality had so great an Ear with the Queen as he had. This Letter is to be found in Mr. Crawford's Collection of Papers transcribed from the Cotton Library, and now in the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh.

In the Year 1568, he presented the *English* Council at *Hampton Court* with a Project for reconciling the two contending Parties; which was, That Queen *Mary* should in a Parliament called for that End, confirm her Renunciation of the Crown in Favours of her Son, the only, undoubted, and lawful Heir of the Kingdom, and that he should be own'd by all as King, and have all the Privileges that could be claimed by any of his Predecessors; but in regard that Queen *Mary* was crown'd in her Cradle, and was Queen Dowager of *France*, she should be own'd and respected as a Queen, having a sufficient Competency for sustaining that Royal Character: And if it should please God, that the King should die before her, and without Issue of his Body, then the Queen was to succeed to him, and the Children of her Body, with all the Privileges belonging to her Predecessors. This Project, with the Advantages that would attend it, is to be found at Length in the above-cited Collection in the Lawyers Library.

In a long Letter, dated from Dundee 14th of November, 1562, to Secretary Cecil, he regrets the Earl of Huntly's Rebellion against the Queen, whom he highly esteems for her Vertue, and many rare and extraordinary Endowments, as likewise that the English and French had entered into a War, and represents to him what

Anno 1562. indispensable Obligations his Royal Mistris lay under to the *French* Nation, and the only Way to evite a Rupture betwixt the two Nations of *Scotland* and *England* in such a Juncture, was for the Queen of *England* to declare his Queen her Heir, and very artfully answers all the Objections that can be suggested against his Mistris. This Letter is in the above-cited Collections. As likewise,

A Plot by our Author for restoring of the Queen, the Substance of which was, That by the Mediation of the Queen of *England* all Things were to be done by a Council of 24, 16 or 12, and all in the Names of the King and Queen of *Scots*; and if this Number could not be obtained, that two of every Party and a Neutral should be chosen, and that the fittest Man to be chosen as neutral was the Earl of *Athole*; the Duke of *Chatelherault's* Family being always excluded as suspected, and for which they had the Duke's Consent; and if this could not be obtained, that it should be by Four of the principal Nobility, which should be the Earl of *Hunly*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, and the Regent, or *Mar*; and that they should keep a secret Correspondence with *France*, who had agreed to remit to them Threescore thousand Franks a Year, to be paid Quarterly. This is entituled, *A Plot executory devised by Lithington*. There are several other Letters and Memorials concerning State Affairs, wrote by our Author, in the *Cotton Library at London*.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *SEveral Fragments of Disputes with the Reformers, in Mr. Knox and Mr. Calderwood's Histories.*
- II. *A Letter to Sir William Cecil, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, 10th August 1569. MS. in Bib. J. C. Edinburgh.*
- III. *A Device, showing how the young Prince may remain King, and the Queen not be deprived, presented to the English Council at Hampton Court, MS. in Bib. J. C. Edinburgh 1568.*
- IV. *A Letter to Secretary Cecil 14th November 1562, concerning the War betwixt France and England, MS. in Bib. J. C. Edinburgh.*
- V. *A Plot executory, devised for restoring of the Queen, MS. in Bib. J. C. Edinburgh.*
- VI. *Several Letters and Memoirs concerning State Affairs, MS. in Bib. Cotton. London.*

T H E

LIFE of the Illustrious Princess *MARY*, Queen of *Scotland*.

THIS Illustrious Princess was born in the Year of our Lord 1542, upon the 6th Day of *December*, in the Palace of *Linlithgow*: Her Mother *Mary of Lorain*, Daughter to the Duke of *Guise*, was a Princess of excellent Accomplishments, and her Father King *James Vth*; one of the greatest Princes of his Age: She succeeded to her Father in the 7th Day of her Age. *Francis I.* being then King of *France*, and *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, upon the Death of her Father, great Dissentions arose amongst the Nobility, concerning the Regency of the Kingdom during her Minority, and to whom the Custody of her Person should be committed. Cardinal *Beaton* Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle* and *Murray* claimed it, as being devolved upon them by the King's Will, which they caused proclaim over the Market Cross of *Edinburgh*: But the rest of the Nobility having met, and finding that the King was not in a Condition to grant a Warrant for forming a Testament, it was looked upon as a Forgery, and *James Earl of Arran* was declared Governour of the Realm during the Queen's Minority, as being nearest in Blood to the Queen, according to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom.

*Her Birth,
Parentage
and Educa-
tion.*

About this Time (*a*), the Council of *Scotland* wrote a Letter to King *Henry VIII.* of *England*, dated the 21st of *December*, in Answer to one of his, requiring that the Murderers of one of his Heralds called *Somerset*, should be delivered up to him. In Answer to which, they tell him, "That before his Letter came to their Hands, their King was dead, who had caused these Murderers to be imprisoned, in order to their Punishment, and that when Things were settled in the Right of the Infant Queen, he should be fully satisfied in that Affair; but that for the settling of this, and all other Differences betwixt the two Realms, they desire a Cessation of Arms for five or six Months, and a Passport to the Bishop of *Orkney*, *John Lord Erskine*, *Adam Otterburn of Reidhall*, and *John Campbell of Lundie*, as their Ambassadors to him.

King *Henry* no sooner received their Letter, but he called before him at *Hampton Court*, where he then lay, the *Scots* Prisoners who had been taken at *Solloway Moss*, and acquainted them of the Death of their King, and how loth he was to involve them now in a War during the Minority of their young Queen, notwithstanding all the

Anno 1557.

King Henry
VIII. propos-
es a Marriage
between her
and his Son
the Prince of
Wales.

Provocations he had met with, and that now there was a fair Opportunity of putting an End to all their Animosities, if they would concur with him in procuring a Match betwixt their Queen and *Edward Prince of Wales* his Son, then about the 5th Year of his Age: And that for furthering so good a Design, they should not only be set at Liberty, and have their Ransoms, which were condescended upon (and are still upon Record in the *Cotton Library*) not exacted off them, but likewise Pensions settled upon them. These Noblemen and Gentlemen went very cordially into King *Henry's* Proposals, and obliged themselves to do it, under their Hands and Seals; and this their Obligation is still extant in the *Cotton Library*. Upon the 3d Day of *Christmass* they were all invited to Court, and sumptuously entertained, and then permitted to return to their own Country when they pleased.

In the mean Time King *Henry* returned an Answer to the Letter sent him by the *Scots Council* (*a*), " Wherein he regrates the Death " of his Nephew their King, and expresses a deep Concern for the " Infant Queen, and his earnest Desire to make use of this Oppor- " tunity of uniting both Kingdoms, and refers the opening of this " Matter to the *Scots* Prisoners, then returning home, wishing that " they might fall upon effectual Measures for that End; and com- " municate the same to the Duke of *Suffolk*, then his Lieutenant in " the North, that upon the Knowledge thereof, he might grant " such a Cessation as shall be requisite for that Effect". This Letter is directed to all such as take upon them the Government of *Scot- land*, and to all others, either of the Nobility or Council there.

Upon the first Day of the next Year, the *Scots* Prisoners began their Journey from *London*, and with them *Archibald Earl of Angus*, and Sir *George Douglas* his Brother, who had lived Exiles in *Eng- land* 15 Years, and whom King *Henry* by his Letters recommended to the Governor or Regent of *Scotland*, for which they subscribed under their Hands and Seals, not only to promote the Match (*b*), but likewise in Case of the young Queen's Death, to assist King *Henry* to the utmost of their Power in the conquering of the King- dom, having come to *Darntoun*, they remained there with the Duke of *Suffolk*, till they received further Instructions, and entred Hosta- ges for their performing what they had promised and subscribed, nor as the Duke told them: the King doubted any ways of their Fidelity, but to take away all Suspicion of their being for his Inter- est: In the mean Time, the Goverour returns an Answer to the King of *England* (*c*), dated the 6th of *January*; wherein he says, *That none should endeavour more to promote the Peace and good of the Realms than he; and for that End he had sent Rotheray the Herald to obtain a Cessation of Arms for five or six Months, and a Passport for the Ambassadors to treat of and conclude a longer Peace*". And upon the 30th of the same Month, he writes another Letter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, much to the same Purpose. To this Letter of the Gover-

(a) Vid. Sir Ralph Sadler's Letter, ubi supra. (b) Dr. Drake, Hist. Scot. Angl. (c) Sir Ralph Sadler's Letter, ubi supra.

Governor's, King *Henry* returns an Answer, dated the 9th of *February*, wherein he tells him, That having a very good Opinion and Confidence in his Wisdom and Circumspection; and trusting that he would send such Ambassadors as would ask nothing but what he could in Honour condescend to : He had granted a Cessation of Arms for three Months, and a safe Conduct for the Ambassadors under his Seal ; both which he now sent to him : And by a Letter of the 17th of *February*, the Governour owns, that he had receivedy the Cestiations and safe Conduct, which was proclaimed in both Kingdoms. But by another Letter of the Governour's, to King *Henry*, we find, that the Ambassadors could not be sent till the 12th of *March*, the Matters with which they were intrusted requiring the Parliament's Authority.

About this Time, the Lords, and other Prisoners from *England* arrived at *Edinburgh*, and delivered to the Queen Mother and the Regent, Letters from King *Henry*, wherein he expresses the great Desire he had of settling a perpetual Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms, by a Marriage betwixt the young Queen, and his Son the Prince of *Wales*. The Lords and the Governour being afraid that the Cardinal would oppose this Match, they committed him Prisoner to the Castle of *Dalkeith*, and afterwards transported him to his Palace at *St. Andrews*.

Wrts being issued out for calling of a Parliament, they met and sat down upon the 12th Day of *March*, and *James Earl of Arran* having caused all the Earls of *Morton* and *Bothwell*, the Lords *Hume*, *Sinclair*, *Herreis* and *Somervel*, with *Alexander Abbot of Cambuskenneth*, and they having solemnly made Oath; that the Earl of *Arran* was the nearest Kinsman of the Blood Royal of *Scotland*, and to the Infant Queen, they declared him rightful Tutor to the Queen by an Act of this Parliament ; and by a second Act he was declared Governour of the Realm, and to the Queen during her Minority ; and by a third, they declared him the second Person of the Kingdom, next Heir to the Queen; and failing of her, the rightful and undoubted King of the Realm of *Scotland*. Then the Governour having communicated to them the Letters he had received from King *Henry*, it was agreed that Ambassadors should be sent to King *Henry* to treat of the Marriage, and a Peace betwixt the two Realms. But whilst these Things were in Agitation, the King of *England* sent Sir *Ralph Sadler* in Quality of his Ambassador, with a Letter, dated the 13th of *March*; wherein he tells him, That he had sent this his Ambassador to adjust Matters betwixt them; and desires him to give him Credit, and that he had given him full Instruction for all and every Thing that might relate to the right settling of Matters betwixt the two Kingdoms. On the other Hand, the Governour in a Letter to the King of *England*, dated the 20th of *March*, acquaints him, That he had delayed to return any Answer in Relation to his Sovereign Lady the Infant Queen; till he had advised with the Parliament, whom for that End he had called ; and that

A Parliament is called about the Match with England.

The Earl of Arran is made her Tutor.

The King of England sends an Ambassador to treat of the Marriage.

An. 1587. now with their Advice and Consent he had sent Sir *William Hamilton of Sanquhair*, Sir *James Lermouth of Balcomy*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves* Secretary of State fully instructed, as well to conclude the Marriage betwixt the Prince and the Queen, as a lasting Peace betwixt the two Realms, and desires him to give them Credit. The Ambassador had no sooner arrived at *Edinburgh*, but he delivered his Credentials to the Governour, who immediately called a Council, where Sir *Ralph* gave in his Commission, and acquainted them with his Master's earnest Desire of a perpetual Peace and Marriage betwixt the Prince of *Wales* and the young Queen. To this the Council answered, That they had already instructed their Ambassadors who were going for *England* to treat with the King of *England* upon that Subject.

In the mean Time the *English* Ambassador had frequent Conferences with the Lords that had been Prisoners in *England*, and pressed that the Instructions given to the *Scots* Ambassadors might not clash with their Engagements to his Master. To this they answered, That the Governour and all the Nobility were sincere and forward both for the Peace and Marriage, but as to their putting the Government into their Master's Hands, and delivering up to him the strong Holds of the Kingdom, as it was agreed betwixt them, it was altogether impracticable, because they had been so long detained in *England*, that before they got home, the Earl of *Arran* was declared Governour, and it was not in their Power to undo it. And as for their not giving up the young Queen, as was likewise agreed betwixt them, it was altogether unnecessary; for if the Marriage was concluded, which they noways doubted of, it would follow as a natural Consequence of it: Yet notwithstanding of these their Answers, Sir *Ralph* in one of his Letters to King *Henry*, dated *March 27th*, tells him, *That the Lord Somervel was of Opinion that he shoule stand fast to his Proposal, of having the young Queen into his Hands, as soon as the Contract was signed, and that he would certainly prevail.* King *Henry*, that he might gain the Governour entirely over to him, sent his Ambassador new Instructions, dated upon the *4th of April*, wherein, amongst other Things, he orders him to make a Proposal to the Governour of a Marriage betwixt his Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth* (afterwards Queen of *England*) and the Governour's eldest Son; to use many honourable Arguments to persuade him to it, and to send his Son to the *English* Court, to be educated, and where he should remain till the Marriage should be consummated: In the mean Time, the *Scots* Ambassadors having delivered their Proposals to the King of *England*; he was noways satisfied with them, because they did not answer to the Agreement made betwixt him and the *Scots* Lords, who were Prisoners at *London*, and on whom he entirely relied:

King Henry makes new Proposals about the Marriage. Therefore he delivered new Proposals to the *Scots* Ambassadors, which they transmitted to the Governour: The Substance of which were, "That the Queen should be delivered to him, to be educated in

"in *England* within two Years, and to have Hostages delivered to him till this should be performed ; That the Earl of *Arran* should continue Governour till the Marriage, but after that there should be one of his naming ; That all the Garrisons should be in the Hands of *Scotsmen*, and that the *Scots* should enjoy their Liberties, Privileges, Laws and Customs.

The Governour would by no Means condescend to the delivering up of the young Queen, because of the many bad Consequences that might follow upon it : But he very generously told the Ambassador, that he had no Regard of his own Place, providing that the resigning of it should be for the Good of his Sovereign and Nation : So calling a Council, the King of *England's* Proposals were read to them, and they agreed to the following Articles.

That the Queen should be delivered to the King of England when she was ten Years old, providing that before she went out of the Realm she were Contracted by Procurators, and that Pledges should be given for the Performance thereof, and that there should be a perpetual Peace, &c. during these Negotiations.

The Go-
vernor's Pro-
posals about
the Marriage

The English Ambassador was not wanting in the mean Time in paying faithfully to the English Lords, as they were now called, the Pensions that were settled upon them for carrying on of this Match, amongst whom we find by Sir *Ralph Sadler's* Letters, that the Earl of *Angus* had 200 Pound Sterling ; The Earls of *Glencairn* and *Cassils*, each of them 200 Merks Sterling, the Master of *Maxwell* 100 Pound Sterling, the Lord *Gray's* Friends 380 Merks Sterling, Sir *George Douglas* and his Friends 200 Pounds Sterling. And Sir *Ralph* in a Letter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, dated the 20th of *April* desires him to send the 100 Pound Sterling, which was payable monthly to the Earl of *Angus*, who, says he, craves his Pension, might be made 200 Pound a Month. And these Sums, says Sir *Ralph*, prevailed so far with some of them, that they promised that if the Governour would not condescend to the Articles proposed by King *Henry* ; That they would conduct any Army that his Majesty pleased to send from *Carlisle* to *Glasgow*, and to show him the most proper Methods for conquering the Kingdom : They promised likewise (says he) to give up to King *Henry* all *Scotland* on the South Side of *Forth*, and particularly all the strong Holds which were in their Hands, and which were the Keys to the West Marches. This is in a Letter to the King of *England*, dated *May* first, 1543.

The Pensions
paid by the
King of Eng-
land for car-
rying on the
Marriage,

The Governour in a Letter to King *Henry*, dated the 4th of *May* the same Year, tells him, That he had sent for Ambassadors for the final ending of the Marriage, and concluding a perpetual Peace. *William Earl of Glencairn*, and Sir *George Douglass*, who was very pressing to be employed in this Embassy. Because, says Sir *Ralph*, He hoped King *Henry* would consent to the Articles proposed, it being impossible to obtain any more at that Time, especially since he got Security for the Performance, by having the Governour's Son in his own Hands : But above all, if the King of *England*

An. 1587. would not condescend to these Articles, to show him how he might conquer the Country after the easiest Manner; yet notwithstanding of all this these Instructions noways pleased the King of *England*: So Sir *George Douglas* that execrable Traitor was sent back again to *Scotland* with new Instructions. The Substance of which were,

The King of England makes new Proposals about the Marriage.

" That the Queen shall be delivered at ten Years of Age, That six Earls or Barons or their Heirs be incontinently after the Conclusion of the Treaty delivered as Hostages, That the Lords appointed by the Parliament should be about the Queen during that Time, except the Lords *Erskine* and *Seaton*, who were violent Opposers of the Match with *England*, and that the like Number of *English* Peers should wait upon her, That the Marriage shall be solemnized at the Queen's being twelve Years of Age, That she shall have as great Dowrie as is commonly given to the Queens of *England*, that a perpetual Peace shall be concluded, That if possible, the Hostages for the Marriage should be the same for the Peace. And *Lastly*, That the Governour continue till and during the Marriage, and that for his Sustenance, he shall enjoy the whole Revenue during his Government, excepting such a Portion to the Queen, as her Dignity and Degree requireth".

The Governour no sooner received this Memorial, but he called the Parliament, where several Articles were agreed to, still extant in the Records of Parliament among the written Acts (*a*), The Substance of which are, " That the Queen shall be delivered to the King's Majesty of *England*, or the Prince his Son, at the tenth Year of her Age; providing, That the Marriage be made before she departed out of the Realm by Procurators; That six Earls or Barons or their Heirs shall be given as Pledges to the King's Majesty of *England* for the Performance of the same; That the Lords appointed by Parliament shall have the Custody of the Queen's Person; That the King of *England* may send any honourable Man, and a Lady with Attendance not exceeding twenty, to wait upon the young Queen, and remain upon the King of *England's* Expences; That her Dowary be specified and mentioned in the Contract; That there be a perpetual Peace betwixt the two Realms; That the Prisoners of *Scotland* be put to a reasonable Ransom; That if the Queen be married to the Prince of *England*, and if he shall happen to die without Heirs lawfully gotten of her Grace, her Grace shall be delivered into the Realm of *Scotland* free and unmarried to any other Man; That at the delivering of the Queen, my Lord Governour shall be sufficiently discharged of all his Intromissions with the Regents, &c. of the Crown; That if the Marriage shall be compleated, the Realm of *Scotland* shall brook the Name of *Scotland*, with all its Liberties which it has had in all Time bygone, and to be ruled by a Governour who shall be alwise a *Scots* Man, and only subject to *Scots* Laws and Customs.

Articles agreed to, concerning the Marriage.

The

(*a*) Amongst the Records in the Parliament Houses.

The King of *England* was so well pleased with these Articles, that upon *Sunday* the 1st of *July* 1543, he concluded the Treaty with the *Scots* Ambassadors. And King Henry in a Letter to the Governour of the 21st of *July*, commends him for his Courage and Constancy in adhering to the Agreement, and tells him, That he had appointed his Ambassador to give him his Advice concerning it. And the Governour in a Letter to the King of *England*, dated the 28th of *July*, assures him, That he will be firm and fixed in observing the Agreement, and returns him his Thanks for his Assistance, and promises to suppress all Insurrections that should be raised in Opposition to it.

An. 1587.

Het Mar-
riage is a-
greed to be-
twixt the
King of Eng-
land and the
Governor.

On the other Hand, the Cardinal who had been imprisoned as we have said in the Castle of St. Andrews, made his Escape by the Assistance of the Lord Seaton ; and he, the Queen Dowager, and severals of the Nobility met at Linlithgow upon the 21st of July, where they entered into a Bond, by which they obliged themselves to stand by one another with their Lives and Fortunes, in Opposition to this Match with *England* : For the Cardinal and the Clergy very well foresaw, that if this Match with *England* should hold, it would necessarily bring on such a Reformation in *Scotland*, as that which King *Henry* had begun in *England* ; Therefore they contributed largely to oppose it. The Nobility who joined them were loath to break the old League with *France*, which they and their Predecessors had so often sworn to observe inviolably. Besides, they thought that such a Match must needs prove the Glory and Happiness of *England*, and at the same Time the Ruin of *Scotland* ; which from an independent Kingdom, should soon dwindle into the Nature of a tributary Province, but the whole Difficulty was to gain the Governor to their Side, and to effectuate this, they proposed a Match betwixt his eldest Son and the young Queen, but this had no Weight with him, for if the young Queen died, he was declared by Act of Parliament her next Heir, and by the Marriage of his Son with the Princess *Elizabeth*; if the young Prince of *Wales* died, his Children would succeed to the Crown of *England*, so that he and his Posterity might come to enjoy both Kingdoms : So the Parliament being call'd and met, he swore to the Treaty in Presence of Sir *Ralph Sadler* in the Church of *Holy-Rood-House*, upon the 25 of *August*, and in a Letter of the same Date to King *Henry*, the Governor acquaints him, That he had sign'd the Treaty, and given his Solemn Oath for the keeping of all the Articles, in both Contracts of Peace and Marriage, in Presence of his Ambassador, and that he had sent Sir *George Meldrum* of *Fayve* with the signed Treaty, having the great Seal of *Scotland* appendened to it, and requires his Majesty to ratify, confirm, and give his Oath for observing the same, in like Manner as he had sent his, and on the 26th of *August*, he caus'd proclaim the Peace at *Edinburgh*, as it appears from his Letters to King *Henry* of that Date: A Copy

The Queen Dowager, the Clergy, and many of the Nobility oppose the Match with England.

 of this sign'd Treaty is to be seen amongst Sir James Balfour's Collections in the Lawyers Library.

An. 1543.
The Earl of Lennox arrives from France to oppose the Marriage.
The Lords of the *French* Faction, finding, that there was no Possibility of gaining the Governor, they sent over to *France* for the Earl of *Lennox*, to whom they promised the Government of the Kingdom during the Queen's Minority, in place of the Earl of *Arran*, and to declare him the next lawful Heir to the Crown; the King of *France* likewise promised to assist him with Men and Money. Buoy'd up with these Hopes and Promises, he takes shipping and lands safely at *Leith*, the next Day he visited the Governour at the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House*, and finding how Affairs stood betwixt him and the Queen Mother, in a few Days after, he went to *Linlithgow*, where he was very joyfully received by the Queen Mother, and all the Lords of the *French* Faction. The Governour finding this, resolved to seize upon the Person of the young Queen (who was then in the Custody of the Lords in the *French* Interest) but they prevented him, for they having raised suddenly an Army of 4000 Men, they transported her from the Palace of *Linlithgow*, where she had been from her Birth, under the Protection of the Lord *Livingston*, to the Castle of *Stirling*; where she was committed to the Care of the Lord *Erskine* the Governour of the Castle; and to him was associate the Lords *Livingston*, *Fleming* and *Ruthven*. And a Proclamation was issued out, summoning all the Members of the three Estates of Parliament to be Witnes to the Queen's Coronation at *Stirling* the next Month, being *September*: And accordingly upon the 4th Day of that Month, she was crowned at *Stirling* with great Pomp and Solemnity in the Year 1543. The Governour of the Realm, the Earl of *Arran*, being present at the Ceremony.

The Queen is transported from Linlithgow to Stirling, and committed to the Custody of the Lord Erskine.
She is crowned at Stirling.

King Henry breaks the Treaty made with the Governor,
In the mean Time, the King of *England* made an open Violation of the Treaty; for Sir *George Meldrum* had no sooner arrived at *London*, and delivered the signed Treaty to King *Henry* to be ratified by him, but he sent him back to *Scotland* without doing it. And in his Letter to the Governour, dated the 2d of *September* he says, *He knew Sir George would be useful to him in the present Commotions, for which Reason he had sent him down without ratifying the Treaty, which he would do in a short Time, and send it to him*. But Sir *George* was no sooner gone from *London*, but he caused seize upon all the *Scots* Ships without the least Provocation or Reason given. The News of this no sooner came to *Scotland*, but the whole Country was highly incensed against the King of *England*, in so much, that Sir *Ralph Sadler* in his Letter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, dated the 4th of *September*, and in several others after that, complains, That the Mob insulted over him to such a Degree that he was not in safety of his Life. However, the Pensionary Lords continued still firm to the Interest of the *English* King; but the Governour finding, that the King of *England*'s Design was only to have the young Queen in his Custody, he joined the

upon which the Governour joins the Queen Mother, and the Lords in the French Interest.

the Queen Mother and the Lords in the *French Interest*, which disappointing *Lennox* of his Expectations, he on the other Hand joined the pensionary Lords, and declared himself for the *English Match*. An. 1578.

King *Henry*, to palliate his unaccountable Violation of the Treaty, in a Letter to the Governor complains, That the Hostages for Performance of what was agreed to were not entered; upon this the Governor call'd a Council, and finding that no Man would enter himself an Hostage, but upon Assurance of the Peace, concluded betwixt the Two Realms, it was resolved to send none thither, till once the Treaty was sign'd, sworn to, and sent down, according to Agreement: King *Henry*, finding that he was like to be disappointed, in his Design of getting the young Queen in his Custody, in a Letter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, dated the 14th of *September*: He expressly orders him to enter *Scotland* with his Forces, and, if possible, to seize the Governor and Cardinal; and to burn the City of *Edinburgh*, yet notwithstanding of all this, the Governor still pressed, that the Treaty should be sign'd, and Sir *Ralph* in his Letters to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Bishop of *Durham*, dated the 24th of *September*, says, *I am in Hopes; that they (meaning the Scots) will effectually perform the Treaty, in case it shall please the King's Majesty to accept the same, but to render King Henry altogether unaccountable in his Proceedings.* In his Answer to this of the 30th of *September*, he tells Sir *Ralph*, that he would not accept of the Conditions of the Treaty, nor would he have gone so far in the Matter, had not the *Scots* Ambassadors assured him, That if he accepted the Treaty as then agreed to by the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, he would carry whatsoever he pleased; and in the same Letter he desires him to acquaint the pensionary Lords, to endeavour to get the Governor and Cardinal delivered up to him, or deposed; to appoint 12 Noble Persons to have the Government of the Kingdom, and 8 others to have the Custody of the young Queen, and those to be removed that were about her, that he might with the greater Ease accomplish his Design of carrying her away, and in a Letter to the Duke of *Suffolk* of the same Date: He orders him to enter *Scotland* with his Forces, and to ravage the Borders; Sir *Ralph* having imparted his Master's Proposals, to the pensionary Lords, says in his Letter "to the Duke of *Suffolk*, dated on the 5th of *October*, " That their "Answer was, That if the King's Majesty would advance a convenient Sum of Money, with which they might levy Souldiers, they would besiege the Cardinal in his Castle of *St. Andrews*, and endeavour to get both the young Queen and him into his Custody, but that it could not be easily accomplished, because *Edinburgh*, *Stirling* and *Dumbartoun* Castles were in the Enemies Hands; notwithstanding of all this, says he; if he had Money, they did not know what might be done.

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Ad. 1557.
The Patriarch of Venice arrives from France with Money, Arms and Ammunition from the King of France, to the Earl of Lennox, whose Army is defeat by the Governoour.

About this Time arrived 5 Ships from France, with 60000 Pound Sterling (a) of Money, and Arms and Ammunition for the Earl of Lennox ; with these Ships came *Francis Contarenus* Patriarch of *Venice*, and Legat for the Kingdom, from Pope *Paul the 3d*, as likewise from the French King Mr. *la' Broche*, Mr. *Menager* and Mr. *Anorat*. The French noways doubting but the Earl of *Lennox* was in their Interest, delivered to him the Money, Arms and Ammunition, with which he immediately levied an Army, and being joined by the Pensionary Lords, he marched straight to *Leith*, but by the Mediation and prudent Conduct of the Cardinal and the Earl of *Hunly* then at *Edinburgh*, an Agreement was made betwixt him and the Governoour, which *Lennox* sealed with a solemn Oath ; and Sir *George Douglas* and *Glencairn's* eldest Son were given up to the Governoour as Hostages for observing the Peace : But six Days after, the Governoour having gone to *Linnithgow*, the Earl of *Lennox* in the night Time, posted to *Glasgow*, where he raised a new Army, and fortify'd the Town and *Castle* ; In the mean Time, Sir *George Douglas* falling Sick at *Dalkeith*, the Governoour went to visit him, which King *Henry* having got notice of, in a Letter to Sir *George*, dated the 6th of *October*, he reprehends him sharply for not apprehending the Governoour, which he excused, because he came under Trust, and out of Kindness to see him : But he and all the other Pensionaries promise in a short Time to deliver to him not only the Governoour, but the Queen and the Cardinal ; which he earnestly puts them in mind of, in another Letter written in *October*, and in a Minute written by Mr. *Wharton* the 27th of *October*, he orders him to dispatch one into *Scotland* to advise the Earl of *Angus* to besiege the Castle of *Stirling*, in which the Queen and Governoour then were, and in a Letter to the Governoour he threatens him severely, to which the Governoour returned a suitable Answer.

Sometime after this, the Governoour having raised an Army, marched straight to *Glasgow*, where *Glencairn*, the Lairds of *Tullibardine*, *Houston*, *Buchannan*, *Macfarline*, *Drumwhasle* and others of the Shire of *Ranfrew*, were got together expecting *Lennox*, with another Army from *Dumbartoun* Shire to join them. They having got notice of the Governoour's Design, marched out to meet him about a Mile from *Glasgow*, on a plain Field called the *Muir of Glasgow* ; they no sooner came in sight of other, but they immediately fell to Action, and for a long Time the Victory was dubious ; but at length *Lennox* Followers were put to the Flight, and the Governoour pursued them into the City, where a great many were taken Prisoners, and afterwards set at Liberty upon the Lord *Boyd's* Desire, the principal Persons being only fined ; yet there was a Party that still kept the Castle and Steeple of the Church next to the Castle : These the Governoour besieged, and forced them to surrender at Discretion. Upon which, he caused 18 of the leading

leading Men amonst them to be put to Death, and the rest set at ^{Anno 1547} Liberty : In this Action a good Number of the Citizens, and others of Lennox Followers were killed, and a great many more of them had fallen, had it not been for the Governour's innate Clemency, who saved as many of them as he could.

Not long after this, the Lord Sommervel was apprehended with Letters to the King of *England*, containing High Treason : For in them the pensionary Lords desire King *Henry* to rely upon his Information concerning their Resolutions, and the Measures they had taken for seizing and delivering up to him the Queen, the Governour, and his Brother the Treasurer, the burning of the Town of *Hamilton*, and the murdering of the Cardinal. All which appears from Sir Ralph's Letters to the Duke of *Suffolk*, dated the 12th of November. The Earl of *Angus* and the Lord *Mdxwell* having undertaken to mediate a Peace betwixt the Earl of *Lennox* and the Governour, they were both seized upon, and sent Prisoners to the Governour's Palace at *Hamilton*, and afterwards to the Castle of *Blackness*, where they were kept under strong Guards.

The Governour having now discovered the Designs of the King of *England*, and his pensionary Lords, called a Parliament, which met upon the 4th of December 1543, and annulled the Marriage with *England*, by the following Act.

Undecimo Deceinbris septima dies Parliamenti, Domino Gubernatore praesente cum tribus Regni statibus.

THE quilk Day, anentis the Article proponed touching Peace and Contracts of Marriage lately tane and made betwixt the Ambassadors of our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Grace, and Commissaries of the Kingdom of England, betwixt our said Sovereign Lady, and Edward Prince of England, Son and apparent Heir to the King of England, gif the samen should be observit and keepit or nocht : My Lord Governour, and the Threc Estates of Parliament findis, that the said Pece was taken, concluded and endit in the Beginning of the Monet of Julay last by past, betwixt the saids Ambassadors and Commissaries of bayth the Realmis, and the Sealis to have been interchangit betwixt and the first Day of September next thereafter, exclusive, and the said Pece was proclamit bayth in England and Scotland, and throw Prtence thereof the Merchandis of Scotland putt their Schippis and Goodis to the Sea, and long before the said first Day of September they were taken by Inglyssmen, and haldin themselves, Gaire and Schippis, and Goodis as zet unrestorit, bot definit as Enemis, notwithstanding of the said Pece, and diverse Messages sent for delivering of them, quhair throw the said King of England has violat and brakein the said Pece : And therefore, and because the said Contract of Marriage was grantit for the said Pece, to have been had observit and kept betwixt the Twa Realmis; quhilk was not keepit, but brokin and violat by the said King of England

The Marriage with the young Queen and Prince of Wales, annulled by Act of Parliament.

An. 1581. as said is, and alse because my Lord Governour sent baith the Contractis of Marriage and Pece ratifet, approvit and sworn by him, and sealit with our Sovereign Ladys Grit Seal, according to the Indentis before the said first Day of September, and causit the samen to be deliverit to the said King, quha was requirit by the Ambassadore, sent by my Lord Governour to have deliverit the said Contractis in sick like Manner ratifet, approvit and sworn by him, and refuset to do the samin. My Lord Governour, and Three Estates of Parliament foresaid, has declarit, and declaris the said Contractis to be expyrit in themselfis, and not to be keepit in Time coming, for the Part of Scotland.

The Earl of Lennox subjects himself to the King of England, for which he is forfeited.

The Earl of Lennox finding that the Governor was much more powerful, then he sent one Thomas Bishop one of his principal Gentlemen, to King Henry with a Proffer of his Service, and a Proposal of Marriage betwixt him and Lady Margaret Douglass, Daughter to the Earl of Angus and King Henry's Niece: The King of England very willingly went into the Proposal, and at a Meeting at Carlisle, the following Articles were agreed to betwixt the Lord Wharton for King Henry, and the Earl of Lennox, upon the 17th Day of May 1544 (a).

First, The Earl of Lennox will be King Henry's Subject and Servant, and serve him against all that shall impugne his Grace's Title in Scotland, or elsewhere.

2dly, That he will surrender into his Majesty's Hands the Castle of Dumbarton, as also the Isle of Bute, and help him to win the Castle of Rothesay there.

3dly, That when the King, having the Direction of the Realm of Scotland, shall have made him Governor, the said Earl shall never call Parliaments, nor do any Matter of any great Moment without the King's Advice.

4thly, That he shall foresee that his Pronepte be not convoyed out of Scotland, but to strive to get her Person into his Custody, and to deliver her into the King's Hands.

5thly, That because the King hath upon his earnest Suit given him Leave to marry his Grace's Niece the Lady Margaret Douglass, the said Earl bindeth himself to endow her with the yearly Jointure of 500 Merks Sterling.

6thly, That the King, in Consideration of the Losses which the said Earl shall sustain in France by this Agreement, will give him and his Heirs Possession in England of 1700 Merks Sterling.

7thly, That the King will aid the said Earl in Scotland for two or three Months with 500 Men, besides such Men as his Grace will send to take and keep Dumbarton. And Lastly, That the King having obtained the Rule and Direction of the Kingdom, will constitute the said Earl Governor. And these Articles were signed by the Earl himself upon the 26th of June: For which, in a Meeting of

(a) Vid. Herib. Hist. of Hen. VIII. Pag. 510.

of the Estates of Parliament in the Month of October, he was most justly forfeited : And the French King having got notice of this Agreement, did likewise forfeit and imprison his Brother (a) *John Stewart Lord Aubigny*, Governor of *Avignon*, and Captain of the *Gens des Armes*, upon which followed a War betwixt the two Kingdoms.

In the Year 1548, the Governour having called a Parliament, which met in a Monastery hard by *Haddington* (b), it was unanimously resolved by the Three Estates of Parliament; that for the Preservation of the young Queen, who was now about six Years of Age, that she should be sent to *France*, where she should remain till such Time as her Years allowed her to marry : And the League being renewed betwixt the two Nations of *Scotland* and *France*, Mr. *de Villegagnon*, by Order of the Parliament, set sail from *Pictland Firth*, and coasting alongst the Isles, they came streight to *Dumbarton*, where the Queen Mother (c) delivered her Daughter the young Queen to the Lord *de Brezeuleing*, even then, says Mr. *Beague*, one of the most perfect Creatures the Author of Nature had ever framed, for her Match was no where to be seen; nor had the World another Child of her Fortune and Hopes.

The Persons to whose Care she was intrusted, was the Lords *Erskine* and *Fleeming*, and for her Governant was appointed the Lady *Fleeming*, and for her Maids of Honour, *Mary Livingston*, Daughter to the Lord *Livingston*, *Mary Fleeming*, Daughter to the Lord *Fleeming*, *Mary Seaton*, Daughter to the Lord *Seator*, and *Mary Beaton*, Daughter to the Laird of *Balfour*. They arrived safely at *Brest*, having escaped the English Fleet, who lay in wait for her ; and from *Brest* she was convoyed to the Court of St. *German*, where she was received with great Pomp and Splendor : And to do her the more Honour, the *Scots* Guards were naturalized *Scots* Men : Which Letters of Naturalization granted in the Month of November 1547, and verified in the Chamber of *Compts* 12th of February 1548, are to be seen in the MS. Collection of the Treaties betwixt *Scotland* and *France*, which I have seen in the Libraries of *George Earl of Winton*, and *George Earl of Cromarty*.

After her Arrival in *France*, her two Uncles, the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorain* took all imaginable Care about her Education ; and being endowed with a vast Capacity and Spriteliness of Wit, in a short Time she was Master of the *French*, *Latin*, *Spanish* and *Italian* Languages, besides the other Accomplishments requisite for a Person of her Sex and Quality, such as Dancing, Singing, Needle-work, &c. in which she excelled any of her Age ; so that the Eyes of all *Europe* were upon her : And M. *Rapin* tells us, That in the 14th Year of her Age she declaimed in a *Ciceronian* Stile of *Latin* before the whole Court of *France*, and composed Poems that had all the Beauties and Charms of Wit and Eloquence.

Her Knowledge in the Languages and Sciences.

An. 1557.
The Queen
Mother goes
to France to
visit her.

In the beginning of the Month of *September* 1550, the Queen Mother went to *France* to see her ; she was accompanied by the old Countess of *Huntly*, the Earl of *Huntly* her Son, the Countess of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Marischal*, *Sutherland* and *Cassils* ; and a great many other Persons of Quality : They landed at *Diep* upon the 14th of *October*, and the French King met her at *Roan*, where, after they had stay'd for some Days they went to *Paris*, and from thence to the City of *Blois*, where she stay'd all that Winter with her Daughter.

There arises
Debates a-
bout her
Marriage.

Having attained to a competent Age for Marriage, there arose great Debates both in *France* and *Scotland* about it : For the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorain* her two Uncles, pressed earnestly that she should be married to the Dauphin of *France*. The Duke of *Montmorancy* Constable of *France* (a), was for marrying her to some of the Princes of the Blood, and for sending them immediately to *Scotland* : Because said he; When Princes are absent from their own Dominions, commonly their Subjects rebel, which if *Scotland* should do, it would be both expensive and difficult for *France* to reduce them ; and thereby, instead of making *France* the better by her Marriage with the Dauphin, it would make it in a far worse Condition in *Scotland*. The Duke of *Chattelhe- rault* foreseeing that this Marriage might be prejudicial to his Family ; he opposed it with all his might, and caused a Report to be spread amongst the Vulgar, that the Queen Mother and the French King had a Design to subject *Scotland* as a Province to *France* : And although he raised the Country in a Rebellion against her, yet he could not put a Stop to the Marriage : For the King of *France* having demanded her in Marriage for his Son the Dauphin, a Parliament was called at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *December* 1557, And the three Estates of Parliament agreed to the Marriage, and sent the following Commissioners to be present at the Solemnity, *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *David Bishop of Ross* Secretary, *Robert Bishop of Orkney* President of the Session, *James Prior of St Andrews* the Queen's Bastard Brother, *George Earl of Rothes*, *Gilbert Earl of Cassils*, *James Lord Fleming*, *George Lord Seaton* and *John Erskine of Dun*, Provost of *Montrose*.

But at length
it is agreed
that she
should be
married to
the Dauphin.

The Com-
missioners
that were
sent to be
present at
the Marri-
age.

They embarked at *Leith* in the Month of *February* 1558, and by a great Storm one of their Ships which carried their Horses, was shipwrackt at *St. Abb's Head* ; and another wherein the Earl of *Rothes* and the Bishop of *Orkney* were, with all the Furniture for the Marriage, which was very rich and sumptuous, was shipwrackt nigh to *Bouloign* upon the Coast of *France* : But the Earl and the Bishop made their Escape in the Ship's Boat, which brought them safely to Land, all the rest of the Fleet arrived safely at *Bouloign* : From whence the Commissioners went streight to *Paris*, where they were nobly received and entertained by the French King, and upon the 18th of *April* 1558, it was agreed betwixt them (b) and the French

(a) *Melville's Mem.* P. 17. (b) From the aforesaid MS. peers Comitem de. Winton &c Com. de Cromarty

French Commissioners, "That the Queen should be married to the Dauphin upon the 24th ; That if her Husband the Dauphin comes to be King of *France*, she shall have 60000 Livres *Tournois per Annun* ; That the eldest Son of the Marriage shall succeed to both Kingdoms, and that the Arms of both Kingdoms shall be quartered and joined together ; That if it shall please God that her Majesty have a Daughter only and no Son, then she is to marry by the Advice and Consent of both Kingdoms ; and shall have for her Portion 400000 Crowns of the *Sun*, and to each of the young Daughters if any, 300000 ; That the States of *Scotland* shall take an Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance to them". Both these Articles being sworn to and subscribed by both Parties, the *Scots* Commissioners swore Allegiance to her Majesty and her Husband the Dauphin upon the 28th at the *Louvre*. And it was further agreed, "That the *Scots* in *France* should be held and reputed, and have all the Privileges of native *French* Men, as the *French* should be likewise in *Scotland*". And the Ceremony of the Marriage was performed in *Nostre Dame* at *Paris*, in Presence of the *French* King and the whole Court of *France*, upon the 24th of April 1558.

She is married to the Dauphin.

The Solemnities of the Marriage were no sooner over, but a Proposal was made for complementing the Dauphin with the Matrimonial Crown : But this was opposed by the Earls of *Rothes* and *Cassils*, the Lord *Fleming* and the Bishop of *Orkney*. And all of them dying suddenly at *Diep* in their Return to *Scotland*, it was believed that they were poisoned by the *French* : But whatever Truth was in this, it is certain that the Reformers made a Handle of it to incense the Vulgar against the *French* : For they were all of them well beloved and very popular, the Earl of *Rothes* being a Nobleman that was highly favoured by that wise and excellent Prince *James V.*, to whom he had been long a Privy Counsellor. The Earl of *Cassils* was Lord high Treasurer of the Kingdom. The Lord *Fleming* was a young Nobleman of extraordinary Hopes and Expectations. And the Bishop of *Orkney* was one of the wisest and learnedest Prelates of his Age, as we have shown in the History of his Life.

Several of the Scots Commissioners die in their Return from France.

The remaining Commissioners having arrived safely at *Leith*, a Parliament was called and met at *Edinburgh*, and the Commissioners having laid before them all their Proceedings in Relation to the Marriage of the Queen, what they had done was approven of : But when they came to the Proposal made by the *French*, of sending the Matrimonial Crown to the Dauphin, great Debates arose amongst them about it : For the Duke of *Châtellerault* gave in a Protestation against it, as tending to prejudice his Right to the Crown, if she should die without Heirs. Which Protestation was given in by Sir *James Hamilton* of *Crawford-John*, and is dated at *Edinburgh*, 26th of November 1558, and subscribed by these Witnesses, *John Arclibishop of St. Andrews, George Earl of Huntly, George*

The matrimonial Crown is ordain'd to be sent to the Dauphin, which the Duke of Châtellerault protests against.

Lord Gordon his Son, George Commendator of Dumfermling, John Lord Borthwick, Mr. Andrew Oliphant and John Kelso Notar Publick, the penult Day of November, and this Protestation is still extant in the Duke of Hamilton's Charter Chest, extracted by Archibald Primrose, Clerk-Register, yet notwithstanding of this the Estates of Parliament agreed to the sending over the matrimonial Crown, and the Eaarl of Argyle and the Prior of St Andrews were ordered to carry it over to the Dauphin : But the Reformers or the Lords of the Congregation as they called themselves, knowing how useful these two were for carrying on their Designs, they diswaded them from going, and a Petition was presented to the Parliament from them, requiring, " That all Acts of Parliament " against the Protestants should be abrogated or suspended till a " lawful general Council should meet to decide the Controversies " betwixt them, that whoever was accused of Heresy before the " Temporal Judge, should have a Copy of his Accusation delivered " to him, and a competent Time assigned him to answer, that all " lawful Defences should be received from such Persons, and they " allowed to except against the Witnesses according to Law, that " the Party accused should have Liberty to explain his own Mind, " and that his Declaration should be more believed, than what any " Witnesses could say against them, that no Protestant should be " put to Death for his Religion, till such Time as he was convin- " ced of his Error from the Word of God.

The Parliament returning no Answer to this Petition, the Lords of the Congregation protested, *That since they could not obtain a Reformation by the Law of the Land, according to God's Word, That it should be lawful for them to exercise their own Religion according to the Purity of the Gospel ; That none of them should suffer by this, either in their Lands, Goods or Lives, by Virtue of former Acts of Parliament made in Favours of their Adversaries ; That whatever Tumults or Disorders should happen betwixt them and their Adver- saries, should not be imputed to them. And Lastly, That since they had nothing in their View, but the Purity of their Religion, that they should not be lookt upon as Factious and Seditious, but as dutiful and loyal Subjects.* And this their Protestation they desired to be insert in the Records of Parliament, but instead of that, they were declared Rebels, and from that Time the Country was involved in a War, the Effects of which were the utter Ruin and Devastation of the Nation ; and the murdering of their lawful Sovereign to the eternal Disgrace of those who under a Pretext of Religion, acted like incarnat Devils.

During these Troubles in *Scotland*, the Grounds of a War were laid betwixt *England* and *France*, which was occasioned thus, Mary Queen of *England* dying at St. James's upon the 17th of November 1558, was succeeded by Princess Elizabeth, King Henry's Daughter by Anne of Bullen, who was declared a Bastard by Act of Parliament ; whereupon by Advice of the King of *France*, our Queen as

as next Heir to the Crown of *England*, in all her publick Deeds and Letters (*a*), assumed this Title, *Francis and Mary by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Scotland, England and Ireland*; and she caused the Arms of *England* quartered with the Arms of *Scotland* to be painted on the Walls of her Palace in the Herald Coats, and on all her Plate: This, as I have said, not only laid the Grounds of a War betwixt *England* and *France*, but created such a Hatred in Queen *Elizabeth* against our Queen, that she could never forgive her, during the Course of her whole Life. Not long after this, *Henry the second, King of France* dying, the Dauphin and she were proclaimed King and Queen of *France*, and the Troubles daily increasing in *Scotland*, they sent Mr. *Croak* a French Gentleman with Letters to the Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Queen's Bastard Brother, and the chief Man amongst the Rebels, wherein they justly upbraided him for his Disloyalty and Ingratitude towards them, and threaten to punish him severely, if he does not return to his Duty: Both these Letters are in *Lesly's* and *Spotswood's* Histories (*b*). And Mr. *Petrie* in his History (*c*) has given us the Prior's Answer to the King, wherein he says, *That he was noways conscious to himself of any Thing that he had done amiss, since all was for the Glory of God, and the Advancement of his Kingdom; and prays that God might so illuminate them, as that they might embrace his Truth, and know his Duty to his poor Subjects, his chosen People.*

The King's Letter is dated from *Paris* the 17th Day of *July*, and the Queen's the 24th: The Prior's Answer to them is dated at *Dumbarton* 12th *August*. Sometime after this arrived another French Gentleman (*d*), called *Octavian*, with 4 Regiments of Soldiers, and a great deal of Money: Immediately after he was sent back again to *France* to the Queen and her Husband with Letters requiring 4 Regiments more, which, with what were already in *Scotland*, would make 20, and with these and the 4 Ships that were lying in the Road of *Leith*, and a hundred Horse, the Queen Mother assured them, that she doubted not to reduce all the Rebels in *Scotland* to their Duty: In the same Letters she likewise acquainted the King, that she was certainly informed, that the Rebels in *Scotland* had a secret Correspondence with some of his Nobility in *France* who favoured the Reformation, and who promised as much as was in their Power to obstruct the sending of Supplies from *France*, and that likewise they had wrot to the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the King of *Denmark* for their Assistance; but that their greatest Hope was in the Queen of *England*. Which Letters are in the Lawyers Library, amongst those given in by the Right Honourable, the Earl of *Balcarras*.

About this Time the Earl of *Arran*, Son to the Duke of *Chatelherault* returned from *France* thro' *England*, loaded with Recommendations from Queen *Elizabeth*, to the Lords of the Congregation: This young Nobleman had made his Escape out of *France*, where

(*a*) *Edel Lib. Q. Mary, pag. L.* (*b*) *Lesly, Lib. X. pag. 543.* *Spots. Lib. 3. pag. 130.* (*c*) *Part 2. pag. 209.* (*d*) *Lesly ubi supra.*

The Earl of Arran deserts the Queen's Service, and joins the Rebels.

Ann. 1558.

where he was Captain of the *Gens d' Armes*. Upon this Occasion King *Henry of France*, upon the 17th of *June 1548*, gave a Bond to the Duke of *Chatelherault* his Father, then Earl of *Arran*, obliging himself, that in Case the Queen died without Heirs of her own Body, and that any Person should offer to interrupt the Earl's Succession to the Crown of *Scotland*, as next Heir after the Queen's Decease, then, and in that Case he should support and assist him against all Opposers whatsoever : And this was ratified by the King, and his Son the Dauphin the 19th of *April 1558*, and again ratified by the Dauphin and Queen *Mary* the last Day of *April 1558*. But the Queen, sensible of her Error, revoked this Entailment of the Crown ; but what did aggravate the Matter more, was, that the Queen made no Revocation of an Entailment that she had made of the Crown of *Scotland* to the Crown of *France*, failing Heirs of her own Body (*a*) : But the Truth was, that she thought herself under no Obligation to revoke that, being of it self null ; for it was extorted from her by the Court of *France* when a Child, and without the Consent of any of her Subjects ; these Things having highly provoked this young Nobleman against the Queen's Uncles, by whose Advice it had been done, he appeal'd the Duke of *Guise* to a Combat, upon which he was ordered to be apprehended ; but having got timeous Advertisement, he made his Escape to *England*, where he was joyfully received, and highly caressed by Queen *Elizabeth*, who sent him, as we have said, with Letters full of Love and Affection to her beloved Friends the Lords of the Congregation ; and having come to *Hamilton*, he met with his Father the Duke of *Chatelherault*, and acquainted him of all that had befallen him : Upon which both of them took immediately Post to *Stirling*, where they joined the Lords of the Congregation, delivered them Queen *Elizabeth's* Letters, and tells them of the Plot of the *Guises* for uniting the Crowns of *Scotland* and *France*, in case the Queen should die without Heirs of her own Body, contrary to the Act of Parliament in Favours of their Family. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Lords of the Congregation, who received them with Acclamations of Joy : Of all which the Earl of *Arran* sent a full Account to Queen *Elizabeth's* Secretary in a Letter (*b*), dated the first of *September 1559*. After this they marched streight to *Hamilton*, from whence they wrote a Letter to the Queen Mother, who had fortified *Leith*, wherein they complain of her Proceedings in that Matter, as if she intended to keep the Country under a tyrannical Subjection by a Colony of Strangers ; therefore they exhort her to desist from the fortifying of *Leith*, otherwise they would be obliged to oppose her Designs against the Common-Wealth.

*His Father
the Duke of
Chatelherault
likewise joins
the Rebels.*

*They threat-
ten to oppose
the Queen
Mother.*

This Letter is dated from *Hamilton* the 29 of *September* the same Year (*c*), and subscribed by the Duke of *Chatelherault*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Glencairn* and *Monteith*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd* and *Ochiltrie*, and a great many Barons and Gentlemen.

At

(*a*) Vid. Coll. of Orig. Treat. ubi supr. (*b*) See Mr. Hamilton's MS. Observations upon *Buchanan*. (*c*) Ibid.

At the same Time they wrote a Letter to the Lord *Erskine*, Governor of the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*, desiring him to join with them, and they assured him, that if any by Violence should go about to deprive him of the Government of those two important Forts of the Nation, they should not be wanting in assisting of him. But that Nobleman was not to be gained by such Artifices, for he continued still firm to his Loyalty.

The Queen Mother being sensible how much the Rebels were strengthened by the Defection of the Duke and his Son, she sent Sir *Robert Carnegie* and Mr. *David Borthwick* with a Letter of Credit to the Duke, and they endeavoured all they could to reclaim him and his Son to their Duty, by promising them all Manner of Satisfaction, and showing how they had no Manner of Reason to debate, that as long as the Queen was alive, and might in all Probability have Children of her own Body: And as for their suggesting to the People, that she designed to enslave the Nation, nothing could be more ridiculous; for did not the Kingdom already belong in Right to her Daughter and her Husband the King of *France*, and that she never required the Assistance of foreign Forces till such Time as they rose up in Rebellion against her, and entertained a League with the *English*, the ancient Enemies of the Kingdom; so that whatever Pretences they might make, it was plain that they aimed at nothing but the Crown: But all this was in vain, for the Duke and his Son were inflexible.

In the mean Time the King and Queen being informed of the Troubles that were raised in *Scotland* by the Reformers, sent over to *Scotland* Mr. *de Pellew* Bishop of *Amiens*, and afterwards Cardinal and Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, and three Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, Dr. *Furmer*, Dr. *Brochet* and Dr. *Ferretier*, to accommodate Matters amicably with them: The Bishop came in Quality of Legate from the Pope, with Instructions from Queen *Mary* and her Husband for this Effect, as it appears from his Instructions still extant in the Lawyers Library at *Edinburgh* (a). They arrived at *Leith* with a Convoy of 2000 Foot, under the Command of Monsieur *le Broche*, but they were so far from hearing of an Accommodation, that they would not so much as meet with these Doctors; and Things were carried to such Extremities by them, that she was obliged to declare them Rebels: And on the other Hand, they as representing the Nobility and Commons renounced her Authority; and in a Meeting, where the Lord *Ruthven* was chosen Preses, a Motion was made for turning her out of the Regency, but they would do nothing in it, till they had consulted with their Ministers; and they accordingly having met with them, very freely gave their Opinions that she ought to be turned out of the Regency, as a Persecutor of God's People and Church: Upon which, without the Authority or Consent either of Queen or Parliament, they discharged her of her Regency upon the 21st Day of October 1559, and freed themselves

An 1559.
They endeavoured to gain over the Lord *Erskine*, but in vain.

The Queen Mother endeavours to gain over the Duke and his Son, but in vain.

The King and Queen send from France the Bishop of Amiens, and three Doctors of the Sorbonne to accommodate Matters, but to no Purpose.

They renounce the Queen Mother's Authority, and discharge her of the Regency.

S S S

Anno 1587. for the Future of all Obedience to her ; and ordered that this their Act should be published at all the Head Burghs of the Kingdom : The Copy of which (*a*) is still extant in the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh. The War being thus declared betwixt them, the Lords of the Congregation were very much straitned for Money, whereupon it was resolved, that every Nobleman should give in his Silver Plate to be coin'd at the Mint-House ; but John Hart having secured the Irons of the Mint-House for her Majesty's Use, their only Hope of Relief was from England ; and because they thought it would be too long Time to wait an Answer from the Court of England, they sent Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston to borrow 4000 Crowns from Sir Ralph Saddler and Sir James Crofts, Governours of Berwick.

This Project of theirs was not kept so secret, but it came to the Queen's Ears, who employed the Earl of Bothwell to way-lay him in his return from Berwick ; and he was so successful, that he got the whole Money, and brought it to the Queen ; but the Rebels on the other Hand supplied themselves by plundering the Churches, the Houses and Estates of the Loyalists.

The Earl of Bothwell takes from the Rebels 4000 Crowns. The Queen Mother having sent over to France for further Aid and Assistance, the King and Queen sent over the Marquis d'Elbeuf and Count Martiques, a young Nobleman of known Valour and Experience, with some few Forces with them : But after they had embark'd at Diep, by a violent Storm of Wind, they were dispersed and driven back to France, with the Loss of 18 Ensigns, cast away upon the Coast of Holland ; but in the Month of November, the Count de Martiques arrived with a Thousand Veteran Troops. The War daily encreasing in Scotland, the Rebels assisted by England in Men and Money, and the King of France not being able to supply the Queen Regent, he sent Count Randon and Mr. Monluc Bishop of Valence, Ambassadors to Queen Elizabeth, to mediate a Peace betwixt the Lords of the Congregation and the Queen Regent ; it being below him to treat with his Rebel Subjects, and Queen Elizabeth not being willing to make an open Rupture with the King of France ; it was agreed, That Sir William Cecil Principal Secretary of State for England, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury and York, should accompany the two French Ambassadors to Scotland, to mediate an Agreement betwixt the Queen Regent and the Congregation ; but whilst they were upon their Journey, the Queen Mother died of Grief in the Castle of Edinburgh, upon the 10th of June 1560.

The Queen Mother dies, her Behaviour at her Death, and Account of her Character. Before her Death, she sent for the Duke of Chattleherault, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn and Marishal and the Prior of St. Andrews ; to whom she told, That now she was going to give an Account of all her Actions to the King of Kings and Judge of the whole World ; to whom she appealed for the Uprightness of her Intentions towards the Realm of Scotland, and that she was very far from designing to subject them to the Realm of France, that she now with her

her dying Breath, recommended to them to maintain their ancient A.D. 1587.
 League with the French, against their inveterate Enemies the English; to continue firm in their Loyalty to her Daughter, their undoubted Princess and Queen, and that she wish'd to God, that they might not enslave themselves under the pretence of supporting their Liberties, by bringing in foreign Forces upon them. For which Reason she advised them to expel both English and French out of their Dominions, then taking God to Witness, about the sincerity of all her Designs, she burst forth in Tears, and asking pardon of all whom she had any way offended, and forgiving every one that had offended her, she saluted and embraced the Nobility with a Kiss, and to those of the inferior Rank that stood by, she gave her Hand to, and departed in Peace.

This Lady was a Princess endued with many admirable Qualities, being a Woman of great Prudence, a great Lover of Justice, a Mother to the Poor, especially to those that she knew to be Indigent, but for shame could not beg; compassionate to all Women in Travel, whom she did often personally visit, and help both with her Skill and Counsel, being well seen in Midwifery; in her Court nothing was to be seen, that in the least seemed to encourage Profanity or Vice; those that were about her being constantly employed in some virtuous Action or other, and she her self was a Pattern of Virtue to them all. And as for her Prudence in managing of publick Affairs, she gave many Proofs of it, in quelling several Tumults in the North, and pacifying the Insurrections in the Isles. The Troubles which happened in the Kingdom towards the latter end of her Days, were more owing to a Spirit of Rebellion and Faction, than to her Mismanagement, she being obliged to follow the Directions of the Court of France; for she was often heard to say, *That if her own Opinion had been followed, she doubted not but she would have put a stop to all these Troubles, and settled the Kingdom in a perfect Tranquillity.* Before she died, she sent over to her Daughter, our Queen, a Book which she had wrote her self, containing the Characters of all the Nobility and Officers of State; by which she might know their several Inclinations and Dispositions, and who were her Enemies, and who were her Friends. I have seen a great Number of Letters of this Queen's, wrote in Cypher, with the Key to them, in the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh, given by the Earl of Balcarras, directed to the King of France, the Cardinal of Lorain and the Duke of Guise. By her own Order her Body was carried to the Abbey of Rheims in Champaigne, where her Sister was Abbess, and there she lies interr'd under a Marble Monument.

How much the Nation was at a Loss by her Death, quickly appeared; for it was no sooner known of, but the whole Nation was Great Distress happens in the Kingdom, upon her Death. in Confusion: For the Earls of Athol and Huntly, by their Feuds and Animosities kept the whole North in an Uproar, and the Congregation plundered, burnt and destroyed the Palaces of the Bishops

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A Peace is concluded.

shops of *Dunkeld*, *Dunblane* and *Ross*, and the noble Monasteries of *Dunfermline*, *Melrose* and *Kelso*. In the mean Time, the *French* and *English* Ambassadors coming to *Edinburgh*, after several Debates with the Lords of the Congregation, a Peace was concluded on the following Terms (a).

" That the *French* that were in the Town of *Leith*, should be sent Home in the *English* Ships, they giving Pledges for their safe Return; That the Fortifications of *Leith* and *Dunbar* should be demolished; That no new Fort should be built, or old ones augmented or repaired, either by King or Queen, without Consent of Parliament; That a Garrison of 60 *French* Men should be permitted to remain in the Castle of *Dunbar*, and as many in *Inchkeith*, till the Parliament should find means to maintain them; and in the mean Time, that these Garrisons should live in Obedience to the Laws of the Realm, not taking any Thing from the Subjects, without paying of ready Money for it; That an Act of *Oblivion* should be made, abolishing of all Injuries committed against the Laws of the Realm, since the 6th Day of *March* 1558, till the 1st of *August* 1560. Which Act should be ratify'd in the next Parliament, and confirmed by the Queen, with Consent of her Husband; That all the Queen's Subjects, whether of the Congregation or not, should be obliged to live in Peace with one another, and not to resent any Thing that had been done since the 6th of *March* 1558; That neither the King nor Queen should revenge themselves upon any of their Subjects, for what they have done since the said 6th Day of *March*, and that the Duke of *Chatteherault* and all other Noblemen of *Scotland*, should be re-posseſſed in their Livings and Benefices within *France*, and that all former Capitulations should be observed; That all Bishops, Abbots and other Church Men of the *Romish* Perswasion, that have received any Injuries either in Person or Goods, the same should be considered by the Parliament, and Redress made according to Reason, and that in the mean Time, no Man should stop them in the uplifting of their Rents, nor do any Hurt or Violence to their Persons, and if any should be guilty of breaking this Article, they should be pursued by the Lords of the Justiciary, as Disturbers of the Peace of the Commonwealth; That in Time coming, the King and Queen should not depute any Stranger in the Administration of civil and common Justice, nor bestow any of the Offices of State upon them; as likewise, that no Church Man should be either Treasurer or Comptroller, or any other Person not duly qualified for the same; And further, that the Treasurer and Comptroller appointed by them, and instructed with sufficient Commission, should do nothing in disposing of Casualties without the Consent of the Council. But by all this they did not bind up the King and Queen so, but that they might do what they pleased. That a Parliament called by

" the

An. 1587.

“ the Queen, and King her Husband, should sit in the Month of *August*, and that none by Tumults should be hindred from sitting, “ who by their Places ought to be present : That for the better Government of the Realm, choice should be made of a Council, “ which should consist of 12 worthy Men of the Kingdom, of which “ Number the Queen should choose 7, and the Parliament 5, which “ 12, in her Majesty’s Absence, should have the whole Government in their Hands, and without their Advice and Consent, “ nothing should be done ; That the King or Queen should not make “ Peace or War, without the Advice and Consent of Parliament ; “ That all Noblemen should live quietly and peaceably as dutiful Subjects; neither rising in Arms themselves, nor assisting others, “ and more especially, that they should invite no Strangers to the “ Realm ; That Lord *David Son* to the Duke of *Chattleherault*, “ detained Prisoner at *Bois de Vincennes*, should be set at Liberty, “ and suffered to return to *Scotland* ; That with the *French Men*, “ no Artillery should be transported out of the Realm, but those “ that were sent and brought in since the Death of *Francis the first King of France*, and that all other Artillery and Ammunition, “ especially that which hath the Arms of *Scotland*, should be put “ in the Places out of which they were taken ; That the Army of “ *England* should return Home, immediately after embarking of “ the *French*, and that all the *Scots Forces* should be broken. And “ Lastly, That the Queen and her Husband should not take upon “ them after this, the Titles of *England* and *Ireland* ; and that they “ should delete the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, out of their whole “ Houshold Stuff ”.

As to what concerned Religion, the Ambassadors would not meddle with it, referring that entirely to their Majestys. This Treaty being sign’d by both Parties, the *French* embarked upon the 16 Day of *July 1560*, and the same Day the *English* Army marched towards *Berwick*, with the Bishop of *Amiens* and Mr. *la Broche*, who remained Hostages in *England*, till the Ships returned from *France*.

The Time appointed for the meeting of the Parliament approaching, the Lords of the Congregation issued out a Proclamation for that Effect, without acquainting the King or Queen, and having met upon the appointed Day, great Debates arose amongst them, concerning the Legality of their meeting, since their Sovereigns had sent no Commission, nor authorized any to represent their Persons : But by a Plurality of Votes, it was carried, that they were sufficiently authorized to sit by the late Treaty they had made with the *French* and *English* Ambassadors ; but because they had no Commissioner appointed by the King or Queen, the accustomed Solemnities of carrying the Crown, Scepter and Sword were omitted. Of the Spiritual Estate were present, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, *Dunblane*, *Galloway*, *Argyle* and the *Isles*, the Prior of *St. Andrews*, the Abbots of *Cowpar*,

A.D. 1587.

Lindores, Culross, St. Colm's Inch, Newbottle, Holy-Rood-House, Kinloss, Deer and New-Abbey, with the Priors of Coldingham and St. Mary Isle. Of the Nobility were present, the Duke of *Chattleherault*, the Earls of *Arran, Argyle, Marishal, Caſſils, Caithness, Athol, Glencairn, Morton and Rothes*, the Lords *Ruthven, Glamis, Erskine, Boyd, Ochiltrie, Carlisle, Livingston, Ogilvy and Somerville*, with a great many Barons and Burgesses (a). In this Parliament, they abolished the Popish Religion, and established the Protestant, and made a Confession of their Faith and Doctrine; which was afterwards ratify'd in the first Parliament of King *James the 6th*. The Rebellious Treaty betwixt the Duke of *Noribſolk* and the Duke of *Chattleherault* was approven of, and the Earls of *Morton and Glencairn*, with young *Lithington*, were sent to *England*, with a Propofal of Marriage betwixt Queen *Elizabeth* and the Earl of *Arran*, and to return their Thnks for the Assistance she had given them against the *French*. And they sent Sir *James Sandilands* Knight of *Rhodes*, with the Acts of this Parliament to *France*, and to endeavour to get the King and Queen's Approbation of them. Sir *James* arrived safely in *France*, and got Audience of their Majestys; but was severely reproved, for having undertaken to deliver a Commission from a parcel of Rebels to his native Prince, and that being a Knight of *Rhodes*, and sworn to protect the Romish Religion, against all the Opposers of it; he should now follicite (b) for establishing the execrable Heresy of the *Calvinists*. And in Truth it was no Wonder that their Majestys were incensed against them, since they had not only called the Parliament without their Authority, or acquainting of them: But likewise approved of their rebellious Proceedings against them. When Sir *James* returned to *Scotland*, and acquainted the Congregation of his Reception; it is not to be imagined what Conſternation they were in: For they thought, that if the Queen should declare them Rebels, for acting in a Parliamentary Way, without her Authority, and that if the Queen of *England* should be prevailed upon not to affit them, they might by their *French* Subjects, and ſuch of the Loyalists as were in *Scotland*, easily reduce them: But to their great Comfort, the Queen of *England* returned them ſuch an Anſwer, as gave them Hopes, that if they once more ſhould rebel againſt their Sovereign, they might expect her Affitance: For ſhe told them, That (c) ſhe was very glad to perceive her good Will and Charges, (they are her own Words) ſo well beſtowed, as to ſee the ſame thankfullly accepted of and acknowledged, with which ſhe doth ſo ſatisfy her ſelf, as if at any Time the like Cause ſhould happen, wherein her Friendship or Aid ſhall or may profit them, and for their just Defence, the ſame ſhall not be wanting. And as to the Marriage betwixt her and the Earl of *Arran*, ſhe cannot interpret that Motion to come from them, but with a good meaning of the States of Parliament,

The King and Queen refuse to ratify the Acts of Parliament.

Queen Elizabeth conſiders the Lords of the Congregation to renew their Rebellion.

(a) *Spotl. Lib. 3, P. 149.* (b) *Ibid P. 150.* (c) *Mr. Hamilton's Observations upon Buchanan.*

ament, as tending to unite the two Kingdoms, both now and afterwards, in a perpetual Amity, by offering her the best and noblest Person of their Nation; and that not without some Danger of Displeasure of the French King in so doing: But finding her self not disposed to marry, altho' it may be, that the Necessity and Respect of her Realm shall thereto hereafter constrain her; yet she wish'd that the Earl of Arran, should not forbear to accept in the mean Time, of whatever Marriage may be made unto him, for his own Utility and Security; and that all other Means should be used for the Continuance of the Amity betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Tho' the Lords of the Congregation were very well satisfied with this Answer of Queen Elizabeth's, yet the Earl of Arran was not, for Blackwood (a) tells us, That when this young Nobleman was Commander of the *Gens d' Armes* in France, he had a secret Promise of Marriage from her, providing that he would join the Protestants in France, and in his own Country; and therefore, relying upon her Promise, he moved that the Parliament should Adress her once more, which they accordingly did: But as Blackwood observes, she made very good use of such Promises, for whenever she had any Intrigue to manage, she made an Offer of her self to some Prince or other, who could be serviceable to her, and thus in the Course of her Reign she baulked ten of them.

But that which crown'd all the Joys and Hopes of the Lords of the Congregation, was the Death of the King, who died of an *Imposthume* in his Ear, in the 18th Year of his Age, after a Reign of six Months; all France did groan under this Loss, by Reason of the excellent Inclination of that Prince; but the Queen was so deeply concerned with the Impression that it made upon her, that she resolved to sacrifice the rest of her Days, to the Ashes of her Husband; but her two Uncles diswaded her from this, and earnestly pressed, that she should return to Scotland with a good Army, which they would raise for her; they then having the Government of France in their Hands. Queen Elizabeth having got Notice of this by her Ambassador in France, sent an Express to the Lords of the Congregation, to acquaint them of it, and to advise them to send over to France one of their Number to diswade her from such an Enterprize, undet Pretence of condoling the Death of her Husband. Upon this, the Lords of the Congregation immediately met at Edinburgh, and sent over the Prior of St. Andrews, The Prior of St. Andrews, the Queen's bastard Brother. On the other Hand, the Lords of the Roman-Catholick Perswasion, being advertised of the Design of the Congregation, they met, and sent over Dr. Lesly, afterwards Bishop of Ross, from them. The Bishop, as he tells us himself (b), made quicker Dispatch than the Prior did, and found the Queen And the Bishop of Ross from the Roman Catholick men Cabbie at Vitrie in Champaigne, upon the XVIII. of the Calends of May 1561, where he presented his Letter of Credence to her, subscribed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Mar-

An. 1557. ray and Ross, the Earls of Huntly, Athol, Crawford, Sutherland and Caithness. The Substance of his Commission was, "That she should give no Credit to the Prior, who aspired at nothing less than the Crown; That she should detain him in France till her Affairs in Scotland were fully settled, and that her best Method for restoring the Catholick Religion, and securing her self upon the Throne, was to land at Aberdeen, where she would be honourably received by the Earl of Huntly, who had sent James Cullen a Relation of his, well seen in Maritime Affairs, to conduct her and her Fleet safely there". To this the Queen reply'd, *That the Prelates and Noblemen by whom he was employ'd, might assure themselves of her Favour, and desir'd him to write to them so; but that he himself should stay and attend her, till such Time as she returned.*

*Their Com-
missions, and
the Queen's
Answer to
them both.*

The Prior, upon his Arrival, hearing what had past betwixt her and the Bishop, did not in the least seem to notice it; but told her Majesty, "That nothing was more longed for, by her loyal and affectionate Subjects of the Congregation, who had sent him with a Proffer of their Duty to her, than her Return to Scotland; and whereas he was informed, that she designed to return with an Army, there could be nothing more disobliging to her Subjects, who at the very sight of her, would submit themselves with the utmost Clearfulness and Alacrity, to whatsoever she could desire of them; besides, that it would be a needless Expence brought upon her self and the Nation". In one Word says Blackwood (a), he preached so well, that she believed him; as it very often happens to Princes, who, by I do not know what Destiny, are credulous to their own Destruction, and are easily persuaded to believe any Thing that has the Prospect of saving them Expenses.

*The French
King desires
the renewing
of the
League.*

In the mean Time, one Noallius Senator of Bourdeaux, was sent Ambassador from the French King, to renew the ancient League betwixt the two Nations, and to restore the depriv'd Clergy of the Romish Perswasion, to their former Places; both which were deny'd.

*The Queen
sends an Am-
bassador to
Queen Eli-
zabeth, desir-
ing a safe
Conduct, but
is refused.*

The Queen being seized with a *Tertian Ague*, was obliged to stay for some Months at Janville, and towards the latter End of June, she came to Paris, where Francis Earl of Bedford, whom Queen Elizabeth had sent over to condole the Death of her Husband, waited upon her: and after his Complément of Condolence was over, he desired, that she might ratify the Treaty at Leith. Having returned her Thanks to her Sister; she told him, *That for ratifying the Treaty at Leith, she could not do it, till she returned to her own Country, and consulted with her Parliament.* In the mean Time, she sent over to England, Monsieur d' Oyssel, with her Return of Thanks, and to require a safe Conduct. The Ambassador having waited upon Queen Elizabeth, when he came to the demanding of a safe Conduct for his Mistris, and a Pass for himself to Scotland;

Scotland ; she fell in a great Passion (*a*) before a Number of People; and said, *That she never expected Friendship from the Queen of Scots, since she had refused to ratify the Treaty at Leith.* The Ambassador having acquainted his Mistress the Queen of Scotland of this, she sent for Nicolas Throgmorton the English Ambassador, and commanding all her Attendants to retire ; she told him, as we have it from Throgmorton's Letters (*b*), *That whatever Weakness she might be guilty of, she did not desire to have so many Witnesses of it, as his Queen of late had, when she talked with her Ambassador :* *And now I must tell you, That nothing grieves me more, than that I should have desired a Thing of her, that I stood in no need of ; since I can by God's Blessing return to my own Country, without her Leave, as I came hither against the will of her Brother King Edward : But I was willing to try her Friendship, because you have often told me, That it was for both our Advantages, to live in Friendship together ; but it seems, she esteemeth the Friendship of my rebellious Subjects better than mine, a Thing unworthy of her. I do no not meddle in her Affairs, and I think she ought to do as little in mine, neither am I inferior to her in any Thing ; but Comparisons are odious. And as to the ratifying the Treaty at Leith, if it was not done during my Husband's Time, it was his Fault, none of mine ; for I always thought it my Duty to comply with whatever he desired, and since his Death, I have not had the Occasion to consult my Friends in Scotland, whom I am resolved not to disoblige, and I would gladly know from you, what can be the Motive of your Queen's treating me at this Rate.* To this the Ambassador answered, *Madam, I have no Commission to your Majesty, but for the Ratification of the Treaty at Leith ; but if you would have my Opinion of the Cause of all this, I will give it you as a Gentleman ; but not as her Ambassador, when she came to the Throne, you usurped her Arms and Titles, which you did not do in Queen Mary's Time, and nothing could be more offensive than that was.* To this the Queen reply'd, *My Father in Law, and Husband were then both of them alive, and they commanded me to do so, and it was my Duty to obey them ; but since I had my own Liberty, I have neither used her Arms nor Titles, tho' I do not see why I may not use the Arms of England, since my Grand-Mother was the eldest Sister of King Henry 8th, and others of meaner Birth have done it ; for the Marquis of Exeter and the Duchess of Suffolk King Henry's Niece, both of them did bear the Arms of England, with Borders for a Difference ; and shall it be imputed to me as a Crime to do the same ? No, this is all trifling, there must be something else in her Mind.*

The English Ambassador having acquainted his Mistress of this Conference, she sent a Letter to the Lords of the Congregation, wherein she upbraided them for not fulfilling the Treaty at Leith. To which they returned a most submissive Answer, laying the whole Blame upon the Queen ; and the Prior of St. Andrews gave her

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An. 1581

The Queen's
Speech to the
English Ambas-
sador, on
this Occasi-
on.

An. 1587. an Account of the Time that she was to sail from *France*, and earnestly desired her to intercept her, and accordingly she rigged out a strong Fleet for that Purpose; but it pleased God, that she arrived safely at *Leith* upon the 20th of *August 1561*. None of the Fleet falling in with the *English*, but that Ship in which the Earl of *Eglinton* was; neither did this seem to be done, but by the peculiar Care of Heaven; for whilst she sail'd by the *English* Fleet, she was environ'd, as if she had been in a Cloud, with a thick Mist, which saved her from her Enemies. It is not to be imagined with what incredible Joy she was received by all Ranks of People, save the Ministers, who from their Pulpits with their outmost Rhetorick, told the People of the great Danger they were in, of having their Religion, Liberties and Rights taken from them. Upon this the Queen called a Meeting of her Privy Council, and to remove all their Fears and Jealousies, she most graciously condescended, that there should be no Alteration made as to their Religion, only that she hoped, that they would not take it amiss, that she should serve God in her own Way in her Family. This was such a rational Proposal, that not one of the Council had the Confidence to oppose it, save the Earl of *Arran*, who told them he would never agree to the having the Mass either privately or publickly; and all the Ministers from their Pulpits, told their Hearers,

That unless the Idolatrous Worship of the Church of Rome, were rooted out of the Nation, they could expect nothing but God's Wrath and heavy Vengeance upon them, and that all Priests of the Romish Religion, ought to be punished with Death, according to the Law of God against Idolaters. Which prevailed so with the Mob, that the next Day, as the Queen was going to Mass in her Chappel, in the Abbey of *Holy-Rood-House*, they fell upon the Servants, who were carrying the Candles to the Altar, and had they not been over-powered, they would have put her Chappel in Flames. The Queen was highly offended with this insolent Treatment, and had she taken the Earl of *Huntry's* Advice, she had sufficiently revenged her self on the Ministers; but being of a most merciful Temper, upon the Prior of St. *Andrew's* promising, that for the future he should engage, that the Ministers should not preach Sedition, she was appeased.

All Things being thus pacified, the Duke *d' Amult* the Grand Prior of *France*, Monsieur *d' Anville*, and the rest of the *French* who had accompanied the Queen, return'd to *France*, only the Marquis *d' Elbeuf* and her Confessor remain'd all the Winter with her, and young *Lithington* was sent Ambassador to acquaint the Queen of *England* of her happy Arrival, and to require the establishing of a firm and lasting Peace betwixt the two Nations. What the Success of that Embassy was, we have shewn in *Lithington's* Life.

After the Queen had stayed for some Time at *Edinburgh*, she made a Progress through the Country, where she was joyfully received and splendidly entertained at the Towns of *Linlithgow*, *Stirling*, *Perth*,

Perth, Dundee and St. Andrews; but as she was returning to Edinburgh, the Provost Archibald Dowglas caused publish a Proclamation, discharging all Adulterers, Fornicators, Drunkards, Mass-Priests and obstinate Papists to enter the Town of Edinburgh, under Pain of the highest Penalties: This being a manifest Usurpation of the Royal Authority, and an insolent Affront upon his Sovereign the Queen, she caused him to be apprehended and imprisoned, and a Proclamation was published by her, giving Liberty to all her good Subjects to come to the Town about their lawful Affairs; and it being then about Michaelmas when the Town makes choice of their Magistrates, she ordered the Citizens to make Choice of any other they pleased in his Place, which they obeyed; but the Ministers from their Pulpits did all they could to stir up the Mob upon this Occasion, representing in their Sermons, that the Queen not only protected all known and avowed Papists, but likewise all Fornicators, Drunkards and profane Persons, and to crown all, in the Month of December, they met in an Assembly of their own Appointment, without the Queen's Authority; however, the Queen was so loath to give them any Reason to complain of her, that she suffered them to do any Thing they pleased: It happened whilst they were sitting, that the Marquis d' Elbeuf, the Queen's Uncle, the Earl of Bothwell, and the Lord Coldingham in a Night-Ramble got into a Burgess House called Cuthbert Ramsay, but not finding his Daughter in Law, who was a handsom Girl, they went away without doing any further Harm; but this so highly provoked the Brethren, that they presented the Queen with a Petition (a), requiring that her Uncle, and those who were with him might be delivered over to the Hands of Justice, that they might be punished according to the Laws of the Realm: Upon which the Queen called them before her, and gave them a severe Reprimand, and in her Answer to the Assembly, she acquainted them of what she had done, but that her Uncle being a Stranger, she could not deal so harshly with him as they required, but that for the Future she would take particular Care that no such Abuses should be committed.

The Prior of St. Andrews the Queen's Bastard Brother, a Man of an unlimited Ambition, having got an absolute Ascendant over the Queen, she made him one of the Lords of her Privy Council, and Commandet of the Borders; but that not satisfying him, she promised to make him Earl of Mar; but the Lord Erskine having laid Claim to that Earldom as of Right belonging to him, the Queen granted the Lord Erskine the said Earldom in the Year 1562, as having a just and legal Title to it, with the Precedency of the ancient Earls of Mar, and the Prior of St. Andrews was made Earl of Murray, tho' his Patent did not pass the Seals till the 10th of February the next Year, and she procured for him in Marriage Lady Agnes Keith, Daughter to William Earl Marischal.

An. 1587.
The Provost
of Edinburgh
usurps the
Royal Au-
thority, for
which he is
imprisoned.

The insolent
Behaviour of
the Ministers

The Prior of
St. Andrews is
made Earl of
Murray, and
my Lord Ers-
kine Earl of
Mar.

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These

An. 1587.

The Earl of
Huntly accu-
ses the Earl
of Murray of
treasonable
Designs.

These Preferments of the Prior of St. Andrews were very displeasing to the Queen's Friends, who knew him to be a Pensioner of England, and the sole Trustee of the Ministers her mortal Enemies, but none was so dissatisfied as the Earl of Huntly, who presented a Memorial to her out of his own Hand, wherein he told her Majesty (a), That he aimed at no less than the Usurpation of the Regal Authority, That his Mother was often heard to say, That she was privately married to King James Vth, and that whilst she was with Child of him, she dream'd that she had a Dragon in her Belly, who encompassing the Head of a Lion, overcame and killed him; and the Lion being the Scots Arms, they noways doubted but that he would some Time or other attain to the Crown: And therefore he humbly intreated her Majesty to trust to her ancient Nobility and known Friends, rather than to her Bastard Brother, who had such bad Designs against her. But the Queen gave no Ear to this, esteeming it all to proceed from Malice.

The Earl of
Arran falls
distracted.

The Earl of Arran falling deeply in Love with the Queen, and finding that she slighted him, he fell into a Phrenzy, upon which his Father confined him to his Palace at Kiniell; but finding a fit Opportunity he made his Escape, came streight to Edinburgh: And coming to Mr. Knox, he passionately represents to him many strange and wonderful Stories of deep Plots laid by his Father, Bothwell and others against the Earl of Murray; but still in a Manner so wild and incoherent, that Mr. Knox could not but be very sensible of his Madness, and immediately wrote to the Earl of Murray, not to be rash in noticing, or giving Credit to what the Earl said, for he appear'd to him disordered in his Wits. These are Calderwood's own Words in his large MS. Histories in the College of Glasgow. Yet the Earl of Murray knowing that these noble Families would be great Obstructors of his Designs, laid hold of this Opportunity, and accused them of a Design of seizing the Queen's Person, and of murdering him in the Park of Falkland, whilst her Majesty was at hunting: Upon this (b) the Duke was committed Prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, Bothwell was banished the Kingdom, and Gavin Hamilton Abbot of Kilwinning was sent to the Castle of Stirling, Arran being brought before the Council to be examined, they found that he was perplexed in Mind; but upon a second Examination, they found both by his Words and Countenance, that he was really distracted, upon which the Queen committed him to the Care of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

The Earl of
Lennox and
his Lady are
imprisoned
by Queen
Elizabeth, and
Henry Sidney
is sent Am-
bassador to
Scotland.

During these Transactions in Scotland, Margaret Countess of Lennox and her Husband were committed Prisoners to the Tower by Queen Elizabeth, for keeping a secret Correspondence with the Queen of Scotland, and Henry Sidney was sent Ambassador to Scotland, that he might prie into the State of the Nation (c); but the Pretence of his Embassy was the establishing of a firm Peace betwixt the two Nations, and withall, as a Token of a perpetual Kindnes,

she

(a) L' Innocence de la Royne d' Escosse, Pag. 9. (b) Ibid. Pag. 10. (c) Uddal's Life of Queen Mary.

she sent her Majesty a Diamond Ring, with this Promise, that if ever she was in such Distress as to need her Aid and Assistance, upon the sending to her this Ring, she would give to her all the Assistance she could: And whereas there had been a Proposal made of a Meeting betwixt the two Queens, and that the Queen of *England* had appointed the Place to be at *York*, and now begged for a Delay. The Queen of *Scotland* willingly agreed to it, for before this Time she repented that she had agreed to such a Proposal, when she reflected upon the Danger of meeting with a Princess whose Crown she had openly claimed to, and that in her own Dominions: And as a mutual Token of her Friendship and Assistance, she sent her a Diamond Hart, on which was engraved the following Lines, composed by *Buchanan*.

*Hoc tibi quod misit Cor, nil quod posset, habebat,
Carus esse sibi, gratius esse tibi.
Quod si forte tuum ipsa remiseris, illa putabit
Carus esse sibi, quam fuit ante tibi.*

In the Month of *June* the General Assembly having met at *Edinburgh* by their own Authority, they drew up a Supplication, which they presented to the Queen, requiring her to abolish the Popish Religion; but the first Draught of it was in such bitter and scandalous Terms, that even those of the Nobility who were of their own Persuasion, advised them to alter it, which was done accordingly, and presented to her by the Superintendants of *Lothian* and *Fife*, which when she had read, she said, *Here are many fair Words, but God knows what your Hearts are; and as I will never disturb you in the Exercise of your Religion, so will I never consent to do any Thing in Prejudice of my own.* This, says Mr. *Petrie* (a), was all they got for their painted Oratory and Flattery; as if it had been a Crime in them to have addressed their Sovereign in civil Terms: And yet even in this he is much more civil to her than Bishop *Spotswood* (b), who makes her part with them in a Huff, and tells them, that she hoped before a Year was expired, to have the Mass and Catholick Profession restored through the whole Kingdom, which is directly against a Letter under her own Hand, the Copy of which is in Mr. *Crawford's* Collections, wherein she attests the eternal God, that she never designed to disturb them in their Religion.

This Assembly appointed an Order of Visitation for regulating the Superintendants, and these being joined by the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*, wherever they went, they plundered and destroyed the Houses and Lands of the Papists; and being afraid, that the Queen would call them to an Account for their Proceedings (c), they met at the Town of *Air* in the Month of *September*, where they drew up a Bond, which all of them subscribed, by which they bound themselves, to stand by one another

The General Assembly supplicate her Majesty to abolish Popery.]

Her Answer.

The Ministers and some of the Nobility enter into a Bond of mutual Defence against the Queen.

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(a) Part 2. Pag. 332. (b) Lib. 4. Pag. 185. (c) Vid. *Sanderson's Life of Queen Mary*, Pag. 28.

Ann. 1587. thier with their Lives and Fortunes, and to resent what ever was done to any one of them, as done to all.

The Queen goes to the North, an Account of her Progresses there. The Queen desiring to take a View of the northern Parts of the Nation, about the middle of *August* 1562, she came to *Aberdeen*, where she was met by the Countess of *Huntly*, a Woman of high Spirit, but of a very obliging Temper; her Son Mr. *John Gordon* had been committed to Prison, for wounding the Lord *Ogilvy* upon the Street of *Edinburgh*, but having made his Escape, he was declared fugitive; wherfore she begged, that she would admit him to kiss her Hand: But the Queen told, That it did not consist with her Honour, to admit him into her Presence, till such Time as he should re-enter himself into Prison. Which the Countess promised to do, but only begged that the Place of his Ward should be the Castle of *Stirling*; which the Queen having granted, the Lord *Glamis* was appointed to convey him thither: But when he came to the Castle of *Glamis*, he altered his Resolution, and returned again to the North; for which the Queen was highly incensed against him.

In the mean Time, in the Prosecution of her Journey, her Majesty went from *Aberdeen*, and lodged all Night at *Bucquhin*; the next Day she went to *Rothemay*; the third Day she came to *Strathbogy*, where she was invited by the Earl of *Huntly* to lodge in his House, and great Preparations were made for her Reception, but she refused to go, unless his Son delivered himself up Prisoner; And the next Day she came to *Inverness*, where she was deny'd Access to the Castle, by the Governour *Alexander Gordon*, a Friend of the Earl of *Huntly*'s. Upon this a Rumour arose that the Earl of *Huntly* had a Design of seizing the Queen's Person, which made her publish a Proclamation, commanding all her loyal Subjects in those Parts to come to her Assistance: Upon which she was join'd by the *Mackenzies*, *Monroes*, *Fasers* and *Clanchattan*. With these she besieged and took the Castle of *Inverness*, causing the Governour and principal Persons under him to be hang'd; but she spared the Lives of the common Soldiers. The Queen having stay'd four Days in the Castle of *Inverness*, she returned to *Aberdeen*, where the Countess of *Huntly* came to wait upon her; but she was refused Access, and a Proclamation published, commanding all those that could bear Arms in *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Stratherne* and the *Merns*, to attend her at *Aberdeen*. *Huntly* being advertised of this by the Earl of *Sutherland*, and *John Leslie* of *Bucquhin*, who were with the Queen and his good Friends, as likewise of the *Foxes* that she had, and knowing, that as long as the Earl of *Murray* had the Government of the Queen, he could never obtain her Favour, he resolved to seize upon the Queen's Person, hoping, that upon a fair Representation of his Case, he might regain her Favour: So accompany'd with about 800 Men, he marched towards *Aberdeen*, and in all Probability, had entered the Town without any Resistance, had not *Sutherland* and *Bucquhin*'s Letters to him been intercepted that Morning, for which *Sutherland*

land fled, but Bucquin confessing the whole Project, was pardoned. An. 1587.
 However, *Huntly* marched forward with his Men, and at a Place called *Corrichie*, the Earl of *Murray* met him (*a*), where they had a sharp Rencounter, wherein *Huntly* had the Misfortune of being defeat and taken Prisoner, but being an aged and corpulent Man, with the Crowd and Press of those that were about him, lie expired in their Hands : *John* and *Adam Gordon* his two Sons, and about an hundred more, were taken Prisoners ; and being brought to *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Morton* and *Lindsay* went and acquainted the Queen of their Victory, who seemed not in the least to rejoice at it ; for she knew that the Earl of *Huntly* was none of her Enemies : However, Mr. *John Craig* Minister at *Aberdeen*, gave thanks to God for their Victory, and the next Day a Council was called by the Queen, to consult what should be done with the Prisoners, and it was resolved that *Adam Gordon* the Earl's Son, because of his Age, should be pardoned, being only a Boy, but that his Brother Mr. *John* should be beheaded, and that the rest should be fined according to their Estates, and that those of the meaner Sort should be banish'd, all which was accordingly done, and the Queen returned to *Edinburgh*.

The Lords of her Majesty's privy Council, and the Queen's Uncles, at this Time made several Proposals of a Marriage to her ; some were for the Infant of *Spain*, others for the Emperor's Brother, the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and others for the Duke *de Neveurs* : But none of them took Effect. The General Assembly having met at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *December*, they sat down upon the 25th, in Contempt of the Day, and Mr. *John Knox*, says Mr *Petrie* (*b*) made the Prayer for Assistance of God's Spirit, and nothing was heard from their Pulpits, according to the laudable Custom, but bitter invectives against the Court, for observing *Christmas*, and all their innocent and harmless Diversions, were painted out to the People, as Crimes of the deepest Dye.

The Earl of *Huntly* being now taken out of the Way, the chief Prop and Supporter of the Roman Catholick Interest, the Lords of the Congregation resolved now to finish the Work of the Reformation, by cutting off all those whom they suspected to oppose their Designs. *George Lord Gordon*, who after the Battle of *Corrichie*, had fled for Protection to his Father in Law the Duke of *Châtillon*, was delivered up and imprisoned (*c*) in the Castle of *Dunbar*, and in the end of *January 1563*, he was accused of High-Treason and forfaulted ; *John Hamilton* Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, was committed Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, for saying and hearing Mass ; the Abbot of *Crossraguel*, and a great many other Priests and Monks (*d*), without any Order from the Queen or Council, but by an Order from the Ministers (*e*), who took upon them to Prosecute, Examine, Condemn and Execute

Several Proposals of a Marriage made to the Queen.

The General Assembly meets, and make railing Sermons against the Court, for keeping Christmas.

The Lord Gordon, the Arch-bishop of St. Andrew, and several others, are imprisoned, without any Order from the Queen.

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(*a*) Spot. Lib. 4. P. 181. (*b*) Part 2. Pag. 135. (*c*) Spot. Lib. 4. P. 187. (*d*) Petrie, Part 2. Page 134. (*e*) Sanders son's Life of Queen Mary, Page 30.

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whom they pleased, were likewise imprisoned; they pretending, that the Spirit of God, did to their Consciences, justify their Actions.

*The Queen
calls a Parlia-
ment, their
Proceedings.*

It is not to be imagined how much these tumultuous Proceedings troubled the Queen, in so much, that Mr. *Udal* (a) tells us, that she could not obtain the Releasement of the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* without shedding some Tears, and at length was forced to condescend to the calling of a Parliament, tho' she knew that it was only to vex her the more. This Parliament having met in the Month of *May* 1563, the Queen sat in Person in her Royal Robes, and was Witness to all their Debates; and if there had been any Remains of Humanity in their Breasts, she would have charmed them into a becoming Decency and Respect for her Person, for never such Beauty and Majesty adorn'd a Throne; but instead of this, they proceeded with that Rudeness and Undutifulness that can never be excused in them: And to oblige their good Friend the Queen of *England*, and her mortal Enemy, they would have forced her to ratify the Treaty at *Leith*, approving of their rebellious Proceedings; but she plainly told them from the Throne, that she would never condescend to that, but she was most graciously pleased to grant, that without any Respect to that Treaty, an Act of Oblivion should be past of all their rebellious Actions and Proceedings from the Year 1558, till the first of *September* 1561. And whatever the Ministers could require for the securing of their Religion, and for competent Provisions for themselves, she was likewise pleased to confirm: And having thus pacified her mutinous Subjects, the Parliament rose; and the Queen resolving to visit the rest of her Subjects who had not been honour'd with her Presence, and to administer Justice to them, she went to the Countries of *Athole* and *Argyle Shire*; but she was no sooner gone, but the Ministers of *Edinburgh* finding that several of the Inhabitants resorted to the Mass at the Palace of *Holy-Rood-House*, which was allowed by Law to the Queen and her Family, they raised the Mob upon the Priest whilst he was celebrating the Mass, and being denied Entry, they broke open the Church Doors, broke down the Altar, and all the Utensils belonging to it, dragged severals of the Hearers to Prison, but the Priest made his Escape by the Back-door, and several others with him: The Queen being informed of this, returned to *Edinburgh*, and resolved not to enter the Town, till the principal Persons who had a Hand in this Mob were punished; but she was too weak for them, as it appeared by *John Knox's* insolent Behaviour on this Occasion, as we have shown in his Life: And at the same Time she was maltreated by the *French*, who in the Heat of their civil War, in which the Duke of *Guise* her Uncle was killed, not only refused to pay her her Jointure, but forfeited the Duke of *Chatelherault* of his Dutchy, and deprived the Captain of the *Scots Guards* of his Place. This harsh Treatment made her resolve to marry some

*She goes to
Athole and
Argyle Shires,
and her Ser-
vants in her
Absence are
insulted by
the Mob.*

*She is like-
wise maltreat-
ed by the
French, upon
which she
resolves to
marry the
Arch Duke.*

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She acquaints Queen Elizabeth
with it, who
opposes it.

some neighbouring Prince, whose Power joined with her's, might be able to quell the Insolence of her own Subjects, and oblige the French to do Justice to her; but she would do nothing in this without acquainting her Sister Queen *Elizabeth* of it; and therefore she sends her an Account of her Resolution, and that of all the Princes that had been proposed to her; she was most inclined to embrace the Offer of the Emperor's Brother the Arch-Duke of *Austria*: Upon this the Queen of *England* sent Sir *Thomas Randolph* as her Ambassador to her with Instructions, wherein (a) she shows her the main Things that are to be considered in Marriage, as if she had not known that State better than her self, having been once engaged in it, and much more capable of knowing her Duty than she was able to instruct her in, it being enlivend with a brighter, and much more superior Genius than she had: And after this canting Introduction, the Ambassador told her, that if she matched with the Arch-Duke, it would certainly cause a Rupture betwixt her and Queen *Elizabeth*, and that it was his Mistriss's Opinion, that she should marry some Nobleman of great Birth in *England*; which if she would do, in that Case, failing Children of her own Body, she should succeed to her in the Crown, and be declared her apparent Heir; but that if she should do otherwise, his Sovereign could promise nothing in that Matter tending to her Satisfaction. For by this Marriage Queen *Elizabeth* plainly foresaw that she would have powerful Supports from all the Princes abroad, which would mightily weaken her Power over her and her Subjects. And at the same Time she sent the Earl of *Sussex* Ambassador to the Emperor's Court, under a Pretext of congratulating (b) his Coronation, but that secretly he might propose a Match betwixt her and the Arch-Duke, not that she really designed such a Thing, but to take it off from the Match with Queen *Mary*: Yet this was not so secretly managed, but that our Queen was advertised of it by some of her Friends in *England*; and ever afterwards she suspected (as she had good Reason) Queen *Elizabeth*'s Sincerity in all her Dealings.

But this Proposal did not so much offend our Queen, as when she heard by the Earl of *Murray* and *Lithington*, that the Person whom she proposed was *Robert Lord Dudley* her Master of Horses; and certainly nothing could be more astonishing, than that she should propose a Marriage betwixt her and one of her own Servants and Subjects, she being equal to her self, or any crown'd Head in the World.

The Queen
of England
proposes the
Lord Dudley,
which high-
ly offend the
Queen.

The French Ambassador at *London* having acquainted the Queen Mother of *France* and the Cardinal of *Lorain* of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Proposel, they wrote to our Queen, that they hoped that she would not dimin her self so far as to accept of such an unworthy Proposel as Queen *Elizabeth* had made to her, and that if she continued firm to *France*, she should not only have her Jointure punctually paid to her, and the *Scots* restored to their ancient Privileges, but

Y y y like.

(a) See the last in Sir James Melville's Mem. Pag. 40, &c. (b) Ibid.

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likewise augmented to them : Although the Queen was highly incensed against Queen Elizabeth's Proposal to her, yet she found that there was a Necessity for her having a Husband, both for the Nation's Good and her own ; so that she resolved to call home from France her Ambassador (a) James Beaton Arch-Bishop of Glasgow to advise with him, knowing him to be a Man of a consummate Wisdom and Prudence, and well seen in the Intrigues of all the Courts of Europe, and having proposed this to the Earl of Murray, whom she had still the Misfortune to believe her Friend, he told her, *That if she should call home the Bishop of Glasgow, she would wrong her Affairs in the foreign Courts of Europe, since none knew them so well as he, and that there was no Man in the Nation able to supply his Place (for he was very much afraid of being outwitted by the Bishop)* and as to her Majesty's Proposal of matching with some foreign Prince, he told her, that could not but be very disagreeable to her Subjects, who were always afraid with the Notion of being brought under a foreign Yoke ; and since the Race of Stewarts had now been for a long Time possessed of the Throne of Scotland, in his Opinion she ought to declare for the Succession in that Name, failing Heirs of her own Body, and that she should marry one of the Name ; and in his humble Opinion, there was none so fit as her own Cousin-German the Lord Darnly, the Earl of Lennox's Son, being a Prince about 19 or 20 Years of Age, one of the handsomest Gentlemen in Europe, and accomplished with all the vertuous Qualifications that could be required in a Prince ; and therefore he advised her to call home the Earl of Lennox and his Son, to see how she pleased him. The Queen taking this to her Consideration, noways doubting of his Sincerity, and being further urged to do it by his Minions and Favourites, who then had the whole Government in their Hands, she sent for them.

By this the Earl of Murray doubted not but to gain his Point, which was to get himself declared her Successor, in case she had no Heirs of her Body, to please Queen Elizabeth, since both the Earl and his Son were her Subjects, and to exclude any foreign Prince, whose Power might protect her against his factious and rebellious Designs ; of all which having acquainted Queen Elizabeth, she permitted the Earl to return Home after he had been banished 19 Years, and not 22 as Buchanan and Spotswood have : But that she might seem to know nothing of the Affair, in a Letter to our Queen (b), she advises her, out of the tender Love and Regard she had for her, to take Care, that she did not displease the House of Hamilton, by showing too many Favours to the House of Lennox.

The Earl of Lennox returns to Scotland, and is restored to his Fortune.

The Earl of Lennox as we have said, having returned to Scotland in the Month of January 1564, a Parliament was called, and they having taken to their Consideration, the Process of Forfeiture against the Earl of Lennox, whilst the Duke of Chatelherault was Governour, they found it null and void in Law, and restored the Earl

Earl to his former Possessions. In the beginning of the Month of ^{An. 1587.} *February*, *Henry Lord Darnly* arrived from *England*, and went straight to the Castle of *Weemyss*, where the Queen then was, to wait upon her, and she finding him a Prince endued with all the Accomplishments of Body and Mind that she could wish for in a Husband, she began seriously to think upon marrying him; on the other Hand, he being excessively charm'd with the Queen's Beauty, and her other admirable Endowments, and knowing the secret Designs of the Earl of *Murray* against her, instead of being directed by him, as he noways doubted of, he became his mortal Enemy. The Earl finding this, he did all he could to obstruct the Marriage; but since he had propos'd it himself, he could not openly oppose it, therefore he writes to Queen *Elizabeth*, and acquaints her of all his Fears and Jealousies; whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* writes a Letter to our Queen (a), wherein she tells her, *That she heard, that she designed to marry the Lord Darnly, which was so displeasing to her English Subjects, that she was obliged to adjourn her English Parliament, contrary to the Advice of her Council, being afraid that they might seclude her from the Succession, and therefore entreated her not to be hasty in that Affair.* And at the same Time, she charged *Lennox* and his Son as her Subjects, to return to *England*, under the Penalty of her highest Displeasure.

The Queen to satisfy her Sister, whom she was loath to give the least Disobligation to, made an Offer of a Conference upon this Subject, for adjusting of this Affair betwixt them, which Queen *Elizabeth* agreed to; and the Place of meeting appointed was *Berwick*: For the Queen of *Scotland*, was the Earl of *Murray* and Secretary *Lithington*; and for the Queen of *England*, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randolph*: When they met, the *English* Commissioners urged our Queen's Marriage with the Lord *Robert Dudley*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* had not long before created Earl of *Leicester*, and promised in their Mistress Name, *That if our Queen would agree to this, she would be declared the adoptive Daughter, Sister and apparent Heir of England by Act of Parliament, and that a constant Amity and perpetual Peace betwixt the two Nations should be agreed to.*

To this *Lithington* reply'd, *That such a Match was below the Dignity of the Queen his Mistress, who had in her Offer the Infant of Spain, Charles Duke of Austria, the King of Swedland, the Prince of Conde and the Duke of Ferrara; and likewise he thought it below the Queen of England, to propose such a Match to a sovereign Queen, her near Kinswoman, and who had been marry'd to the King of France.* The Earl of *Bedford* was so sensible of all that *Lithington* had said, that he insisted no further on't; and Mr. *Udal* says (b), *That the Earl of Leicester had desired him not to urge it too much, for he was in some Expectations of obtaining Queen Elizabeth*

The Earl of Murray is disappointed in his Aim, and opposes the Marriage; In which he is seconded by Queen Elizabeth.

A Conference appointed by the 2 Queens about this Marriage.

Anno 1567. beth for himself; so that this Conference broke up without their having agreed to any Thing.

The Earl of Murray finding himself thus disappointed, when he returned to Edinburgh, made his Application to his trusty Friends the Ministers (a), who from their Pulpits told the People, That my Lord Darnly being Popish, the Queen had no other Design in marrying of him, but the overturning the Protestant Religion, which they had established with the Hazard of their Lives, and that in Order to this, they had secret Intelligence from France, who were to assist them with Forces, and that the opposing this Marriage was not only for the good of the Country, but for the Glory of God, and the Purity of Religion, as now established in the Land, and that if they did not crush it now in the Bud, they would not have Power to do it afterwards; that the Queen was to revoke all her Alienations made during her Minority, and to annex to the Crown all the Church-Lands now in the Possession of the Nobility, which were more than two Parts of the Revenue of the whole Kingdom.

Sir James
Melvil is sent
Ambassador
to England.

The Queen having wrote an angry Letter to Queen Elizabeth, concerning the Proposal of her Marriage with my Lord Dudley, for some Time there was no Correspondence betwixt them: The Queen to take off this petty Quarrel betwixt them, sent Sir James Melvil Ambassador, to make an handsome Excuse for her, and to observe narrowly, the Proceedings of the English Parliament. His Instructions (b) are given at Edinburgh, upon the 28th of September 1564, and by Sir James's Account, this was before my Lord Darnly came to Scotland; but of this Negotiation I shall give a particular Account in that Gentleman's Life.

The Lord
Gordon, and
the other ba-
nished Lords
are re-called
Home.

Queen Eliza-
beth's Tre-
achery.

Queen Mary being now firmly resolved upon her Marriage with the Lord Darnly, she sent to Rome for a Dispensation, they being within the prohibited Degrees by the Canon Law; and to strengthen her self against any Opposition that might be made by her Enemies, she restored George Lord Gordon to his Honours and Estate, recalled the Earl of Sutherland, who lived an Exile in Flanders, and the Earl of Bothwell who had been banished to France, and summoned a Parliament to meet at Stirling, to acquaint them of her Design, and sent Lithington her Ambassador to England to the same Effect. On the other Hand, Queen Elizabeth sent a Memorial to the Governour of Berwick, by Henry Midlemore, to encourage the Earl of Murray, by suffering all that were to join him from England, to pass his Garrison without troubling them, and served him under Hand all that he could. This Memorial is dated the 17th of March 1564, and is amongst Mr. Crawford's Collections; at the same Time she sent her Ambassador Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, with great Profers of Kindness to our Queen, if she would desist from the Marriage; and if he could not persuade her, to deal with the Lords of the Congregation to do it, and to assure them of her Assistance; and she summoned the Earl of Lennox

(a) Melvil's Mem. Page 44. (b) Melvil's Mem. Page 56.

Lennox and Darnly a second Time, to return to *England*; and upon their not obeying, she caused imprison in the Tower of ^{An. 1587.} London, the Counteis of Lennox; and knowing, that Lady *Jean Gray*, was one of those who pretended to compete with our Queen, as nearest in Succession to the Crown of *England*, and she looked with a favourable Eye upon her, as if she designed her for her Successor; and to make it appear that she was in Earnest, she raised Forces upon the Borders; but our Queen was noways terrify'd with all these Threatnings: And the Parliament having met, she obtained the Consent of the far greater Part of the Nobility, Barons and Burgesseis; and upon the 15th Day of *May 1565*, the Lord Darnly (a) was first knighted, thereafter created Lord of Parliament, as Lord of *Ardmenoch*, and then created Earl of *Ross*; and to add to the Honour of the Solemnity, 14 Gentlemen were knighted at the same Time with him, after which he was created Duke of *Albany*, with an unusual Promp and Ceremony, as it appears from the Form of Creation still extant, wherein there is not one Word of his being made Duke of *Rothesay*, as *Buchanan* and his Followers would maliciously insinuate. This Resolution of the Queen and Estates of Parliament being published, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray*, *Glencairn*, *Rothes*; the Lords *Boyd* and *Ochiltrie*, assisted by the Duke of *Chattelherault*, met at *Stirling*, (from whence the Queen had gone sometime before to *St. Johnstoun*) where it was resolved and agreed amongst them (b), *That as the Queen and the Duke of Albany were returning to Edinburgh, they should fall upon them at the Kirk of Bath, and Murder the Duke, and send the Queen Prisoner to the Castle of Lochlevin*: And at the same Time, they acquainted their Friends in *Edinburgh* to be in Readiness to join them; but the Laird of *Duhill* having got Notice of their Design, advertised her Majesty of it, which made her take her Journey sooner than they expected: Besides, they waited a long Time for the Earl of *Argyle* to join them, who was one of the chief Conspirators, and by this Means she escaped the Snare they had laid for her; and their Friends at *Edinburgh*, when they found she had made her Escape, they fled the City (c), and *Andrew Slater*, *Alexander Clerk*, *Gilbert Lauder*, *William Harlaw*, *Michael Rheind*, *James Inglis*, *James Young* and *Alexander Guthrie* their principal Commanders were denounced Rebels; their Houses possessed by the Treasurer, and their Goods put under Inventory; yet such was the innate Clemency and Goodnes of the Queen, that at the Intercession of the Magistrates, she restored and pardoned them in a few Days after.

The General Assembly having met at *Edinburgh* upon the 25th Day of *June 1565*, they drew up a Petition to be presented to the Queen, wherein, amongst other Things, they require that she should abolish the Mass and all Popish Idolatry (d), not only in her

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The Lord
Darnly is
knighted,
and made
Earl of Ross,
Lord Ardm-
noch and
Duke of
Albany.
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The Lords
of the Con-
gregation con-
tract into a
Conspiracy
against the
Queen.

Their Plot
is discovered.

The Gene-
ral Assembly
present the
Queen to
abolish Po-
perty, and to
turn Pro-
testant.

(a) *Crawford's Col.* (b) *Melvill's Mem.* Page 56. *Martyre de la Royne d' Escosse* Page 65. (c) *Spotl. Lib. 4* Page 190.
(d) *Spotl. ubi sup. Part. Part 3.* Page 343.

An. 1587. own Family, but through the whole Realm, and that she and all her Subjects might profess the true reformed Religion conform to the Word of God; the Commissioners sent to present this Petition, found her Majesty at St. Johnstoun, and from thence followed her to Dunkeld, where they got Audience, her Majesty having read their Petition, told them, that she could not give them an Answer, till she came to Edinburgh, which would be in a few Days, and accordingly when she came to Edinburgh upon the 21st Day of *August*, she gave them an Answer in writing; the Substance of which was, *That as to the abolishing of the Mass as Impious and Idolatrous, and her embracing the Protestant Religion with her whole Family, to be plain with them, it was a Thing that she neither could nor would do; for in the first Place, she was firmly perswaded in her Conscience, that there was nothing of Impiety or Idolatry in the Mass, and that she was firmly perswaded that the Catholick Religion, in which she had been brought up, was founded upon the Word of God, and the only true Religion, and she hoped, as she granted Liberty of Conscience to all her Subjects to serve God as they thought fit, so that they would not impose upon her Conscience, and that she thought, that even in Policy, they ought not to desire such a Thing of her, considering that it would alienate from her the Minds of the Kings of France, Spain and the other Catholick Princes in Alliance with her; And as to the establishing of the Protestant Religion, that required the Consent of the three Estates of Parliament, and if they agreed to it, it was all could be required; but till such Time as the Parliament met, she should take Care that no Man should be disturbed in the Exercise of his Religion, or suffer thereby either in his Goods or Fortune; and as to what they required concerning the Patronages, she thought it not reasonable to quite with so great a Part of the Patrimony of the Crown, yet whatever was over and above the supplying of her own Necessities, a special Assignation should be made for the Sustenance of the Ministers, out of the nearest and most commodious Places for them, neither should her Bounty and Liberality towards the Poor be restrained, but extended as far as in Reason they could require of her; and as to all their other Demands, she promised to do what the Estates of Parliament should advise her to.*

*She marries
the Duke of
Albany.* By this Time William Chisholm Bishop of Dumblain returned from Rome with a Dispensation from the Pope, and upon the 28th of July the Queen was married to the Duke of Albany in the Chappel of the Palace of Holy-Rood-House, the Ceremony being performed by the Dean of Restalrig, and the next Day he was by Sound of Trumpet proclaimed King, and declared to be associated with her Majesty in the Government.

*The English
Pensionary
Lords rise in
Rebellion.* Immediately after the Marriage, the English Pensionary Lords went to Paisley; and the King and Queen (a) towards the End of the Month of August with 5000 Men, went in Pursuit of them: These Lords removing from Paisley to Hamilton, a Herauld was sent to summon

summon the Castle to surrender, which they not only refused, but sent their Majesties Word, that they would fight them the next Day; and although the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Lindsay* who commanded the Van Guard of the Queen's Army, sent them Word privately, that upon their first Attack they would take themselves to their Heels, yet such a panick Fear arose amongst them the next Day, that they had not the Courage to give Battle, but marched streight towards *Edinburgh* (a); but they no sooner entred the Town, but the Captain of the Castle fired so warmly upon them, that he obliged them to retire out of the City, after which they marched towards *Dumfreis*, expecting that the Lord *Herris* and the *Maxwells* would join them.

In the mean Time the King and Queen, with their Army, having punished such in the West as they found in Rebellion, they left the Earl of *Lennox* their Lieutenant for the western Counties, and marched streight towards *Stirling*, and from thence to *Fife*, where the Lairds of *Grange*, *Balcomie*, *Pitmillie* and *Ramornie*, who had joined the Rebels, were declared Fugitives, some others of the meaneer Sort were taken Prisoners, and the Towns of *St. Andrews*, *Perth* and *Dundee*, who had favoured them, were fined. The Laird of *Elphinstone* (b), who had brought a Supply of Ten thousand Pounds Sterling to the Rebels from *England*, was declared Traitor, and a Proclamation was published, shewing, That although the Pretence of Rebels was Religion, yet their real Design was the dethroning of their Majesties, and the enslaving of their Country to *England*, who had lately sent them a Supply of Money, their Majesties Army, now consisting of 18000 Men, being much superior to the Rebels, they marched streight to *Dumfreis*, where the Rebels then lay. The Lord *Herris* finding that the Queen inclined to pardon such as would submit to her Mercy, he willingly submitted, and was ever after a most dutiful and faithful Subject to her; but the Earls of *Murray*, *Glencairn*, *Rothes*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Ochiltrie*, the Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and divers others of good Note fled into *England*; the most of all our Historians say, That the Duke of *Chatelherault* fled likewise into *England* with them: But Mr. *Calderwood* in his MS. History in the College of *Glasgow*, says, "That when the King and Queen came to *Glasgow*, the Duke was then visiting the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* at *Paisley*, being then an old infirm Man, and hearing that their Majesties designed to take him Prisoner, and he having no Forces with him, he wrote a Letter to the Queen, acquainting her, that since his Visit to the Archbishop, where some of his Friends had Time to see him (so he calls the Rebels) was misrepresented, he should withdraw to a Place where he should give no Offence; and having gone to *Dumfreis*, where he was attended by his Friends and the Lord *Herris*, the King and Queen likewise followed him thither: But the Duke being acquainted with their coming, sent another Letter with the Abbot of *Kilwinning*

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(a) *Martyre de la Royne de Escosse*, Pag. 72. (b) Sanderson's *Life of Queen Mary*, Pag. 38.

An. 1587.

" to the Queen, wherein he tells her, that since he found his greatest Retirements were still mistaken, he desired a Pass, that he might have Liberty to go to *France*, where he hoped to live free from the Envy of his Enemies, which the Queen granted him, tho' not altogether with the Consent of the King; and the Duke not only went to *France* soon thereafter, but stayed there, till the Queen, when a Prisoner at *Carlisle* sent for him, about four Years after his Departure.

The Queen was no sooner informed of the Lords making their Escape into *England*, but she wrote a Letter to the *French* Ambassador, and another to the *Spanish*, complaining of Queen *Elizabeth's* harbouring of her rebellious Subjects, and fomenting Divisions and Rebellion amongst them, by supplying them with Money, and all other Necessaries. On the other Hand, the Lords sent up to *London*,

The Earl of Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning come to Court, their mean Behaviour there.

the Earl of *Murray* and the Abbot of *Kilwinning* to require her Assistance with Men and Money; she having promised, says Sir *James Melvil* (a), "by her Ambassadors to Hazard her Crown in

" their Behalf, in case they were driven to any Strait: But the two Ambassadors of *France* and *Spain* having told her in their Masters Names, that they could not but take notice of her ungenerous Treatment of the Queen of *Scots*, by sheltering of her rebellious Subjects, and fomenting of Divisions amongst her Neighbours. Upon this she sent secretly to the Earl of *Murray* and the Abbot of *Kilwinning*, that unless they denied before the Ambassadors of *France* and *Spain*, that she had any Hand in stirring them up against their Prince, she could give them no Assistance; but if they would do that, they might expect her Assistance to the outmost of her Power: This they had the Meanness of Soul to accept of, and upon their Knees before the Ambassadors, they confessed, says Sir *James*, that she had never moved them to that Opposition and Resistance against the Queen's Marriage. Upon this she said, Now, you have told the Truth, for neither did I, nor any in my Name stir you up against the Queen your Mistress: For your abominable Treason may serve for an Example to my own Subjects to rebel against me; therefore get you out of my Presence, for you are but unworthy Traitors". And altho' she would not seem openly after this to favour them, yet she caused a good Sum of Money to be distributed amongst them at *Newcastle*; and it was given out, that it was a Contribution from their Friends in *England* of their own Religion; and she immediately dispatched one of the Gentlemen of her Bed-Chamber, named *Tamworth* to acquaint our Queen how

Mr. Tamworth is sent Ambassador from England, is deny'd Access.

she had vindicated her self before the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors: But with all, in her Letter to her, she begs her to restore them to her Favour. The Queen being inform'd that this Ambassador had no Commission to the King, and Orders not to give him the Title of King, she denied him Access; and in her Answer to Queen *Elizabeth's* Letter, she told her, That she ought no more

to

to meddle with her Subjects, than she and her Husband meddled with hers.

A General Assembly having met at Edinburgh upon the 25th of September, the Queen's Answers to the last Assemblies Petition was read and registered, and a Reply made to them, (a), " Wherin " they made a long Representation to her, of the Purity and Ho- " lines of their Religion, as now preached in the Realm, and of " the Impurity and Idolatry of her Religion, which they offer to " make appear to her Majesty, either by preaching the Word of " God in its Purity, or by disputing with her Priests, where and " when her Grace would be pleased to appoint them ; and as to " her being afraid of offending her Popish Allies, she should rather " be afraid of offending the King of Kings, without whose Favour " and Protection, no Friendship or Confederacies upon Earth can " be firm and lasting, the Profession of the true Religion being the " only Bond that can make God favour the Projects of Princes. As " to what concerns the Rights of Patrons, they say, That their " Meaning never was, that she or any other Patron should be " defrauded of their just Rights, only they designed, when any " Benefice was void, that such qualified Persons as should be ex- " mined and approven of by the Superintendants, should be pre- " sented ; for as the Presentation belongeth to the Patron, so doth " the Collation belong to the Church, otherwise, were it in the " Patrons Power to present whom they pleased, it would ruin the " Church ; as to her retaining Part of the Benefices in her own " Hand, she could not do it, either by the Law of God or Man, " since it tends to the Destruction of so many poor Souls, that " must perish for want of Instruction. And Lastly, They thank her " Majesty for giving Assignations to the Ministers, after the sup- " plying of her own Necessities ; but they humbly conceive, that " they ought first to be provided out of the Tithes, which is the " Patrimony of the Church, and therefore they required, that all " these Articles may be reformed by her Majesty and Council, af- " ter which they adjourned till the 25th of December".

The Banished Lords having renewed their Address to the Queen of *England* for her Assistance, according to her Promise, a Cabin Council was called, to consult what Method was most proper to be taken for satisfying of them, some were for assisting them with Men and Money (b), but that Project was rejected, because it might involve the two Nations in a War ; several other Expedients were proposed, which was likewise rejected : At length, Secretary *Cecil* and Sir *Thomas Randolph* proposed, that the Apple of Discord should be thrown betwixt the Queen and her Husband, by fomenting Jealousies and Suspicions betwixt them, by which Means either the one or the other, if not both, should become a Prey to them, and the Earl of *Morton*, who was their faithful Correspondent, and entirely trusted, both by the King and Queen, and every

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(a) Petrie Part 3. Page 344. (b) Martyre de la Royne d' Escosse Chap. 6.

Anno 1587. way sufficiently qualify'd for carrying on a Plot, was pitched upon as the Man to whom they should commit the whole Management of this Affair. This hellish Project succeeded to Admirations, for hitherto there had been nothing but an int're Love betwixt them, but *Morton* had no sooner got his Instructions, but the Scheme of Affairs quite altered, for he went straight to the King and told him, that it was not to be imagined how much the Nobility were disatisfied with the Queen's Familiarity with *David Rizio*, her Secretary for her *French* and *Italian* Letters, a Stranger, and a Fellow of no Birth, whilst she neglected her ancient Nobility; and finding that the King was pleased with the Freedom he used with him, he proceeded and told him, that his Majesty being by Birth the first Prince of the Blood, and now Husband to the Queen, he ought to have the whole Government in his own Hands, and that it was against the Laws of God and Man, that Women should have the Government; as Mr. *Knox* had clearly proven in his Book against the Regiment of Women, and far less that a Wife should have Power of governing over a Husband, whom by the Law of God she is bound to obey, therefore he advised him to claim the matrimonial Crown, as the Queen's Husband, and to assume the Government in his own Person; after this he went to the Queen and told her, that he suspected the King her Husband had such a Design, and that he being but young, rash and inconsiderate, if she should grant him the matrimonial Crown, and that if he should take upon himself the sole Government, he would be but a meer Servant of *England's*, where he was born, and enslave her, their only true and undoubted Prince, to whom the Government undisputably belong'd. Not long after this, the King demanded the matrimonial Crown, which the Queen refusing, the King was firmly perswaded that this was done by the Advice of *Rizio*, and tells *Morton* what his Conjecture was, *Morton* confirms him in his Suspicion, and to incense him the more against him, he tells him, that it was loudly rumour'd Abroad, that *Rizio* and the Queen were too familiar; this says *Cauſſin* (a), made the over heated Youth become in a Manner furious, racked with the two Fiends of Jealousy and Ambition, the one representing to his disturbed Imagination, that he pass'd for a King in Fancy only, and had but an imaginary Throne; and the other, that a Slave was a Partner in his Bed; which made those Heats of Love, which the excellent Beauties of the Queen had rais'd in his Breast, to burst forth in a Flame, which had many dismal Effects. The first of which, was the murdering of his imaginary Rival in her own Presence, big with Child, and grasping her Garments and crying for Mercy: But I have given a particular Account of this Murder in the Life of the Lord Ruthven.

The Earl of Morton puts this in Execution.

The Queen, notwithstanding of this horrid Murder, and the base and unworthy Treatment of her self, being reconciled to her Husband, and the Murderers having fled to *England*, Sir Robert Melvil who

who was at this Time Ambassador at the Court of *England* (a), was ordered to require the Queen of *England* to deliver up *Morton*, *Ruthven* and *Lindsay*; upon which Queen *Elizabeth* issued out a Proclamation, banishing them out of her Dominions, but at the same Time she sent Mr. *Henry Killigrew* Ambassador to *Scotland*, to complain of our Queen's harbouring one Mr. *Ruxbie* a Papist, whom she proclaimed a Rebel, and was greatly in Favour at her Court, as likewise to congratulate her Success against her Enemies; and she sent Word privately to the Murderers, that notwithstanding of her Proclamation, no Harm should be done to them, providing they were quiet.

This *Ruxbie*, was a Fellow whom Secretary *Cecil* had sent down to *Scotland*, to be an Intelligencer, and to procure him the more Credit, caused him to be proclaimed a Fugitive and Rebel, and pretending to be a bigoted Papist, he got Credit with the Popish Clergy, especially with the Bishop of *Ross*, who revealed to him all that he knew, which he punctually acquainted Secretary *Cecil* of; yet their Correspondence was not so secretly kept, but that Sir *Robert Melvil* got Notice of it, and of a Letter that the Secretary had wrote to him in Cyphers, wherein he promised him a sufficient Reward, and desired him to continue his Diligence. Sir *Robert* having advertised the Queen of this, he was apprehended, and they found not only that Letter, but all his other Letters to *Cecil*, with their Answers; upon which the Queen sent for the *English* Ambassador and told him, *That she had caused apprehend Ruxbie, and would send him to her Sister the Queen of England, whenever she pleased to demand him*: But she told him nothing of the true Cause of his being seized, for fear of provoking Queen *Elizabeth* and her Secretary.

The Time of the Queen's Delivery drawing nigh, the Council met, to advise upon the Place where her Majesty should be brought to Bed, and it was agreed that the Castle of *Edinburgh* should be the Place, and that the Earl of *Arran* who was kept Prisoner there, should be sent to *Hamilton*, and confined within two Miles round it, he obliging himself to enter Prisoner upon Demand at 20 Days warning, either in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, *Dunbar* or *Dunbarton*, as should be required; for which the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencairn* became Sureties. The Queen being conveyed to the Castle, she gave a splendid Entertainment to all the Nobility then present, and reconciled them to one another, and upon the 19th Day of June 1566, betwixt 9 and 10 of the Clock in the Evening, she was brought to bed of a Son, to the great Joy of all her Subjects, for which there was Thanks given to God the next Day in St. *Giles* Church, and the Lady *Boynel* (b), was sent in the Queen's Name to Sir *James Melvil*, to go with all haste to acquaint her Sister Queen *Elizabeth* with it; and of this Embassy you have an Account in the History of that Gentleman's Life.

An. 1587:
Queen Elizabeth's double and treacherous dealing with the Queen.

The Queen
is brought to
bed of a
Prince, and
Sir James
Melvil is sent
to acquaint
Queen Eliz-
abeth of it.

An. 1587.
The General Assembly require that he should be baptized after their Manner.

The General Assembly having met upon the 25th of June, the Superintendent of *Lothian* was sent by them to the Queen, to testify their Joy for the Prince's Birth, and to require that he might be baptized, according to the Form used in the Reformed Churches, the Queen calling for the Child, that the Superintendent might see him, the Superintendent taking the Child in his Arms, fell down upon his Knees, and made a short Prayer for his Happiness and Prosperity : But concerning this Baptism, I shall give an Account in the History of this Prince's Life.

The King propoles the murdering of the Earl of Murray to the Queen, which highly displeased her.

By this Time, the Earl of *Murray* had regained the Queen's Favour more than ever he had, and was become her sole Confidant, which the King taking heinously ill, he resolved to treat him as he had treated *Rizio*, but being a weak Prince, he mismanaged his whole Plot, and became a Sacrifice to the Earl of *Murray*'s Revenge, which happened thus, *The Queen having recovered some Strength, she went by Water to Alloa (a), where she diverted her self for some Days, during which Time, the King taking this Opportunity, revealed to her the whole Contrivance of Rizio's Murder, and how that all was owing to Murray, and that unless he and his Complices were treated after the same Manner, neither of them was sure of their Lives, and therefore he resolved to dispatch him (b)*. It is not to be imagined with what Horror and Amazement the Queen heard of this Proposal, for she knew not where this Revenge might end ; for he was hardly got out of the murdering of one, when he was projecting the murdering of another : Besides, she had such an innate Clemency and Mercifulness in her Temper, that nothing could be more affrighting to her ; so after she had represented to him the Heinousness of the Crime, the Disgrace that it would bring upon them both, the fatal Consequences that would attend it, and and how, that upon Conviction and Tryal, if he should be found Guilty, he might be punished. And *Lastly*, She plainly told him, that unless he abandoned all such wicked Designs, he could have no Share in her Affection. But he persisting still in his Resolution, she shunned his Company wherever she went, hoping that this might reclaim him, which her Enemies attributed to the hatred that she had conceived against him for the killing of *Rizio*. The King perceiving that the Queen would not go into his Measures, he told his Design to several of his Trustees, by which Means it came to the Earl of *Murray*'s Ears, who did not seem to take any Notice of it.

In the mean Time, the Queen being informed of several Disorders committed upon the Borders, she resolved by easy Journeys to go thither her self, to hold *Justice Courts*, then known by the Name of *Justice Airs*; and she sent *James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell*, before her to *Liddisdale*, with a Commission, for suppressing of all such as he found in Arms, or committing Inrods upon the English Borders ; but when he came there, he met with a very

warm

warm Reception, for instead of throwing down their Arms, they  not only despised him and his Commission, but attacked him with such Fury and Resolution, that altho' there was not any Man in his Age that had greater personal Valour than he had, yet he hardly escaped with his Life (a), being dangerously wounded by *John Eliot* of *Park*. The Queen being informed of *Bothwell's* Misfortune, went to visit him at the Castle of *Hermitage*, where he then lay to be cured of his Wounds : After she had stayed about half an Hour with him, being afraid to fall into the Hands of these Borderers, she took Horse, and posted that Night to *Fedburgh*, where she fell into a sharp Fever, occasioned by the Fatigue of her Journey, and the Sharpness of the Night Air : During the first two Days of her Illness, she was extremely out of Order, but upon the third Day she recover'd the Use of her Reason, and with a weak and feeble Voice calling for those who waited upon her, she told them with a very serene Countenance (b), " That she believed a few Hours would remove " her from this Life to a better, and tho' she had been fond enough " of Life, that now she found it no hard Thing to resolve upon " Death ; and altho' she had not spent her Time so well as she ought " and might have done, and deserved not that Happiness which she " hoped was prepared for her, yet she found a certain Comfort in " knowing, that as her Creator was infinitely just, he was infinitely " merciful too ; she thanked God she had so much Time allowed " her to repent for her Sins past, and heartily begged for Perseverance " and Continuance in that Faith in which she was educated. Then " repeating the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, she recommended to " them Concord and Unity amongst themselves, the Protection of " the Royal Infant her Son, and that likewise they would not perse- " cute her Catholick Subjects, since during the Course of her Reign " she had ever been so indulgent, as never to force any Man to the " Exercise of any Religion to which his Conscience did not freely " give his Consent. Then recommending to them her *French* Ser- " vants, she addressed her self to the *French* Ambassador Monsieur " *de la Crote*, saying, *Remember me to the King your Master, I hope* " *he will protect my dear Son; tell him from me, that I desired he would* " *give one Years Revenue of my Dowry after my Death for the Pay-* " *ment of my Debts and Servants Fees : But above all, tell the Queen* " *Mother, that I heartily and sincerely ask her Forgiveness for all* " *those Offences which I either did, or was said to have committed* " *against her.* She likewise forgave all who had offended her any " Manner of Way, but more particularly her Husband, and the " Murderers of her Servant, who if they returned after her Death, " she hoped they would not suffer to come near the Prince her " Son.

The King, who was in the West Country with his Father the Duke of *Lennox*, being informed of the Queen's Sicknes, hasted to *Fedburgh*, but finding that the Queen was willing to have more Satisfaction

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An. 1581
The Queen
quells the
Borderers,
and falls sick
of a Fever
at Fedburgh.

She takes
Death to her
self, and her
Behavior
upon this
Occasion.

An. 1587.

The Queen recovers her Health, and Murray proposes a Divorce to her, which she rejected with Indignation.

from him as to his Designs than he was inclined to give her, he went streight to the Castle of *Stirling*, to wait till the Time appointed for the Solemnity of the Prince's Baptism, it having pleased God to have recovered the Queen out of her Sicknes, as she returned to *Edinburgh*, at the House of *Craigmellar*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Murray*, and Secretary *Lithington* proposed a Divorce to her Majesty, noways doubting, but that the seeming Aversion that she shewed to her Husband was a real one, and that their Proposal could not but relish with her: The excellent Queen was as much surprized with the Extravagancy of this Proposal, as with the Horridness of her Husband's against them, and asked them how that could be done without putting a Stain upon her Honour (a)? To this they replied, That there was no Difficulty in that upon two Accounts, for they could prove that he led a debauch'd and dissolute Life, in taking other Women, and in proving him to be the Author of *Rizio's* Murder, if she would call home the banished Lords. To this the Queen replied, That as for the Debauchedness of her Husband, he was but young, and might be reclaimed; and that if any Thing led him into these Measures, she knew that it was his own easy good Nature, that might be tempted by bad Company; but for recalling the Conspirators to ruin him, she would never agree to: So, says she, let Matters stand as they ate, till it pleases God to amend them. This Project having fail'd them, they resolved to take a more effectual Method, after the Ceremony of the Baptism was over: In the mean Time the Ministers railed at the Queen, because the King was not present at the Baptism. The Authors of this Queen's Life differ in their Accounts of the Reasons that moved the Queen not to have him present, but that which seems most probable is, that the English Ambassador having Instructions from his Mistris Queen *Elizabeth* not to own him as King, but as Lord *Darnly*, she would not suffer him nor her self to be so affronted; and being loath to fall at Variance with the Queen of *England*, it was thought expedient that he should not be present, but keep his Chamber, under the Pretence of an Indisposition. But Bishop *Lesly* tells us, if he be the Author of the Book that is written in Vindication of Queen *Mary*, under the Name of *Morgan Philips* (b), That it was the French Pox, and that since this was wrote by one who was intimately acquainted with him, present at the Baptism, published in three different Languages, *Latin*, *French* and *English*, and Eleven Years before *Buchanan's* Death, and never answered either by him, or any of his Party, we have Reason to believe that this was the Poison that the Historians say, he got and broke out upon him in Boils at *Glasgow*, during all which Time the Queen attended him like a Nurse; but altho' the Hand of God was thus upon him, yet *Murray* resolved to be revenged for his Design against him, which he brought about thus:

The Queen's great Affection to her Husband.

He is murdered by the Earl of Murray and his Complices.

The Earl of *Murray* by his own Interest, and that of his Friends, procured the recalling of *Morton* and *Lindsay* from *England*, whom the

(a) Spotl. Lib. 4. Pag. 196. *Martyre de la Royne de Escosse*, Chap. 8. *McIlvile's Mem.* ubi supra. (b) Lond. 1570 in 8vo.

An. 1587.

the Queen pardoned at the Desire of the *English Ambassador* (a), and finding that her Affection to her Husband, notwithstanding of all the Offences he had given her, was not to be removed ; he and his Friend *Morton* resolved to murder him, and to make the Earl of *Bothwell* her greatest Favourite, the main Instrument in it ; for they knew him to be a Man of an aspiring (b) and ambitious Temper, that would undertake any Thing, that would render him considerably greater than any of his fellow Subjects, and that he had a Boldness and Resolution suitable to his Ambition ; him therefore they Address under the specious Pretence of an inviolable Friendship for him, and Loyalty for the Queen their Mistress, who was extremely abused by her Husband, and that they knowing his Fidelity and Loyalty to her, which he made appear upon all Occasions, they thought they could not make their Applications to any Person that could assist them with Advice and Counsel, for relieving of their afflicted Queen better than to him, and they knew that she was a Princess of such strict Virtue, that she would hear of no Proposals of divorcing from him ; as reflecting upon her own Honour, she herself having made choice of him for her Husband, against the Advice of all her Friends, and of all the Princes of *Europe* ; yet they knew that it would be a most agreeable Piece of Service done to her, if a Method could be fallen upon to dispatch him, in which she should seem not to have any Hand : For tho' she had all the Reason in the World to take his Life, even in Law and Justice, for murdering her Secretary, imprisoning her self, and usurping the Government in his own Hands, he being only a Subject ; yet such was her innate Goodness, that she had pardoned him for them all, and that to their Knowledge, his Lordship had suffered *Rizzio's* Fate, had he not at that Time made his Escape out of the Window of the Palace, therefore their Opinion was, that the Queen, in whom the Safety of the Nation consisted, should be freed from the harsh Treatments of a Fool and Debauchee, and that afterwards, she should be married to some young Nobleman that was agreeable to her ; and the Nation, who were unanimously against her marrying any foreign Prince, and they knowing, that in regard of his many singular Services done to her Majesty, the Accomplishments of his Person and Mind, that none could be more agreeable to her than himself ; besides, that they had considered all the Circumstances of the rest of the Nobility, some of which she would not marry, because they had offended her, others she would not marry, because of their Proximity of Blood, others had Multitudes of Children, and would not willingly Divorce from their Wives ; so that they found him the fittest Person amongst them all, for being a Husband to her Majesty, and that if he would subscribe a Paper with them, and go into their Measures, they and most of the Nobility would stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, in procuring his Marriage with the

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Queen.

An. 1567.

Queen. Nothing could be more relishing than this Proposition to such a Man as *Bothwell* was: So after his Concurrence with them, in regrating the Queen's harsh Treatment by her Husband, and thanking them for the Honour they had done him, and the great Trust they had put in him, told them, that he could not see what way he could marry the Queen, since he had a Wife of his own, and of the most considerable Family in the Nation, she being the Earl of *Huntly*'s Daughter. To this they replied, That they could easily obtain a Divorce for him, by pretending that he and his Lady were within the prohibited Degrees, and that he had committed Adultery with her Cousin. This having fully satisfied *Bothwell's* Scruples, he being a Man of no Conscience or Probity, *Blackwood* and *Cambden* say (a), That immediately Indentures were drawn up and subscribed by these three Earls: And *Blackwood* says (b), That *Alexander Hay* Writer in *Edinburgh*, who was afterwards made Clerk-Register wrote them, and he was alive when *Blackwood* wrote this: And to confirm the Truth of what they say, *John Hepburn* a Servant of the Earl of *Bothwell*'s openly confessed when he was going to Death, That as he should answer to the great God, *Murray* and *Morton* were the principal Authors, Counsellors and Assisters with his Master, of this execrable Murder; and that his Master not only told him so, but that he had seen the Indentures interchanged betwixt them; wherein it was agreed, that he who had the best Opportunity to kill him, should put it in Execution.

During the Time of this hellish Contrivance, the King who lay sick at *Glasgow*, turning daily worse and worse, the Queen being adverrised of it, went with all haste to visit him, and thinking that it might hasten his Recovery, she not only was heartily reconciled to him; but for ten Days Time she waited upon him, as a Nurse would do upon a sickly and tender Child, and that he might be more carefully taken notice of, she caused him to be transported to *Edinburgh*; where he was lodged in the *Kirk-Field*, as the best air'd Place about the City.

He was no sooner arrived at *Edinburgh*, but the three Earls met, and resolved with all Expedition to put their Plot in Execution, and having agreed upon the Manner and Method of it, the Day before the Murder, the Earl of *Murray* went to the Queen; and told her, That his Lady was very sick, and therefore begged Leave to go to the Country to see her, yet he could not refrain himself from saying at his parting with my Lord *Harris*, *That e're to Morrow he should hear strange News*; which that noble Lord afterward upbraided him with to his Face, before the *English* Commissioners at *York*. The Day appointed for the Murder being the 10th of *Februari* 1567, the Queen according to her ordinary Custom, having parted with her Husband about one of the Clock in the Morning, met, as she was going in to her Palace, a Servant of the Earl of *Bothwell's*,

Bothwell's, whom she asked where he had been, that he smelled so strongly of Gun-Powder : The Fellow made some trifling Answer, and no further Notice was taken of it. About two of the Clock in the Morning, the House in which the King lodged, was blown up with Powder, which made such a terrible Noise, that not only the Queen, but the whole City was alarm'd with it, and none seemed more than the Earl of *Bothwell*, who being then with the Queen, was sent with some other Noblemen to see what the Matter was. *Bothwell* upon his Return seemed so concerned, that he could hardly tell the Story to her Majesty ; but at length he got through it, and told her, *That it seemed there had been some Powder lodged in the House where the King was, which had accidentally taken Fire, and blown up the House and killed his Majesty, and the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, who were then in waiting ; who were all found dead at a considerable Distance from the House, in an Orchard hard by the Town-Wall.* Upon this the Queen retired to her Closet, where she wept most bitterly. *Spotswood* says (a), *That he and his Gentleman were first strangled and carried to the Fields, and the House blown up afterwards ; for not one Bone of his whole Body was either broken or bruised, which must needs have been after such a violent Fall, if he had been blown up with the Powder ; besides, there was not the least Stain either upon his Body or Shirt ; And this he says was done by Bothwell.* Sir James *Melvil* says (b), *That he was taken out of his Bed, and brought down to a Stable, where they suffocated him, by stopping a Napkin in his Mouth :* But, Sir Roger *Aston* an English Man, who lodged in the King's Chamber that Night (c), being one of those of the Bed-Chamber, then attending says, *That the Earl of Dunbar and he, having smelt the Fire of a Match, they leapt both out at a Window into the Garden ; and that the King catching hold of his Sword, and suspecting Treason, not only against himself, but the Queen and the young Prince, who was then at Holy-Rood-House with his Mother, desired him to make all the Haste he could to acquaint her of it, and that immediately, armed Men rushing in to the Room, seized upon him single and alone, and stabb'd him, and then laid him in the Garden, and afterwards blew up the House ; and that the King's Body being viewed, they found that he was not in the least scorched by the Fire, but slain.* And this Tale says *Sanderson*, was told by *Aston* himself, since he came into England with King *James* : But whatever Truth be in these different Reports, it is certain that he was murdered by the Earls of *Murray*, *Morton* and *Bothwell*, and their Associates.

Thus died Henry Lord *Darnly*, in the 21 Year of his Age, who was, says Mr. *Crawford*, (d), *One of the handsomest Men of that Age, exceeding tall, and extraordinary well shaped, he had very fine Hair, and a winning Grace in most of his Actions, a dexterous Horse-Man, and the best skilled in warlike Exercises of any in his Time ; but withall, was so very easily gained upon, that there was no*

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His Character
as it.

(a) Lib. 4 Page 200. (b) Melvil's Mem. Page 78. (c) Sanderson's Life of Queen Mary Page 48. (d) Memoirs P. 15.

An. 1587. *Difficulty to perswade him to the Belief of the hardest Things, nor could the invincible Ties of Honour and Interest oblige him to conceal even Secrets of the greatest Importance.*

An Express arrives from France, acquainting the Queen of a Plot against her.

She issues out a Proclamation against the Murderers.

The next Day after the Murder was committed, early in the Morning, arrived *Robert Dury* (*a*) from *Marsailles*; who was sent by the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow* with Letters to the Queen, acquainting her that a Plot was laid against her Life, her Son's and her Husband; but who the Conspirators were, he had not as yet learned. In the mean Time, the People had various Conjectures about the Murderers, some fixing it upon *Murray* and *Morton*, others upon *Bothwell*; but the Ministers persuaded them that it was the Queen: But her Innocence was sufficiently proven afterwards, even to the Conviction of the Mob, by the dying Testimonies of all the Murderers. On the other Hand, the Queen causes publish a Proclamation, wherein large Sums of Money were promised to such as should discover the Murderers; and the Justice General, the Earl of *Argyle* was ordered, not only to deliver the said Summes to the Informer, but to make a narrow Search after the Murderers; but he being *Murray* and *Morton*'s Friend, neglected both. In the mean Time, the Queen caused the King to be embalmed and buried privately, but with great Decency in the Church of *Holy-Rood-House*; the Corps being attended by the Lord Justice Clerk, *Traquair* and several other Persons of Quality and Note; and he was interred in the same Vault with her Father King *James* the Vth; and here I cannot but take Notice of the implacable Malice of *Buchanan*, whose Account of this Affair from the Beginning to the End, is but one continued Lye; he says, *She caused him to be buried in no Manner of State, and that which increased the Indignity of it more, was, that the Grave was made near David Rizio's, as if she had designed to sacrifice the Life of her Husband to the Ghost of that filthy Varlet.* Now there was an express Act against the burying of the Dead (*b*), after the Manner of the Church of *Rome*, and she her self was allowed but one Priest (*c*): So that she was under a Necessity of burying him privately, or of disowning the Rites of the Church, whereof she was a Member. And as to what he says of *Rizjo*'s Burial-place, which in the Account he gives of his Death, he makes him to be buried in the Isle next to her Father, and almost in the Arms of Queen *Magdalen* her Father's first Wife: But both Queen *Mary* herself, and Bishop *Lesly* in his Answer to *Buchanan*'s Detection, declare that he was buried in the Porch of the Church; and the little Isle in the Body of the Church, to this very Day is visited by Strangers, upon the Account of its containing the Bodies of King *James* the Vth, and his Queen *Magdalen*, with the Lord *Darnly*'s, which fills the whole Breadth of the Isle, and across their Feet, lies the Body of the Countess of *Argyle*, natural Daughter to King *James* Vth, which fills the whole Length of the Vault; and King *James* Vth's

two little Sons, are lying above these Coffins, and there never was any more, nor is there Room for them.

The Queen, after the Burial, retired to the Palace of *Seaton*, to pass the Days of her Mourning with her faithful Friend the Lord *Seaton*, while her Enemies at *Edinburgh* were not idle : For the Clergy from their Pulpits, the Mob upon the Streets, and the Earl of *Lennox* by Letters, accusing her of Slackness, in not prosecuting the Murderers : And *Lennox* in his Letters (*a*), condescends upon the Earl of *Bothwell's* being one of them ; and the Queen in her Answers to him, declares, that she will concur with him in prosecuting *Bothwell* or any other that he suspected to have a Hand in that Murder, with the outmost Vigour : And to satisfy him in this, she summoned a Parliament to meet, that he might be tried in open Parliament, as the most impartial Way of proceeding against him : But the Earl of *Lennox* being impatient, and not doubting but that he could prove the Murder upon him, wrote another Letter to the Queen, wherein he earnestly presseth, that he might be tried by his Peers, before the Time appointed for the Parliament's sitting : Upon which the Queen orders him to surrender himself Prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in order to his Trial. And accordingly he entered himself Prisoner about the beginning of *March*, and desiring that he might be brought to a Tryal upon the 28th of the same Month (*b*). *Robert Cunningham*, one of the Earl of *Lennox's* Domesticks, entered a Protestation in his Master's Name before the Justice Court, against their Proceedings upon that Day, in regard that his Master was necessarily absent that Day, because he had not sufficient Time of acquainting such Numbers of his Vassals to attend him, as the Safety of his Life required, and of getting a sufficient Number of Witnesses : Whereupon he took Instruments, and the Earl of *Argyle* Justice-General, prorogued the Court at the Desire of the Earl of *Bothwell*, to the 12th of *April* following : Upon which Day the Earl of *Lennox* coming to *Edinburgh*, with a numerous Attendance, completely armed (*c*), the Queen sent him Word either to dismiss or disarm some of his Followers, it not being proper that he should enter the City in such a hostile Manner ; but he absolutely refused to do either of them : The Trial nevertheless went on, and *Bothwell* was unanimously acquitted by a very honourable Jury, of all Suspicion, as well as Action of Murder, not so much as one probable Circumstance being adduced against him : The Jury consisted of the following Persons, *Gilbert Earl of Cawdor* Chancellor, *George Earl of Caithness*, *Andrew Earl of Rothes*, *John Lord Hamilton*, Commender of *Aberbrothick*. *Laurence Lord Oliphant*, *John Lord Herris*, *James Lord Ross*, *Robert Lord Semple*, *Robert Lord Boyd*, *John Master of Forbes*, with the Lairds of *Lochinvar*, *Barnbeygal*, *Boyn*, *Langtoun* and *Cambusnetham*.

The Earl of
Bothwell is
accused of
the Murder,
and submits
himself to a
Trial;

And he ac-
quitted by
an honour-
able Jury.

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(*a*) Vide Mr. Crawford's Collections. (*b*) Mr. Ham. Ob. on Buchan. and Mr. Crawford's MSS. Page 16. (*c*) Cam. Lib. 14.
Page 94. Spot. Lib. 4. Page 301. Cravat. MSS. Page 17.

An. 1587.
And by the Parliament.
The Nobility sollicite the Queen to marry the Earl of Bothwell.

The Parliament having met at *Edinburgh* upon the 19th of April, they likewise voted him Innocent of all that was laid to his Charge; and *Murray* and *Morton* having gain'd a great many of the Nobility to the Project of the Queen's Marriage with *Bothwell*, after the Parliament rose, he invited severals of them to Sup with him at one *Ainfly's* a Vintner in *Edinburgh*; where, after he had given them a splendid Entertainment, they drew up and subscribed a Bond, wherein they represent to her Majesty the Dangers of a single Life; and that if she would be pleased to marry the Earl of *Bothwell*, they promise for themselves, and all their Followers, that they would assist, maintain and defend them against all their Enemies with their Lives and Fortunes to the utmost: And if they fail in this, they desire to be held in Repute, as having no Honour or Honesty in them, and in all Times hereafter to be accounted as unworthy and faithless Traitors. This Bond is to be seen in the *Cotton Library* at *London*, subscribed by the Earls of *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Hunstly*, *Cassils*, *Morton*, *Sutherland*, *Rothes*, *Glencairn*, *Caithness*: The Lords, *Boyd*, *Seaton*, *Sinclair*, *Semple*, *Oliphant*, *Ogilvie*, *Ross*, *Halket*, *Carlisle*, *Herris*, *Home* and *Indermeith*.

who takes the Queen Prisoner.
She refuses to marry him
Her Conference with Murray, who threatens her into this Marriage.

Bothwell having obtained this Bond, raises 800 Horse, under a Pretence of an Expedition to *Liddisdale*, but marching streight towards *Stirling*, where the Queen then was visiting her Son, at *Almond Bridge* he met the Queen returning to *Edinburgh*, and carried her, the Earl of *Hunstly*, Secretary *Lithington*, and her other Attendants to the Castle of *Dumbar*, where he presented her with the Request of the Nobility, under their Hands and Seals, entertained her most courteously with all the pressing Demands and Submissions of a Lover; and in the mean Time the Earl of *Murray* and his Associates carried on the Divorce in two different Courts: In the one sat by Commission from the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* (*a*), *Robert* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *William* Bishop of *Dumblain*, Mr. *Archibald Crawford* Parson of *Egilsam*, Mr. *John Manderston* Canon of the College Church of *Dumbar*, Mr. *Alexander Crichton*, and Mr. *George Cook* Canons of the Church of *Dunkeld*: In the other, as Judges constitute by the Queen's Authority in all Causes consistorial, sat Mr. *Robert Maitland*, Mr. *Edward Henryson*, Mr. *Alexander Sim* and Mr. *Clement Little*: And in both these Courts the Sentence of Divorce was pronounced, but upon different Grounds; for in the Arch-Bishop's Court it was founded upon their Consanguinity, and in the other upon Adultery. Yet notwithstanding of all this, she not only refused to marry him, but was highly displeased with any that proposed it; and happy had it been for her, had she stood in this Resolution: But the Earl of *Murray*, whom she had always the Misfortune to believe her Friend, told her, that there was an absolute Necessity for it; for she being alone, and without Assistance either from *England* or *France*, she could not protect her self against any of her rebellious Subjects, without marrying some powerful Nobleman amongst them; and since

since the most of the Nobility had sworn to stand by him, if she did not comply with their Proposal; he did not know where it might end. But how, says she, can I comply with the marrying a Man that is divorced from his Wife upon the Account of Adultery, and that has been stained with the murdering of my Husband? How will Posterity look upon this Action, and what Contempt will it bring upon me by all the Princes in Europe? And with that she fell a weeping most bitterly. But Murray still urged the Necessity she lay under, and that as to his being stained with her Husband's Death, he had cleared himself of it to the Satisfaction of the whole Nation: And that of his Adultery was a mere Calumny, and she need have no Scruple upon Account of the Divorce, since his Lady was lately dead, (a) tho' another Historian assures us, that at that Time she had married the Earl of Sunderland in England (b). In one Word, he represented Things to her in such a dismal View, that he frightened the poor Queen into the Marriage: And Bothwell being created Duke of Orkney and Zeatland, they were married upon the 15th Day of May 1567, in the Palace of Holy-Rood-House, by Adam Bothwell Bishop of Orkney. If we consider this Action of the Queen's in all its Circumstances, we have not so much Reason to think her such a Person as her Enemies have represented her upon this Occasion: For, says Cauffin (c), Who shall contemplate her alone as the Morning Star in the midst of so many Clouds without Assistance, without Forces, without Counsel? Persecuted by her Brother, outraged by her rebellious Subjects, betrayed by the Queen of England under the Colour of good Will: Sought for in Marriage by Force of Arms by the Princes of her own Realm; he shall find that she hath done nothing foolishly, in choosing those by Friendship, which Necessity did give her by Force; and whether there are Times and Revolutions so dangerous and remediless, in which we have no other Power left us, but only to destroy our selves.

She is forced to marry Bothwell.

This Marriage was no sooner accomplished, but these Noblemen who had forced her to it, exclaimed against her for it; which being backed with the thundering Exclamations of the factious Clergy from their Pulpits, the whole Nation was in an Uproar.

The Earl of Mar, who had the Custody of the young Prince, being afraid that the Duke of Orkney might prevail with the Queen to demand the young Prince from him, and that he might dispatch him as he had done his Father, in Case the Queen should prove with Child to him, to secure the Succession of his Body to the Throne, wrote to severals of the Nobility to meet him at Stirling, that they might give him their Advice in such an important Affair; and the Earls of Argyle, Athole, Morton and Glencairn, the Lords Lindsay and Boyd having met him at Stirling, they entred into a Bond of Association for Defence of the young Prince; in the doing of which, they told her, that they had no Design against her Person: But when the Queen, by Bothwell's Persuasion, caus'd draw

The Earl of Mar enters into a Bond with several Noblemen to defend the young Prince

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another

(a) Vid. Blackwood, Chap. 9. Pag. 127. (b) Sanderson's Life of Queen Mary, Pag. 41. (c) Life of Queen Mary,

Anno 1587.

another Bond for the Defence of her Person and his, and which was subscribed by all the Noblemen and Barons who came to Court: The Earl of *Murray* refused to subscribe it, under the specious Pre-text, that all Subjects by their Birth and Duty were bound to defend her Majesty's Person: And now finding that this Plot had succeeded to Admiration, and that a Civil War was ready to break forth, that he might not seem to have any Hand in it, he begged Liberty from the Queen to permit him to travel for sometime, which he having with great Difficulty obtained, not that she was any ways suspicious of him, but as one whom she greatly trusted for his Advice and Counsel, he posted immediately to *England*, and went from thence to *France*; but before he went, that he might appear altogether innocent of the Mischief that he had contrived, he left the Management of his Estate to the Duke of *Orkney*, by which Means he doubted not to secure himself, in Case that the Rebellion that he designed to raise, in his Absence should prove unsuccessful.

The Bishop
of Dumblain
is sent to France
to acquaint
that Court of
the State of
Affairs.

She confirms
the establish-
ment of the
Protestant
Religion,
and makes
choice of new
Counsellors.

The Fears of the Court still increasing, the Bishop of *Dumblain* was sent to *France*, to acquaint that Court of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*; and amongst other Things in his Instructions, which are to be seen in the *Cotton Library at London*, she says, That when *Bothwell* seized her at *Almond Bridge*, he shewed her a Bond subscribed by the Nobility, desiring her to marry him, which mightily surprized her, never having heard any Thing of it before: And adds, That this was the only Reason that made her comply with the Match, otherwise her rebellious Subjects had dethroned her. The Queen likewise, that she might ingratiate her self with the Clergy, caused a Proclamation to be made over the Cross of *Edinburgh*, wherein she declared, that all Writs obtained from her against the established Religion should be null and void; after this she made choice for her Counsellors, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Arrol*, *Caijils*, *Morton*, *Rothes*, *Athol*, *Marischal*, *Argyle*, *Caithness* and *Huntly*; the Lords *Boyd*, *Herris* and *Oliphant*, the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, and the Bishop of *Ross*.

All Things being thus settled, the Queen being informed that some of the Borderers were very unruly, she emitted a Proclamation, requiring her Subjects to attend her to the Borders well armed, and as it was usual in these Cases, with 15 Days Provisions: *Morton* taking hold of this Opportunity to begin the Rebellion concerted betwixt him and *Murray*, with whom he kept a clos Correspondence, caused a Rumor to be spread through the Country that she was raising these Forces to take her Son out of the Earl of *Mur's* Hands: Upon this she published another Proclamation, wherein she declared that she had no such Design, being very well satisfied that her Son should be in the Hands of that noble Earl, and that as she had trusted him to such a Governour, as other Princes in former Times were accustomed to have, so her motherly Care for his Safety and good Education should be made apparent to all. But they having no Regard to this, were daily gathering together; upon

which

which she and the Duke of Orkney retired to *Borthwick Castle*, but they being informed of it, *Morton* and *Hume* with all the Secrecy imaginable, raised what Forces they could get together, and thought to have surprised them, and they were very near succeeding in their Enterprise, the Queen having very narrowly made her Escape in Mens Apparel.

An. 1557.
Morton rises
in Rebellion,
and endeavours
to surprise the
Queen, who
makes her
Escape in
Mens Appa-
rel.

The Queen and the Duke having got into the Castle of *Dunbar*, the Rebels marched straight towards *Edinburgh*; the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, the Bishop of *Ross*, the Abbot of *Kilwinning* and the Lord *Boyd* being then in the City, went to the Magistrates, and endeavoured to persuade them, not to admit of the Rebels, and to raise the Inhabitants to oppose them: But all that they could obtain, was, that they closed their Gates against them; but no Resistance being made, they easily broke open the Gate of Saint *Mary's Port*, and entered the City in Triumph: Upon which the Queen's Friends retired to the Castle; where they were seemingly well received by Sir *James Balfour* the Gouvernour, who in the mean Time, was under Capitulation for delivering of it up to the Rebels. The next Day (a) being the 12th of June, the Rebels published a Proclamation, wherein they declared, *That their whole Intention, was to deliver the Queen's Majesty out of the Hands of Bothwell, who had taken her Prisoner, and forced her most disgracefully to marry him, and that he being the Author and the main Actor in the King's Murder, and now raising Forces to take the young Prince, and to kill him as he had done his Father; and since it was but just that the Queen should be set at Liberty, and that the said Bothwell and his Accomplices in the King's Murder, should be punished according to Law; they therefore Charge and Command, that all her Majesty's Subjects within the Kingdom, be in Readiness to join them upon three Hours warning, and Commands all such as will not join them, to depart out of the Town, under Pain of being reputed as Enemies, and treated as such.* On the other Hand, the Queen having got together an Army of about 4000 Men, came from the Castle of *Dunbar* to *Gladsmuir*, where she caused them to be mustered, and a Proclamation to be read to them, wherein, after the narrating of all the Things they had laid to her Charge, she gives them a true Narrative of all her Proceedings, and theirs, as we have represented them; and therefore, since she was constrained to take Arms in her own Defence, not out of Choice, but Necessity; she doubted not of the Assistance of her good Subjects, or of the Courage and Valour of these who were present, promising them, in Recompence of their Valour, the Lands and Possessions of the Rebels, which should be distributed according to the Merit of every Man.

^a They come
to Edinburgh
and publish
a Proclama-
tion in their
own De-
fence.

After this Proclamation was read to the Army, they marched straight towards *Edinburgh*, and she lodged that Night at *Seaton*. The Rebels at *Edinburgh* having got Notice about Mid-night, that

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the Queen was marching towards them, they immediately beat Drums, and at Sun rising, marched towards *Musleburgh* (a), where they refreshed themselves with Store of good Victuals, which they had brought from *Edinburgh* with them; about Noon, their Scouts brought them Word, that the Queen's Army was beginning to march: Upon this, they immediately formed themselves into two Battalions; the first was commanded by the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Home*; the second by the Earls of *Athol*, *Mar* and *Glencairn*, who were joined by the Lords *Lindsay*, *Ruthven*, *Semple* and *Sanquhar*; the Lairds of *Drumlanrig*, *Tillibardine*, *Cessfoord*, *Grange* and other Persons of Note, in Number noways inferior to the Queen's Army, and much superior to them in other Respects, the most of them being well seen in warlike Exercises, and well stored with Wine, Ale and all other Liquors, that they had brought alongst with them (b); whereas, the Queen's Army for the most Part, were undisciplined Men, and ill provided, both as to Meat and Drink; so that having nothing to drink but Water, and the hot Weather being at that Time excessive, more than the half of them deserted.

The two Armies meet at Carberry Hill. The two Armies having met at *Carberry* Hill, the Queen being encamped on the Top of the Hill, the Laird of *Grange*, with the Lairds of *Drumlanrig*, *Cessfoord*, *Coldenknows*, and about two hundred Horse-Men (c), thought to have got betwixt her and the Castle of *Dunbar*, whilst the main Body of their Army were ordered to march up the Hill, and to give her Battle; but finding that they could not well do this, because of the steep Ascent of the Hill, and the Sun being in their Faces, they marched towards the right Hand, that they might have the Sun in their Backs, and a plainer Ascent to the Hill.

Morton's In-
solent Beha-
viour to the
French Am-
bassador. The French Ambassador Mr. *la Crotte*, seeing them ready to engage, endeavour'd to mediate a Peace betwixt them, and coming to *Morton*, he told him, *That he found the Queen inclined to spare the shedding of her Subjects Blood, and willing to pardon them, if they would listen to reasonable Terms.* To this *Morton* replied, *That they had not taken Arms against the Queen, but against the Murderer of the King* (d), *whom if she would deliver to be punished, or put from her Company, she would find nothing more desired by them, and all her other Subjects, than to continue in their dutiful Obedience towards her, otherwise no Peace could be made.* The Ambassador persisting in his Proposal of their hearing of reasonable Terms, and of their begging Pardon of her Majesty; he told him with great Rudeness, *That they came not to ask Pardon for any Offence they had committed, but to give Pardon to those who had offended them:* Upon this, the Ambassador giving over all Hopes of an Accommodation, retired towards *Edinburgh*. *Morton* knowing that it might be of fatal Consequence to him and his Accomplices, to have *Bothwell* delivered up to them, in case he should make a Discovery of his being Art and Part in the Murder; therefore, he made

(a) Spot. Lib. 4. Page 206. (b) Melvill's Mem. Page 83. (c) Spot. Lib. 4. Page 206. (d) Spot. ibid.

made the Alternative of the Queen's banishing *Bothwell* her Company, knowing that she would more willingly comply to this, than to the delivering of him up to the Mercy of the Mob.

The Queen finding, that if she put all to the Hazard of a Battle, she might in all probability be worsted, therefore, she sent the Laird of *Ormiston* to desire *William Kirkaldy* Laird of *Grange*, to speak to her (*a*), which being granted, after she had vindicate her self from the vile Aspersions they had thrown upon her, and upbraided them for their Rebellion ; she told him, *She would gladly know what they proposed to themselves.* To this *Grange* answered ; as he had been instructed by *Morton*, *That they were her most faithful, most loyal and dutiful Subjetts, they having nothing else in their View, but to defend her sacred Person, and to rescue her out of the Hands of the Duke of Orkney, who had rendered himself odious to the common People, as being suspected to be the Murderer of the King her Husband;* and, *that if she would rely entirely upon them, and banish the Duke from her Company, till a farther Trial was made of his Innocency, he would not only for himself, but for all the rest, promise the outmost Obedience and Submission to her, in all that she could desire.* Upon this, she desired *Bothwell* to retire to the Castle of *Dunbar*, till what was laid to his Charge should be further examined, and Matters settled betwixt her and them : And the Laird of *Grange* promised, *That none should be sent in Pursuit after him :* For they were very much afraid as I have said, that if he were taken and harshly dealt with, he might reveal all : So having acquainted the Lords of the Conditions he had proposed to the Queen, and of her Willingness to accept of them (*b*), they gave him full Commission to agree with her upon these Articies. He rode up the Hill again says Sir *James Melvil*, and saw the Earl of *Bothwell* part, and came down again, and assured the Lords thereof. Upon which they desir'd him to go up the Hill again and receive the Queen, who met him ; and said Laird of *Grange*, *I surrender my self unto you upon the Conditions you rehearsed to me in the Name of the Lords.* Whereupon she gave him her Hand which he kissed, leading her Majesty's Horse by the Bridle, down the Hill to the Lords, who having met her, she addressed herself thus to them (*c*), *I am come to you my Lords, but not out of any Fear I had to my Life, nor despairing of Victory, if Matters had gone to the outermost, but because I abhor the shedding of Christian Blood, especially that of my own Subjects ; 'tis for that Reason I freely yielded to you, and will be hereafter ruled by your Counsels, trusting you will use me as a Princess, and one that was born your Queen.*

But the Rebels, instead of observing their Articles of Capitulation, immediately seized on her Person, and carried her as their Prisoner in Triumph that Night amongst with them to *Edinburgh*, being insulted all the Way by the Mob of the Army ; and when they came to *Edinburgh*, instead of allowing her the Use of her own

E e e e

Palace

(*a*) Vide *Blackwood* Chap. 10. Page 130. (*b*) *Melv. Mem.* Page 83. (*c*) *Crawf. Mem.* Page 37.

The Queen
yields herself
up to the Re-
bels, upon
Conditions.

Which they
most perfidi-
ously brake,
and barba-
rously use
her.

Ad. 1587. Palace (as she expected) they carried her amongst the Streets to be gazed upon by the People, and the incensed Mob, who from their Windows and Forestairs railed at her with most despiteful Language, crying, *Burn the Whore, burn the Parricide* (*a*): And having brought her to *Craigmiller's Lodgings*, who was then Provost of the Town, they placed a strong Guard upon her, and then left her to her Rest, without so much as allowing any of her Maids to wait upon her (*b*), all which she bore with a Patience and Fortitude of Mind becoming a Christian Queen; only as she was carried amongst the Street, she could not refrain from shedding Abundance of Tears, caused by the vile and scurrilous Reproaches of the Mob.

The next Morning, when she looked over her Window, the first Object that presented to her Sight, was a Banner fully displayed and fixt for against her Windows (*c*), whereon was painted her dead Husband King *Henry*, lying under the Shade of a Tree, with the young Prince upon his Knees, with these Words proceeding out of his Mouth,

Judge and Revenge my Cause, O Lord.

Upon the viewing of this she burst out in Tears, and calling upon the People that were gazing upon her from the Streets, she said, *Good People, either satisfy your Cruelty and Hatred by taking away my miserable Life, or relieve me from the Hands of such inhumane and perfidious Traitors.* This being spoke, and accompanied with all the moving Circumstances of the brightest Majesty that ever the Sun shined upon, in the greatest Misery, it was no Wonder that their Hearts were melted into Compassion; so running immediately to Arms, they had certainly set her at Liberty, had not the Rebels softned their Tempers, by telling them, that they were going to convoy her to her Palace of *Holy-Rood-House*, where she was to have her Liberty as much as ever: Towards the Evening she was convoyed to her Palace, accompanied by the Acclamations of the Mob; but the Rebel Lords immediately met in Council, to consider what was further to be done, and it was agreed to amongst them, that she should be sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Lochleven*, to remain there during her Life, and the Royal Authority should be established in

She is sent to the Castle of Lochleven. the Person of her Son. This being resolved upon, by Times the next Morning, for Fear of the Mob's relieving of her (*d*), they had her mounted on a Work Horse, clothed in a sordid Habit, for they had robbed her of all her Clothes and Jewels, and being committed to the Care of the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindsay*, she was sent to *Lochleven*. Mr. *Douglas*, who by the Mother-side was a Brother of *Murray's*, at first refused to receive her, being afraid that afterwards he might be called in Question for it; but they soon satisfied him, by giving him a Bond of Warrandice subscribed by them all, and which they promised to ratifie in the next Parliament.

Yet all this was not done without coming to the Knowledge of some of her Friends, such as the Lords *Seaton*, *Yester* and *Borthwick*, the

(*a*) *Ibid.* (*b*) *Blackwood*, Pag. 134. (*c*) *McL. Mem.* Pag. 84. *Blackwood*, *ubi supra*. (*d*) *Blackwood*, *ubi supra*.

the Lairds of *Wachtoun*, *Bass*, *Ormiston*, *Wedderburn*, *Blackadder*
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 and *Langton*, who thought to have rescued her by the Way ; but
 they had got her into the Boat before they could reach them ; and
 what added not a little to their Misfortunes, was, that she was com-
 mitted to the Care of the Earl of *Murray's* Mother, who daily up-
 braided her with the Story of her Marriage with her Father, and of
 her Son's being the lawful Heir of the Crown. To which all that
 she replied was, *That he was too honest a Man, to say so himself.*

*What an Indignity, says Caussin (a) was this ? And what a Con-
 fusion in Nature, and the Laws of the World, to behold that excellent
 Lady, to whom Grace and Nature had given Chains to captivate the
 Hearts of the most Barbarous, that great Princess, whom the Sun did
 see almost to be a Queen as a living Creature ; She that was born to
 Empire, as Empire seemed to be made for her, to be deprived of her
 Liberty ; to see herself severed from all Commerce with Mankind, to
 be banished to an Island, where nothing but Rocks and Waves were the
 Witnesses of her Sufferings : Nay, which is more, she is now become
 the Captive of her own Subjects, and a Servant to her Slaves.*

The Queen being now in safe Custody, they could not agree amongst themselves what to do with her ; the Earls of *Athol*, *Mar*, Secretary *Lithington* and the Laird of *Grange*, who were highly incensed at her barbarous Treatment (b), and Breach of Faith to her, were for restoring her, if the Murderers of the King should be punished according to Law, the young Prince's Safety provided for; *Bothwell* divorced, and the Protestant Religion established ; others were for banishing her for ever, either to *France* or *England*, so as the King of *France*, or the Queen of *England* should give their Words that she should resign the Kingdom, and transfer all her Authority to her Son, and such of the Nobility as they should name ; others were for arraigning her publickly ; others for adhering to their former Resolution of condemning her to perpetual Prison, and crowning her Son ; others were for strangling her in her Bed, and for raising a Report that she had done it her self ; others were for the delaying of doing any Thing till such Time as the Earl of *Murray* should return from *France*, whom they had sent for. And *Lastly*, Some were for executing her publickly : And this, says Mr. *Udal*, was the Opinion of *Knox* and some Ministers of the Word, who thundered it out of their Pulpits.

Two Days after the Queen's Imprisonment, the Earl of *Glencairn* The Earl of
*Glencairn de-
 molishes the
 Queen's
 Chappel.* at the Head of a Mob, went to the Chappel of *Holy-Rood-House*, where they broke down, burnt and destroyed the Altar, and all the Ornaments of the Chappel : And further, to blind the Mob with their pretended Zeal in the Pursuit of the King's Murder, all the Housekeepers in the City of *Edinburgh* were ordered to give in an exact List of all the Persons in their Families, with their Ages, Countries, Names and Designations ; and a strict Search being made, two Persons were seized and committed, upon Suspicion of being guilty of

An. 1587. the King's Murder ; the one was a French Man (*a*), called *Sebastian de Villars*, who had the good Fortune to make his Escape ; and the other was one Captain *William Blackadder*, who was with great Expedition tried, and condemned by a Jury, who were resolved to find him guilty : Every Body was fond to be present at the Execution, in Hopes of a Discovery of the whole Matter ; but instead of that, after he had begged God Pardon for all his Sins, and for those who had unjustly sought after his Death, desiring the Prayers of the People in his Behalf, he protested solemnly before God and his Angels, he was wholly innocent of that Crime for which he was to suffer, and that he believed the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton* were the Authors of it.

Sir James Balfour de-livers up the Castle of Edinburgh with Letters alledged to be wrot by the Queen, but are found to be forged. About the same Time Sir *James Balfour* betrayed his Trust, and delivered up the Castle of *Edinburgh* to the Rebels ; and here I cannot omit to take notice of the malicious Contrivance of *Buchanan's* against the Queen, and which *Spotswood* very gravely after him tells us in these Words (*b*), *How soon it was known that the Queen was made Prisoner, Bothwell having sent one of his Servants to the Castle, to bring a little Silver Cabinet which the Queen had given him, and wherein he had reserved all the Letters she had written to him at any Time, Balfour delivered the Cabinet to Bothwell's Servant, but withall advertised the Lords what he carried, and made him to be apprehended : These Letters were afterwards divulged in Print, and adjected to a Libel, intituled, The Detection of Queen Mary, penned with great Bitterness by Mr. George Buchanan.* Now that these Letters were a meer Contrivance of the Rebels, to blacken the Memory of this Illustrious Princess, will evidently appear from the following Considerations.

First, There were such Things in them, that none but one of *Buchanan's* Impudence could have ever laid to her Charge, her Character being the very Reverse of it. *2dly*, The Queen upon her Honour denied them ever to have been writ by her. *3dly*, *Lastly* Bishop of *Ross* her Confessor, and *Lithington* her Secretary (*c*), when they were produced before Queen *Elizabeth's* Commissioners at *York*, offered to swear upon the Holy Evangelists that they were not of her writing, and none on Earth knew her Hand (except her self) better than they did. *4thly*, None of them was addressed to *Bothwell*, no not so much as under borrowed Names, nor are any of them subscribed by her. *5thly*, They were neither seal'd nor dated, nor one Word in them all of the trusty Bearer. *6thly*, *Charles Ker* of *Tor* in his Memoirs (*d*) says, That a young Lady had confess'd to a Friend of his, that she had at the Solicitation of *Murray* and *Morton* wrote these Letters, protesting that whatever was there said of her Majesty was false ; but he was obliged to conceal her Name, for Fear that it might cost her her Life. And *Blackwood* says, That there was one of her Maids of Honour that could counterfeit her Hand so exactly, that it could hardly be discovered. And *Lastly*, *Dalgleish*,

(*a*) *Crawf. Mem.* Pag. 41. (*b*) *Lib. 4.* Pag. 208. (*c*) *Vid. Morgan's Phil. Vindication of Q. Mary.* (*d*) *L'Innocence de la Royne d'Escosse.*

Dalgleish, who is mentioned by *Buchanan* as the Carrier of the Box ¹⁵⁸⁷ with these Letters, at his Death declar'd, as he should answer to God, he never carried any such Letter, nor received any such Cabinet. About this Time the King of *France* sent over Monsieur *de Villeroy*, in Quality of his Ambassador to the Queen, but the Rebels would give him no Access to her; upon which he returned immediately to *France*. *Morton* thinking that *Bothwell* had certainly made his Escape and fled the Kingdom, caused Proclamations to be published in all the chief Cities of the Kingdom for the apprehending of the Duke of *Orkney*, sometime Earl of *Bothwell*, as guilty of the late King's Murder, and a Thousand Pounds was promised for a Reward to any one that would bring him to Justice (a), altho' that during these unprecedented Transactions the Queen of *England* had been fostering these Rebels, and encouraging them in their Proceedings; yet she had not sent them such Sums of Money as was requisite to carry on their Project; therefore they seized on the Plate and Jewels of the Crown, which they converted into current Coin, melting down at one Time 256 Pound Weight (b) of Silver, and as for the Jewels, tho' King *James* recovered some of them afterwards, yet the greatest (c) Part of them were lost.

During these Transactions, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* came down Ambassador from the Queen of *England*, seemingly to endeavour a Reconciliation betwixt the Queen and her rebellious Subjects, but under Hand to make the Breach greater; for in all publick Companies he told how much the Queen his Mistress was offended with their Proceedings and barbarous Treatment of their Sovereign, and was always proving from the sacred Scriptures the Duty and Submission of Subjects to their Sovereigns; but in his private Conferences with the Rebels, he assured them (d) of his Mistress's Protection and Assistance, and advised them to propose that she should demit the Sovereignty in her Son's Favours, and that if she would not willingly do it, to threaten her to it.

This Proposition was no sooner made, but embraced; for it made the Rebels, during the Minority of the young Prince, Managers of all the publick Affairs of the Kingdom: And on the other Hand, *Throgmorton* had his Design; for as long as there was an Infant King in *Scotland*, *England* was in no Danger from them. The Proposal being made to the Queen, the English Ambassador, the Earls of *Athol*, *Mar*, Secretary *Lithington* and *Grange* sent Sir *James Melville* (e) to her, who told her, That it was their Opinion that she should accept of their Offer, because it might be a Mean of obtaining her Liberty, after which she might revoke it, as being extorted from her when in Prison; but her Majesty could not be induced to follow their Advice: Whereupon the Lord *Lindsay* was pitched upon by *Morton* to threaten her to it; and certainly he was the most proper Man in the Nation for such an Office, for *Blackwood* tells us, *That he had the Figure and Shape of a Man, and could speak, but as for any Thing*

The French Ambassador is denied Access to the Queen, and a Proclamation is issued out for apprehending Bothwell

They seize upon the Plate and Jewels of the Crown.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton is sent by Q. Elizabeth to foment the Divisions betwixt the Queen and her Subjects.

By the Advice of Throgmorton they propose to the Queen that she should demit in her Son's Favours, which she refuses, but they force her to it.

(a) *Crawf. Mem.* pag. 63. (b) *Ibid.* pag. 44. (c) *Blackwood*, pag. 134. (d) *Udal's Life of Q. Mary*, pag. 78. *Blackwood*, pag. 138. (e) *Mem.* pag. 85.

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Thing else, he was so stupidly Brutal, that he differed in nothing from that Animal of whom Marcus Varo speaks, that had a Soul given to him in Place of Salt to keep his Carcass from stinking. This fine accomplished Gentleman accosting the Queen, without the accustomed Civilities given to Gentlewomen, and much more owing to his native Sovereign, told her, *That she must resign the Crown to the young Prince, and constitute her Brother the Earl of Murray Regent during his Minority.* The Queen with great Calmness of Mind endeavoured to convince him of the Unreasonablenes of the Proposal; during which Time he shewed his Dissatisfaction by the Grimaces of his Face, and the knitting of his Brows; at length not being able to master his Passion further, he burst forth into rude Expressions, and told her (a), *That if she would not sign it, he would sign it with her Heart Blood:* Upon which the Queen called for the Papers, which she subscribed, says Spotswood (b), without reading them, the Tears running down in Abundance from her Eyes, and the next Day they were proclaimed over the Cross of Edinburgh. In the mean Time there was a great Meeting of the Queen's Friends at Hamilton, to consult what was proper to be done for her Relief, the principal Persons at this Meeting were the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, Caithness, Rothes, Crawford and Monteith, the Lords Boyd, Drummond, Herris, Cathcart, Yester, Fleming, Livingston, Seaton, Glamis, Ochiltrie, Gray, Oliphant, Methwin, Innermeath and Somervel, the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, the Commendators of Arbroth, Kilwinning, Dumfermling, St. Cobuck, Newbottle and Holy-Rood-House. Morton having got notice of this Meeting, sent Sir James Melvil to them (c) with Letters, requiring their Advice and Consent for settling the Affairs of the Nation, and their being Witnesses to the young Prince's Coronation at Stirling. These Letters were subscribed by the Earls of Athol, Mar and Merton, Secretary Lithington, the Lairds of Tillibardin, Grange and some others. Arch-Bishop Spotswood says (d), That they would neither admit the Messenger, nor receive the Letters; but Sir James tells us (e), That he was very kindly received, and that the Arch-Bishop desired him to return these noble Lords their Thanks for their friendly and discreet Commission, and they upon good and sufficient Security were willing to meet and confer with them; but since so many Lords and Barons had met together without acquainting them of their Designs, it was but reasonable that they should look to themselves: And when Sir James returned to Stirling with this Answer, they would do nothing till such Time as they consulted the Lord, which in their Language was the General Assembly.

The General Assembly having met at Edinburgh upon the 25th of June, Morton laid the Case before them, and they ordered circular Letters to be sent to all the Lords, who were the Queen's Friends, requiring them to be present at the Assembly upon the 20th Day of July, to give their Advice, about the Affairs of the Church and

and State, and that all such as should be Absent, should be esteemed Promoters of the Kingdom of *Satan*, and unworthy of the Fellowship of Christ's Church.

The Earl of *Murray* having got Letters from *Morton* and his Associates, to return to *Scotland* with all Expedition, he went and asked Permission from the King of *France*, and told him and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Duke of *Guise* the Queen's Uncles, that he would set the Queen at Liberty, and settle all Things as they were formerly ; and this he having solemnly promised, and sworn before God to do, they dismissed him (a) with many rich Presents and Jewels; he was hardly gone from Court, when the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, the Queen's Ambassador at the Court of *France*, came and told the King, that he was the Author of all that had befallen the Queen, and therefore begged that he might have an order for stopping him ; which was granted, but he made such quick dispatch, that he was failed from *Diep* before the Messengers could reach him : Having landed in *England*, he went straight to the Court, where he was very kindly received by Queen *Elizabeth*, with whom he had a long Conference, and a Promise of paying him punctually every Year (b) 4000 Pound *Sterling*, to be distributed by him in Pensions for himself, and as he pleased, to the rest of the Nobility : So having solemnly engaged to serve her, against his Sovereign and his Country, he takes Journey for *Scotland*, and was met at *Berwick* by Sir *James Melvil*, who was sent by the Lords of *Morton's* Faction, to acquaint him of all their Proceedings during his Absence (c), and that they had made choice of him, during the King's Minority, to be Regent or Governor of the Realm, and that they hoped he would do nothing in his Transactions with the Queen, without acquainting of them. This was the Substance of Sir *James's* Commission from *Morton* and his Associates ; and he says, *That tho' he seemed to be averse to the accepting of the Regency, yet he was informed from those that were about him, that he was very well pleased with the News.* On the other Hand, the Earls of *Athol*, *Mar*, Secretary *Lithington* and the Laird of *Grange*, earnestly entreated him to intercede with *Morton* and his Associates, for the poor afflicted Queen, and that she might be set at Liberty ; both these Advices he heard, without giving any positive Answer to them. Upon the 11th of *August* 1567, he came to *Edinburgh*, where he was received by his Friends with great Demonstrations of Joy, and within a few Days after, he was easily induced to accept of the Regency : His next Care, was to visit the Queen at *Lochlevin*, where, if we may believe *Blackwood*, he treated her most barbarously (d), accusing her before the whole Company, of the Crimes of Adultery and Murder, and in a canting Tonge told her, *That what she now suffered, was but God's Justice upon her, for the Sins which she had committed against him.* To which the afflicted Princess replied all in Tears, *That she was conscious*

*Anno 1567.
The Earl of
Murray re-
turns to
Scotland.*

*He visits the
Queen at
Lochlevin,
and uses her
most barba-
rously.*

scions of her own Innocency of all that was laid to her Charge, and for which she took God to Witness, and that it was barbarous and inhumane, to insult over her in her Misery, by attacking her Reputation, than which nothing could be more sacred and dear to her, and that of all the Men alive, she least expected it from him, in whom she had put an entire Trust, and obliged as much as lay in her Power, and who could not but be conscious of the Falshoods he was laying to her Charge, and that she doubted not, but that the next Step they would make, would be to deprive her of her Life. Madam, says he, *As for your Reputation, that is already lost, and as for your Life, the Parliament must look to that,* And so flung himself out of the Room, and went immediately to the Boat, and straight to Edinburgh, where, upon the 22d of *August* he was unanimously chosen Regent by Morton and his Party, and the same Afternoon, proclaimed only and lawful Regent to *James 6th*, by the Grace of God, King of Scots, his Realm and Leiges.

*He is pro-
claimed Re-
gent.*
*Takes Pos-
session of the
Castle of
Edinburgh.*

The first Act of his Regency, was to possess himself of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which was surrendered to him, upon the Conditions that had been sometime before stipulate betwixt the Governour and the Rebels; and which were as follows (*a*), *First*, That the Governour should have an ample Remission of all Treasons, particularly, for being Art and Part as they phrase it in the King's Murder. *2dly*, That he should have the Gift and Donation of the Priory of *Pittenweem*. *3dly*, That an hereditable Pension should be settled upon his Son, out of the Revenue of *St Andrews*. *4thly*, That he should immediately receive the Summe of 5000 Pound *Scots*, before he marched out of the Castle.. Which being performed, the Regent upon the 24th of *August*, took Possession of the Castle, and lay that Night in the same Room where the Queen had been not many Monthis before brought to bed, and where that excellent Princess had refused to imprison him, at the Requests of the Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwell* and the Bishop of *Ross*, for treasonable Practises.

*He sends the
Laird of
Grange in
Pursuit of
the Earl of
Bothwell.*

His next Business was, to amuse the People with a pretended Zeal in the Pursuit of the King's Murder, which he fixed upon the Earl of *Bothwell* and the Queen, and being informed, that *Bothwell*, was at Sea with a few Ships, that still adhered to him as Lord high Admiral of *Scotland*, he sent his good Friend the Laird of *Grange* in Quest of him (*b*), with five large Ships well manned, who coming upon him unlooked for, as he lay in the Creeks of one of the *Orkney Islands*, took the most of his Ships, without the Loss of any of his own, save one, called the *Unicorn of Leith*; but *Bothwell* himself made his Escape, and held out for some Days at Sea, and espying a *Turky Vessel*, he thought to have made Prize of her; but it being upon the Coast of *Norway*, both he and the *Turk* were taken by some *Norwegian Ships* as Pirates, and both of them condemned to Death; but *Bothwell* being discovered by some *Scots Skippers*

(a) Crawford's Memoirs Pag. 49. (b) Spotswood Lib. 5. Pag. 53.

Skippers that were then in Norway, he was sent Prisoner to the King of Denmark, who confined him to the Castle of Meling, where he died a great Penitent.

Our Historians say, That when Murray was informed that the King of Denmark had him in Custody, he sent Commissioners to Denmark; requiring, *That he might be sent to Scotland, to be tried and punished according to Justice for the late King's Murder*: But the King of Denmark returned him this Answer (a), *That he knew of no Authority that he had in Scotland, to demand, examine or condemn any Man; and that if their King was murdered, it was the Business of his Royal Consort the Queen, to look to that*. But whatever Truth be in this, it's certain that Bothwell died not long after. He was one of the handsonest Men of his Time (b), well shaped, and of great personal Valour; for which, whilst he was very young, he was chosen General of the Forces of the Reformers, and alwise very Loyal, and representing an ancient and powerful Family; he made use of his Power, in doing very considerable Services to the Crown; his Enemies represent him towards the latter End of his Years, as of a cowardly and dastardly Temper, and give an Instance of it, in refusing to fight my Lord Lindsay, the Laird of Tillibardine and his Brother at Carberry Hill, in Vindication of his Honour: But in this they wrong him, for it was by the express Order of the Queen, that he declined from the Combat. It cannot be denied, but that he led a rakish and debauched Life, and blinded with Love and Ambition, he was tempted to be accessory to a Murder, which at once gave him the Enjoyment of the most beautiful Lady in Europe, and if not the full Possession of Empire and a Royal Diadem, yet at least a Participation in it, with the darling Prospect of a Possibility, that those who should spring from his Loys, might some Time or other be Possessors of the Throne: But when God had blasted his Hopes, and when he was making his Approaches to Eternity, before the Duke of Berries (c), Governour of the Castle of Melling, where he expired, Guilla Brome, Governour of the Castle of Altenburry, Pierrie Braw, Governour of the Castle of Nessuel, Monsieur Guilliam Strange, Governour to the Castle of Sentesha, the Bishop of Schonen, and four Bailliffs of the Town, he declared, *That the Queen never gave her Consent to the King's Death, nor was privy thereto, as he shouid answer to the eternal God*: And when he was asked who were the Contrivers of it; he answered, *Murray the Bastard was the first Contriver of it, Morton laid the Plot, and I accomplished it; for which he begged God's Pardon, and expired*. Not long after this, the King of Denmark advertised the most of the Princes of Europe of his Confession, and particularly Queen Elizabeth; and the Declaration subscribed by these who were present, is still extant, and is to be seen in St. James's Library at London.

*Bothwell's
Death and
Character.*

G g g g

Grange

(a) Crawf. Mem. p. 53. (b) Ibid p. 15. (c) Vid. Mr. Hamilt. Observ. upon Buch. de percutto.

An 1567. Grange at his Return, had the Castle of *Edinburgh* committed to his Charge, as the Reward of his Service : The Lords who were convened at *Hamilton*, perceiving how Matters went, and that *Murray* the Regent carried all before him, they wrote to him (*a*), and to the Lords that were his Associates, desiring a Conference, and offered to send the Earl of *Argyle* and some others with him, and to any Place they would be pleased to appoint : But because the Letter was only backed for the Earl of *Murray* and not to the Regent, the Council would not receive it, and dismissed the Messenger without any Answer ; whereupon the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Boyd* and the Abbot of *Kilwinning*, were sent to *Edinburgh* to confer with them ; and the Council having declared, that the Election of the Regent was not made upon any Contempt or Mis-regard of the Noblemen that were absent, but upon Necessity to keep the Realm in Order ; it was agreed betwixt them, that a Parliament should be called, for settling of all Affairs, with Consent of the three Estates, and that the same should be kept at *Edinburgh* upon the 15th Day of *December* next : In the mean Time, a Bond was sent through the Country, to be subscribed by all Noblemen, Barons and Freeholders ; intimating, *That the Queen being wearied of the Government, was willing to demit the same, in Favours of her Son ; and requiring all Persons whatsoever, to own him as their lawful and undoubted Sovereign, and that all those who should not subscribe the said Bond betwixt the 25th of July and the 19th Day of December, should be declared Traitors, and their Estates forfeited.*

Many of the Nobility and Barons subscribe a Bond for owning the King for their Sovereign.

The Queen was induced to concur with them in this, thinking that it might obtain her Liberty ; upon which a great many of her Friends did subscribe it at her Desire ; others minding their own Case (*b*), and to preserve themselves and Friends from a merciless Enemy, put their Hands to it, yet there were some who remain'd still at *Hamilton* who would not comply, and their Estates and Moveables were forfeited, and confiscated to the Regent's Use. This Bond was published from the Original, in the College of *Glasgow*, by Sir *James Dalrymple of Killoch* (*c*).

The Queen's Friends enter a Protest against the Parliament, and subscribe a Bond for her Defence.

The Parliament having met upon the 19th Day of *December*, the Queen's Friends found, that her Enemies were much more numerous than they were ; for by a great Majority, they voted, that she should be confined to *Lochleven*, during her whole Life ; whereupon the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Invermeath*, *Borthwick* and several others, entered a Protest against them, and leaving the Parliament, went straight to *Hamilton* ; where they subscribed the following Bond or Association (*d*).

“ Forasmuch as, considering the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign
“ to be detained at present in *Lochleven* in Captivity, wherfore the
“ most Part of her Majesty's Liedges cannot have free Access to her
“ Highness, and seeing it becomes us of our Duty to seek her Liberty
and

(*a*) Crawf. and Mel. Mem: (*b*) Crawf. Mem. p. 58. (*c*) At Edinbr. in 4to, with other Authentick Writs and Records.
(*d*) Mel. Mem. Pag. 88. Crawf. Mem. Pag. 61.

“ and Freedom ; We Earls, Lords and Barons undersubscribing, ,
 “ promise faithfully to use the outmost of our Endeavours, by all
 “ reasonable Means, to procure her Majesty’s Freedom and Liberty
 “ upon such honourable Conditions, as may stand with her Majesty’s
 “ Honour, the Common Weall of the whole Realm, and Security
 “ of the whole Nobility, who at present have her Majesty in keeping,
 “ whereby this our native Realm may be governed, ruled and guided
 “ by her Majesty and her Nobility for the common Quietness, the
 “ Administration of Justice and Weall of the Country ; and in Case
 “ the Noblemen who have at present her Majesty in their Hands,
 “ refuse to set her at Liberty upon such reasonable Conditions as
 “ said is, in that Case we shall employ our selves, our Kindred,
 “ Friends, Servants and Partakers, our Bodies and Lives to set her
 “ Highness at Liberty, as said is : And also to concur to the Punish-
 “ ment of the Murderers of the King her Majesty’s Husband, and
 “ for sure Preservation of the Person of the Prince, as we shall answer
 “ to God, and on our own Honours and Credit ; and to that Effect
 “ shall concur every one with another to our outmost Power ; and
 “ if any shall set upon us, or any of us for the doing as aforesaid, in
 “ that Case we promise faithfully to espouse one another’s Interest
 “ under Pain of Perjury and Infamy, as we shall answer to God. In
 “ Witness whereof, we have subscribed these Presents at *Hamilton*
 “ the 25th of December 1567. *St. Andrews, Argyle, Huntly, Ar-*
“ broth, Galloway, Ross, Fleming, Herris, Skirling, Kilwinning and
“ Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar: This gave some Uneasiness to
 the Regent, tho’ he would not seem to take notice of it ; but under
 Pretence of suppressing some Thieves upon the Borders, he issued
 out immediately a Proclamation, commanding all the Subjects to
 attend him in Arms ; and that it might seem indeed the real Cause,
 he went to *Glasgow* with his Army, where, by his Sentences, he gave
 the World a sufficient Specimen of the Cruelty of his Disposition.

In the Beginning of the Month of *January 1568*, *John Hepburn*,
John Bolton, *John Hay younger of Tallow*, *Mr. Powrie*, *Mr. Paris*
 and *Mr. Dalgiesh*, all Servants to the Earl of *Bothwell*, whom *Grange*
 had taken Prisoners at the *Orknies*, and who were all tried and found
 guilty by their own Confessions of the King’s Murder (*a*), the Sub-
 stance of which was, That they were enticed to that wicked Fact by
 their Master, who had assured them that the most of the Nobility
 were concerned in it, and that he had shewed them a Contract
 subscribed by *Murray* and *Morton* to that Effect : And this they
 attested upon the publick Scaffold, and went to Death with, as they
 should answer to the Eternal God ; as it appears from their Con-
 fessions in *Mr. Crawford’s Collections* in the Lawyers Library at
Edinburgh. Yet so blinded were the Mob with the seeming Zeal
 and Godliness of these two Earls, that they would not believe that
 they had any Hand in it : Yea so confident was *Murray* turned of
 his Power and Favour with the People, that his Followers and De-
 pendents

Some of Bothwell’s Servants are put to Death for the King’s Murder, and accuse Murray and Morton of it.

An. 1587.

The Queen
makes her
Escape from
Lochleven.

pendents talked publickly that his Mother had been married to King James Vth, and that he could produce authentick Documents for it; which opened the Eyes of a great many of the Nobility and Barons whom he had hitherto led blindfold, and plainly discovered to them what his Design was, which they resolved to oppose with the first Opportunity that should offer, which happened shortly after, by the Queen's making her Escape from *Lochleven*, which she accomplished thus :

The Queen finding that *George Douglass*, Brother to the Governor of *Lochleven* had an excessive Love for Money, she proposed to him, that if he could find out a Way how she might make her Escape, she would nobly reward him, and give him what Preferment he pleased to ask (*a*): For such a Piece of Service done to her could not be sufficiently recompenced; and in the mean Time she made a Compliment to him of the best Part of the Jewels and Gold she had about her. This being a mighty Bait to a covetous and ambitious Youth, he immediately accepted of the Offer: And having laid down the whole Plot, and Manner how she should make her Escape, she wrote Letters acquainting her Friends of it, which Mr. *Douglass* delivered to Mr. *Beaton*, a Gentleman whom she put entire Trust in, and who most faithfully delivered them, with their Answers. The Day that was agreed to being *Sunday* Evening, the second of *May*, because then the People were generally within Doors at their Devotion, *George Lord Seaton*, attended by *James Hamilton of Buckbank*, a Son of *Orbiston's*, and a few Men well and compleatly armed, came to the Place appointed, which was a little obscure Bay upon the Loch-side, where they received her with great Joy; and having immediately mounted her upon Horse-back, they rode at a good round Gallop to *Niddrie*, a House belonging to the Lord *Seaton*, where they stayed for some Time to refresh themselves; and upon the 4th of *May* she came to *Hamilton*, where she was joyfully received and welcomed by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Cassils*, *Eglinton* and *Rothes*, the Lords *Somervel*, *Yester*, *Northberwick*, *Livingston*, *Herris*, *Maxwell*, *Sanquhar* and *Ross*, with their Friends and Followers, to the Number of a Thousand effective Men: After her Majesty had received some Refreshment, the Nobility and Barons met, to deliberate upon what they should next do; and it was resolved that some

She sends Commissioners to treat with Murray, who imprisons them. of their Number should be sent to the Earl of *Murray*, who was still at *Glasgow*, to desire him peaceably to resign the Regency, and repone the Queen to her Authority; but the Answer returned to her by her Commissioners, who were detained Prisoners, was, That he would defend the King's Right and his own, against all his Enemies whatsoever: Upon which immediately Proclamations were emitted by the Queen at *Hamilton*, and by the Regent at *Glasgow*, for raising all the fencible Men of the Nation to their Assistance; and such Multitudes of People conveened on both Sides, that the *French Ambassador* said to Sir *James Melvil* (*b*), that he never saw so many Men

(*a*) *Crawf. Mem.* Pag. 64. (*b*) *Melvil's Mem.* Pag. 90.

Men so suddenly conveened ; neither was the Pres idle, many Satyrs being published by both Parties against one another, but particularly there was one Poem that made a great Noise, Entituled, *The double Dealings of the Rebels in Scotland* ; wherein the whole History of Murray's Life and Villainies were laid open ; but who the Author was, could not be discovered. Before this Satyr there is a Dedication of four Lines, thus ;

TO M TRUTH to the Envious.

*If Momus Children seek to know my Name, and where I dwell,
I am Tom Truth, and my Aboard I list not it to tell ;
For wise Men love not to enquire, who, where, but what is said,
And hold themselves therewith content, till further Proof be made.*

The Satyr it self is to be found amongst Mr. Crawford's Collections.

The French Ambassador finding that the two Armies were ready to engage, he endeavoured to mediate a Peace betwixt them. This Gentleman, who was called Monsieur Beaumont (a), arrived this Year upon the 22d of April, and upon the 27th had Audience of the Regent ; his Busines was to put him in mind of his Promise to the King his Master in setting the Queen at Liberty ; but Murray told him, *That he was so far from being able to perform his Promise, that indeed he could hardly give him a distinct Answer concerning a Business of so much Intricacy and Importance ; that she being now the Parliament's Prisoner, there was no Power left in that Affair to him ; nor could he call a new Parliament, since they had met so very lately : And as for what was urged concerning the Easiness of the Matter, because some Forts were in his Possession, it could avail little, this not being at all a proper Season to attempt any Thing in her Behalf, because a much longer Time was absolutely necessary to blunt the Rage of that Malice which the common People had conceiv'd against her.* This shifting Answer so displeased the Ambassador, that he never made any further Application to him : But now thinking to render him altogether inexcusable to his Master, if he refus'd to be reconciled to his Sovereign, he addressed him once more, but with the same Success ; for he wou'd not yield in the least to any Proposal that could be made to him.

The French Ambassador mediates for a Peace betwixt them, but in vain.

The Queen and her Friends finding that nothing could prevail, called a Meeting of the Nobility and Barons that were with her, and having solemnly declared before them, that her Resignation of the Government was extorted from her by Force, she crav'd their Assistance and Advice in the present Juncture of Affairs, and it was unanimously agreed to, that she should take Possession of the Castle of Dumbarton, and remain there, till her North-Country Friends should join them, and that a Parliament should be called to rescind the illegal Acts of the former, and for laying down such Measures

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as

The Two
Armies en-
gage in Bat-
tle, and the
Queen is de-
feat:

as might best conduce to her Safety and the young Prince's, and the establishing of lasting Peace for the general Security of the Nation: In Pursuance of this, the Queen begun her march from *Hamilton* upon the 13th of *May*; but the Regent having intercept her by the Way, at a small Village called *Langside*, about seven or eight Miles from *Glasgow*, a Battle ensued betwixt them upon the 14th (a).

The Regent's Army was above 4000 Men, the right Wing was commanded by the Earl of *Morton*, and with him were the Lords *Hume*, *Semple*, *Kincart*, *Glamis*, *Lindsay*, *Ochiltrie* and Secretary *Lithington*: The left Wing was commanded by the Earls of *Mar*, *Glencairn*, *Monteith* and their Followers being with him: The Harquebusiers were planted in the Village beneath the Hill, and within the Hedges upon the High-Way, and the Laird of *Grange* had the Night before taken Possession of the Hill, and some Cott-Houses, so that all Things considered, their Camp was so advantageously situated, that it was next to impossible to defeat them.

The Queen's Army were about 6000, the Earl of *Argyle* commanded the main Body of the Army, the Lord *Arbroath* the van Guard, the Earl of *Cassilis* the right Wing, and with him were the Earls of *Rothes* and *Eglinton*; the Lord *Claud Hamilton* the left, and with him were the Lords *Seaton*, *Herris*, *Somervel*, *Livingston*, *Fleming*, *Boyd* and *Ross*: Before they joined Battle, both Armies cannonaded one another, but the Advantage was upon the Regent's Side, the Queen's Cannoniers being forced to quite their Post; on the other Hand, the Queen's Cavalry being much superior to the Regent's, they came upon them with a full Gallop, and compelled them to give Way; but when they entred upon the Foot, thinking to put them in Disorder, the Archers upon the Regent's Side so gall'd their Horses with their Arrows, that they were forced to retire: Then the main Bodies of both Armies joined, and entred into a hot Conflict for more than the Space of half an Hour. The Fight continued doubtful, and so eagerly they strove for the Victory, that they whose Spears were broken, stood throwing their Poiniards, Stones, Pistols, and what came readiest to their Hands in one another's Faces; at length the Laird of *Grange* perceiving that the right Wing of the Regent's van Guard was like to be put to the Flight, he came with a fresh Body of Men to their Assistance, accompanied with the Lord *Lindsay* and others, where, after a hot Dispute, the Queen's Army at length gave Way, and were put to the Flight.

In this Battle, the Number of the slain was but very inconsiderable, not exceeding 220 upon both Sides: But the Regent having pursued his Victory for several Miles, more were killed in the Pursuit than in the Battle, and a great many Prisoners were taken; amongst whom were the Lords *Seaton*, the Sheriff of *Air* and *Lir-lithgow*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Crawford-John*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Avendal*, Alexander *Hamilton* of *Innerweek*, James *Hamilton* of *Garren*, James *Hamilton* of *Kinkavil*, James *Hamilton* of *Bothwel*.

(a) Spots. Lib. 5. Pag. 216. McL. Mem. Pag. 93. Crawf. Mem. Pag. 68. Black. Pag. 171.

*Bothwel-Haugh, Alexander Baillie of Little-Gill, the Lairds of Ar. 1567.
Lauchope, Wachton, Lochinvar and James Heriot of Traebrown.*

The Earl of Huntly and the Lord Ogilvy were coming up to her Assistance, but hearing of the Defeat, they returned again to the North : The Queen who stood a Mile off from the Battle, upon the Top of an Hill, perceiving it lost, fled towards Galloway ; and the next Day (*a*), she having resolved to fly into England for Protection, the Lord Herris wrote a Letter to the Deputy-Governour of Carlisle, to know if he would receive her kindly ; and in his Return to the Lord Herris he tells him, *That he could do nothing because the Governor my Lord Scroop was at London, but that he should write to him to know Queen Elizabeth's Mind in that Affair.* In the mean Time the Queen having come to the Abbey of Dun-dranan (*b*), she called together such of her Friends as had accompanied her, to take their Advice in what she should do next ; some were for her going into some strong Castle, where she might stay till her Friends raised a new Army for her Service ; others were for her taking a Ship and going streight to France ; and others were for her lurking quietly in the Country amongst her Friends, till they should get a sufficient Army to protect her. After she had heard all their Opinions, she told them, That if she should betake her self to any strong Fort, they would immediately besiege her, and she had been too long under Confinement ; that to go in a single Ship to France was disgraceful, as if she were a Fugitive : And that as for the lurking among them, that could not but be attended with a thousand Difficulties. So, says she, I will throw my self into the Arms of my Sister the Queen of England ; and that you may not think that this is a rash Resolution in me, I have here a Diamond Ring, which she sent me as a Token of her Friendship, and by her Letters she has assured me, that if my rebellious Subjects should prove too powerful for me, as they have now done, if I would be pleased to shelter my self in her Dominions, upon the sending her this Ring, she would meet me her self in Person upon the Borders, and assist me with all her Power : But supposing that she should not stand to her own Hand Writ and Promises, and that she should favour my seditious and rebellious Subjects, which is below her Character and Honour to do, yet it is not to be thought that she will violate the Laws of Hospitality, by delivering me up to them : No surely, if she grant me not her Protection, she will not deny me a safe Passage through her Dominions to my Friends in France. To this the old Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews made the following Reply.

“ Madam, From the History of your Predecessors, you may learn “ how dangerous a Thing it is to trust to the English, our old in-
“ terate Enemies ; for Malcom IV. of that Name being invited by
“ King Henry II. of England, under a Pretence of paying Homage
“ for the Northern Counties, was most unjustly detained Prisoner,
“ and obliged to go with him to France, tho' he had a safe Conduct

H h h 2

The Queen
proposes to
her Friends
the shelter-
ing her self
under Queen
Elizabeth's
Protection.

The Arch-
Bishop of St.
Andrews ad-
vises her to
the contrary.

“ under

AD. 1587.
M

"under King *Henry's* Hand for going and returning at his own Pleasure. His Brother King *William* by the same King *Henry* was most barbarously treated, and kept in Prison for ten Years. King *James I.* in Time of Peace, going to *France* to escape the Cruelty of his Uncle, and being driven upon the Coast of *England* by Stress of Weather, was detained Prisoner for 18 Years, and obliged to repay his Ransom, contrary to the Laws of Hospitality; and the Law of Nations. *Alexander Duke of Albany*, Brother to King *James III.* returning from *Gelderland*, where he had gone to see the Duke his Grand-father, was taken at Sea by the *English*, and detained Prisoner, without the least Shadow of a Reason. Besides, Madam, you know, that the Queen of *England* bears you no good Will, for she thought to have taken you Prisoner when you came from *France*, and ever since she has been encouraging your rebellious Subjects against you". And at length, falling down upon his Knees, he intreated her with Tears in his Eyes, to remain amongst them. But she was so afraid of falling into the Hands of the Rebels, from whom she expected no Mercy, that no Arguments could prevail with her, so taking a small Vessel at *Kirkcubright*, attended by the Lord *Herris* and the Lord *Fleming*, and about 20 Persons more, they set to Sea, and landed at *Wirkington* in *Cumberland*, not far from *Carlisle*, she endeavoured to conceal her self at first, till Mr. *Beaton* should return from Queen *Elizabeth*, to whom she had sent him with the Ring, requiring her Protection, according to her Promise, and the following Letter which she wrote in French with her own Hand, the verry same Night she landed (c).

*She retires
to England,
and craves
the Queen of
England's
Protection.*

*Her first
Letter to the
Queen of
England.*

VO U are not ignorant, my very good Sister, how some of my Subjects, whom I have raised to the highest Pitch of Honour, conspired to imprison me and my Husband, and how at your Intercession, I nevertheless received them again into Favour, after they had by Force of Arms been driven out of my Kingdom, yet these very Men broke violently into my Chamber, cruelly murdered my Servant before my Face, tho' I was then big with Child, and forcibly detained me in their Custody, I nevertheless pardoned them a second Time, but behold they pretended a new Crime against me, which they plotted themselves, and signed with their own Hands, and were now ready with an Army in the Field to charge me; trusting however to my Innocence, and desirous to prevent the shedding of Christian Blood, I willingly put my self into their Hands, upon which they immediately thrust me into Prison, removed all my Servants from me, excepting one or two waiting Maids; my Physician, and my Cook; constrained me by Threats, and Terror of Death to resign my Kingdom; and in an Assembly of the Estates convocated by their own Authority, refused to hear me or my Advocates, dispoiled me of my Goods, and barred me from all Conference with any Man; afterwards by God's Guidance, I escaped out of Prison,

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Prison, and being guarded by the Flower of the Nobility, who gladly flock'd unto me from all Parts, I put my Enemies in mind of their Duty and Allegiance; I offered them Pardon, and proposed that both Parties might be heard in an Assembly of the Estates, that the Common-Wealth might be no longer distracted with Civil Combustions: Two Messengers I sent about this Matter, both of them they cast in Prison; those who aided me they proclaimed Traitors, and commanded them by publick Proclamation presently to leave me: I prayed them, that the Lord Boyd might, upon publick Faith and Assurance, treat with them about composing Matters, but this also they flatly denied; yet I hoped, that by your Mediation they might have been recalled to their Duty: But when I saw that I must have undergone either Death, or a new Imprisonment, I resolved to go to Dumbarton. They in the Way opposed themselves against me, killed and put my Army to flight in Battle. I betook my self to my Lord Herris, with whom I am come into your Kingdon, trusting assuredly in your singular Kindness, that you will assist me, and excite others by your Example: I do therefore earnestly intreat you, that I may be forthwith conducted unto you, who am now in very great Straits. I shall more fully inform you, when it shall please you to take Pity upon me. God grant unto you a long and safe Life, and to me Patience and Consolation, which I hope and pray that I may obtain of him by your Means:

M A R Y R.

In the mean Time, as I have said, she endeavoured to conceal her self, but she found it altogether impracticable; for the Gentry came in Throngs from all the Parts of the Country to see her, and wait upon her; upon which she resolved to remove to *Carlisle*, where she was very honourably received by the Deputy Govetnor: And Queen *Elizabeth* was no sooner advertised of it, but she wrote to him to shew her all Manner of Civility, but withall, to keep her in Custody as a Prisoner at large; and likewise ordered him to write to the Lady *Scroop* (a), the Duke of *Northfolk's* Sister, then in the North, to repair with such Ladies as she should think proper to take alongst with her, to wait upon the Scots Queen, and the very same Day she ordered the Lord *Scroop* the Governor of *Carlisle*, and Sir *Francis Knolls* to post there streight, to assure her of her Love and Friendship: The poor Queen noways doubting but all this seeming Kindness was sincerely meant, dispatched my Lord *Herris* and the Lord *Fleming* with the Return of her Thanks to her Sister, and a Letter, wherein she required that she might be brought to *London* to confer with her, and that the Lord *Fleming* might be allowed to go over to *France*, to acquaint her Friends there of her Condition; both which she flatly denied, telling her in her Answer, That it was not consistent with her Honour to allow her to come to her Presence, till she had vindicated her self from the Aspersions that were laid to

She sends the
Lord *Herris*
and the Lord
Fleming to
Queen *Eliz.
abell.*

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her

(a) See these Letters in Ms. Crawford's Collections.

An. 1587.

her Charge by her Subjects ; nor was it consistent with her Safety to allow her to call her French Friends to her Assistance : Sir Francis Knolls having delivered this Letter to her, she could not forbear crying out (*a*), *And does the Queen of England then believe indeed that Mary Queen of Scots is an ill Woman, because her rebellious Subjects have represented her as such, to excuse their own Crimes ?* To which Knolls replied, *That his Mistress was upon all Occasions ready to approve her self her Friend, but that the Matters charged against her were such, that unless they were disproved, she could not without disgusting her Subjects in England, espouse her Cause ; nor could her Return to Scotland under such Aspersions produce a lasting Peace, since the Generality of People are apt to credit the worst Account of the Actions of the Great, and judge Affairs of the last Importance by the outside only.* The Queen perceiving now, tho' too late, her Error, wrote another Letter to the Queen, wherein she earnestly begged that she would permit her to go over to France, and upon her Honour, and by all the sacred Ties she could require of her, she should not disturb her Government ; but this was likewise refused her. On the other Hand, the Earl of Murray wrote to Queen Elizabeth in Vindication of himself and his Proceedings. Queen Elizabeth, however, pretended to be very ill satisfied with Murray upon this Account, and sent one Middlemore to acquaint him, that it was dangerous to Princes to suffer quietly such Rebellions in their neighbouring States, because the Example might incite their own Subjects to the like Practices ; that for her Part she was resolved not to see Royal Authority trampled upon by those whose Duty it was to obey ; and if in Scotland they had forgot their Obedience to their Sovereign, yet she could not but let them know that she remembred what Offices of Friendship were due from her to a Queen, and to her Kinswoman in Distress ; withall assuring him, that if he did not come himself, or send sufficient Deputies to answer to the Crimes objected against him and his Confederates, and give Reasons for what he had done against the Queen, she would not only restore her to her Liberty, but assist her to the outmost of her Power against all her Enemies. But all this was not done out of any real Design that she had of serving the Queen, but to make her self Umpire or Judge of the Case betwixt her and her Subjects.

In the mean Time great Numbers of Queen Mary's faithful Subjects repairing to Carlisle, the Governor being afraid that they might have some Design of surprizing both him and the Town, he acquainted Queen Elizabeth of it (*b*), who immediately ordered her to be removed from Carlisle to Bolton, a House belonging to my Lord Scroop, where she arrived upon the 16th Day of July 1568. Her Loyal Subjects being alarmed with this, immediately raised what Forces they could, resolving to attempt her Relief with the outmost

She is removed from Carlisle to Bolton.
Her Friends rise in Arms for her Relief.

Ogilvie

(*a*) Crawf. Mem. Pag. 84. Crawf. Coll.

Ogilvie (*a*) raised six thousand Men, the Earl of Argyle three thousand, and the Earls of Cassils, Eglinton, the Lord Claud Hamilton and Montgomery had another powerful Army with them: On the other Hand, the Regent raised all the Forces he could; but being much inferior to the Queen's Friends, he wrote a Letter to Queen Elizabeth, begging her Assistance. She no sooner received his Letter, but she dispatched a Gentleman to Queen Mary with a Letter, in which she tells her, That in her Opinion, for the Good of her Subjects and Kingdom, she ought to prevent a Civil War amongst them, and that if she would command her Friends to lay down their Arms, she would oblige Murray and his Army either by Reason or Force to return to their Duty to her, as their only lawful Sovereign and Queen. She suspecting no Harm or Trick in this Advice, immediately sent her Commands to her Friends to lay down their Arms upon their Allegiance, which they obeyed, being afraid, that she might meet with some harsh Treatment if she did not comply with what the Queen of England propos'd to her, tho' they were convinced, she designed her Ruin; at the same Time Queen Elizabeth wrote Letters to the Regent to disband his Army, and to call a Parliament, wherein he should propose that an Accusation should be laid in against her for murdering of her Husband, otherwise she could not be answerable to the rest of the Princes of Europe for keeping her in Prison.

but she commands them to lay down their Arms

The Parliament having met, it was long disputed whether all those that had taken up Arms against the King, and not sued for Pardon and Remission (*b*), should be forfeited, or if Sentence should be given against a few only to terrify the rest: Secretary Lithington having great Power in the Parliament, prevailed with them to punish only a few; but this satisfied not the Regent, for after the Parliament rose, he marched with his Army through the Countries of Niddesdale, Annandale, and the lower Parts of Galloway, and plundered and destroyed the Lands of the Queen's Friends wherever he came, and garison'd their Houses with his Soldiers; neither could he be prevailed with to desist from accusing the Queen before the Queen of England, altho' his Friends told him (*c*), That it was an unworthy Thing to bring the Queen's Reputation in Question before Strangers, professed Enemies to the Nation, who laugh'd at our Calamities and Divisions, and who by no Law, either Divine or Human could be constitute her Judges; by this Action likewise he could not shun to incur the Hatred of a great Number of People, yea of her own Son the King when he should come to Age, and who undoubtedly could not but resent such an unworthy Treatment of his Mother. But, says Blackwood, nothing could prevail with this cursed Son of Hagar, for a Commission was issued out under the Great Seal in the King's Name (*d*), empowering himself, the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, Robert Pitcairn Abbot of Dumfermling, the

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Lord

(*a*) Blackwood, Pag. 185, 186. (*b*) Spoff. Lib. 5. Pag. 116. (*c*) Crawf. Mem. Pag. 87. Mel. Mem. Pag. 93. (*d*) Spoff. Lib. 5. Pag. 118. Crawf. Mem. Pag. 188.

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Lord *Lindsay*, or any three of them to conveen with the Deputies of the Queen of *England* at *York*, or any other Place or Places they should think expedient, there to make plain and ample Declarations to them, for informing his good Sister of the true Causes, whereupon divers of the Nobility and good Subjects, during the Time that the Queen his Mother was yet Possessor of the Crown, took Occasion to have their Recourse to Arms; to take, detain and sequestre her Person for a Time, with all Causes, Actions, Circumstances, and other their Proceedings whatsoever towards her, or any other Subjects of the Realm, since that Time to the Day and Date of the Commission, or that should fall out until the Return of the said Commissioners, whereby the Justice of their Cause, and honourable Dealing may be manifested to the World: As likewise to commune, treat, determine and conclude with his said Sister, or her Commissioners, having sufficient Authority, upon all Differences, Causes or Matters depending betwixt the Subjects of either Realm, or for farther Confirmation or Augmentation of any Treaty of Peace heretofore made and concluded betwixt the Realms, or for contracting or perfecting any other Treaty or Confederation, as well for Maintenance of the true Religion publickly professed by the Inhabitants of both the Realms, as for resisting any foreign or intestine Power that might be stirred up within the same, to disturb the present Quietness that it hath pleased the Almighty God to grant unto both the Kingdoms in the Unity of the said Religion, and for Increase of Amity, Peace and Concord betwixt him and his said Sister, their Realms, Dominions, People and Subjects, and generally to do and conclude all Things, which by them, or any three of them should seem convenient and necessary for the Premisses, or any Part thereof, promising to hold firm and stable, &c. Dated at *Edinburgh* the 18th of *September* 1568.

There were joined as Assistants to the abovenamed Persons, Mr. *James McGill*, Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, two of the Senators of the College of Justice, and Mr. *George Buchanan* Preceptor to the King, Persons who had acquired greater Reputation by their Knowledge and Learning, than by their Religion and Honesty; they were accompanied likewise by several other Persons of Note, some of which went out of Curiosity, and others to assist either the Queen or the Regent with their best Advice; and amongst the rest were Mr. *George Douglass* Bishop of *Murray*, Mr. *Nicolas Elphinston*, the Lairds of *Pitarrow*, *Northberwick* and *Cleesh*, Secretary *Lithington*, and the factious Mr. *Wood*, *Murray's* Secretary.

The Commissioners chosen by the Queen to appear for her, were *John Leslie* Bishop of *Ross*, *William Lord Livingston*, *Robert Lord Boyd*, and the *Lord Herris*, the *Lord Fleming*, *Gavin Hamilton* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, the Lairds of *Lochinvar*, *Skirling*, *Roslin* and *Gaurntilly*, (a).

The

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The City of *York* being the Place condescended upon for their Meeting, the Regent arrived there upon the 5th of *October* (a), the very same Day, and much about the same Hour arrived the Queen of *England's* Commissioners, which were *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Northfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Sussex*, and President of the *North*, and *Sir Ralph Sadler*; all Parties having met, their Commissions produced and read, the Duke of *Northfolk* required the Regent (b) to do Homage to the Queen of *England*, as holding his Crown in Vassalage of the Crown of *England*; whereat, says *Sir James Melvil*, the Regent grew Red, and knew not what to answer; but Secretary *Lithington* replied, That in restoring again to *Scotland* the Lands of *Huntington*, *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and such other Lands as *Scotland* did of old possess in *England*, that Homage should be made for the saids Lands, but as for the Crown and Kingdom of *Scotland*, they never held of *England*, and they had been freer than *England* had been, who of late had paid St. *Peter's* Penny, which *Scotland* had never been brought to do; then they presented an Oath to them, by which they required them to swear, that they should proceed sincerely in that Conference or Treaty, neither out of Malice or Affection, or any other worldly Respect, advance any Thing they did not in their Consciences believe to be Truth, or conceal any Thing that might give Light into the subject Matter of the Debate; but before any of the Parties took this Oath, the Commissioners for Queen *Mary*, who had the Preference given them, protested, and desired that it might be recorded, that altho' she at present was pleased to have the Difference betwixt her and her rebellious Subjects, considered and redressed by her dearest Cousin, and Sister the Queen of *England*, or by the Commissioners authorized by her, that she acknowledged not her self subject to any Judge on Earth, she being a free Princess, and holding her Imperial Crown of God alone.

The *English* Commissioners on the other Hand protested, That they did neither admit nor allow that Protestation in any Sort to the Hurt or Prejudice of that Right, which the Kings of *England* have claimed, had, or enjoyed as Superiors over the Realm of *Scotland*, which Superiority they protested should belong and appertain to the Queen their Mistress in the Right of the Crown of *England*. These Protestations being made, both Parties took the abovementioned Oath, and these were the Proceedings of the first Day.

The next Day the Commissioners for Queen *Mary* gave in the following Declaration (c), That *James Earl of Morton*, *John Earl of Mar*, *Alexander Earl of Glencairn*, the Lords *Hume*, *Ruthven*, *Lindsay*, *Semple*, *Cathcart*, *Ochiltree*, and others their Assistants had levied an Army in the Queen's Name against the King, taking her most noble Person, used her in most vile Manner and

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thrust

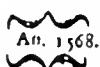
(a), Crawf. Mem. Page 96, Mel. 90. Mem. Page 94. (c), Vid. Crawf. Mem. Page 92. Spots. Lib. 3, Page 220. Udale Life of Queen Mary, Page 194.

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thrust her into Prison in *Lochleven*; and forcibly broke into her Mint-house, taking away the printing Irons, with all the Silver and Gold coined and uncoined which was in the House for the Time, and going to the Castle of *Stirling*, had made a Fashion to crown the Prince her Son, being then but 13 Monthis old; that *James Earl of Murray* taking upon him the Name of Regent, had usurped the Royal Authority, and possess'd himself of the whole Forts, Castles, Munition, Jewels and Revenue of the Kingdom; and when it had pleased God to relieve her out of that Prison, wherein she was so straitly detained for the Space of 11 Monthis, and none of her Friends and true Subjects once permitted to see her, or speak with her, and that she had publickly declared by a solemn Oath in presence of divers of the Nobility at *Hamilton*; that whatsoever was done by her in Prison, was extorted by Force, Threats and Fears of Death, she out of that Affection which she carried to her Realm and Subjects, did appoint the Earls of *Argile*, *Eglinton*, *Cassils* and *Rothes* to agree and make a Pacification with the said Regent and his Partakers; but they were so far from admitting any peaceable Treaty, that they did invade her in her passing to *Dumbarton* with the Men of War which she had hired with her own Money, kill'd divers of her faithful Subjects, led others away Prisoners, and banished some of good Note, for no other Cause, but for serving faithfully their lawfull Princess; and so after a great many Injuries, had forc'd her to fly into *England* to request the Help of Queen *Elizabeth*, her dearest Sister, and in blood the nearest Cousin she had in the World, for restoring her to her former Estate, and compelling her rebellious Subjects to acknowledge their due Obedience to her Majesty, which they in her Highnes's Name did most instantly intreat.

This Declaration being read, they adjourned to the next Day, which being the 9th of *October*, the Commissioners for the Infant King as they called themselves, gave in the following Declaration, That King *Henry* Father to their Sovereign Lord the King now reigning, being horribly murdered in his Bed, *James Hepburn* sometimes Earl of *Bothwell*, who was known to be chief Author thereof, entered into such Credit with the Queen then their Sovereign, that within two Months after the Murder committed, he attempted a Rape of her Person, and carried her to *Dunbar Castle*, where he did keep her a Captive, a certain Space, causing a Divorce to be led betwixt him and his lawfull Wife, and upon the Conclusion thereof, did suddenly accomplish a pretended Marriage with the Queen, which insolent Proceeding, together with the shameful Report which pass'd in all Nations of the King's Murder, as if the whole Nobility had been alike culpable thereof, so moved the Hearts of a good Number of them, that they thought nothing could be performed more honourable for themselves in the Sight of all the World, than by punishing the said Earl, who had committed the Murder to free themselves of the vile Report spred every where

to set the Queen at Liberty from the Bondage of that Traitor, ^{An. 1559.} who had so presumptuously enterprized the Rape and Marriage of her whose lawful Husband he could not be, and to preserve the innocent Person of the King from the Hands of him who had murdered his Father : For which Purpose they taking Arms when the said Earl came against them with Forces, leading in his Company the Queen to defend his Wickednes, they offered for sparing the Blood of innocent Men, to decide the Quarrel in a single Combat; whereof himself, by Cartel and Proclamation, had sundry Times made offer : But after many Shifts, he, in the End directly refused the same, and the Queen preferring his Impunity to her own Honour, that he might have Leisure to escape, came willingly to the Noblemen that were in Arms, and conferred with them a certain Space ; after which they convoyed her to *Edinburgh*, informing her of the true Causes which moved them to that Form of Dealing, and did humbly intreat her Majesty to suffer the said Earl, and others, the King her Husband's Murderers, to be punished according to the Laws, and the pretended Marriage, in which she was rashly enter'd, to be dissolved, as well for her own Honour, as for the Safety of her Son, and Quietness of the Realm and Subjects ; but having received no other Answer, but rigorous Threats against the Noblemen; and she avouching to be avenged upon all those that had shown themselves in that Cause, they were driven by Necessity to sequestre her Person for a Season from the Company of *Bothwell*, and the keeping of any Intelligence with him, until Punishment might be taken of him, as Murderer of the King her Husband ; in the mean Time she finding her self wearied with the Troubles of Government, and perceiving by Things that had pass'd before that Time, betwixt her and the People, neither could she well allow of their Doings, nor they like of her Forms ; upon these, and other Considerations, she voluntarily resigned her Kingdom, and transferted the same unto her Son appointing the Earl of *Murray* (who was at that Time absent forth of the Realm) to be Regent during her Son's Minority, and in Case of the saids Earl's Decease, or not Acceptance of the said Office, divers other Noblemen whose Names are expressed in the Commissions signed by her self, and sealed with the Seal of the Kingdom : The King hereupon being duly, rightly and ordetly crown'd and anointed, and the Earl of *Murray*, after his Return, lawfully placed and admitted Regent, all these Things were ratified and confirmed by the Three Estates of Parliament, most of those who had withdrawn themselves from his Authority being present, and giving their Consent to the same. Nevertheless, wheras Matters were thus established, and the King's Authority universally obeyed without Contradiction, certain Persons envying the publick Quietness, had by their subtile Practices, first brought the Queen out of *Lochleven*, and afterwards by open Force, against their promised Fidelity, gone about to subvert the Government received, wherein, as they were proceeding, it pleased God


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to disappoint their Enterprize, and give unto the King, and those who stood for his Authority, a notable Victory on the 13th of May last; wherefore their Desire was, that the King and the Regent might peaceably rule and govern the Subjects, according to the Authority they had received of God, and that the same might be conserved and established, against the Factions of turbulent Subjects.

The Commissioners for the Queen having seen and perused this Declaration, they made a long and particular Reply to all the Articles in it; wherein, after their adhering to their former Protestation, they say, That the Pretence of taking Arms against the Queen, because *Bothwel* was in such Favour with her, could not warrant their Rebellion, since it never was made known to her Majesty that he was the Murderer; but to the contrary, *Bothwel* being indicted, and summoned to undergo the Trial of the Law, he was by the Judgment of his Peers absolved, and the same Absolution ratified by Authority of Parliament, where the principal Persons that now accuse him, and who have now withdrawn themselves from the Queen's Obedience, were present; and not only consented to his Purgation, but solicited her to take him to her Husband, as the most worthy to bear Rule of any other in all the Realm; giving their Bonds to defend him against all that should pursue him for the said Crime, as their Subscriptions under their own Hands can testifie: And so neither before the Marriage with *Bothwel*, nor after, did they or any of them (which had been the Duty of true Subjects) so much as in Word utter their Dislike of it, or advertise her Majesty of the Suspicions that were taken of him, until they had drawn the Keeper of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the Provost of that City to their Faction: Then secretly putting themselves in Arms, they suddenly, under Silence of Night, environed the Castle of *Borthwick*, where her Majesty remained, and after she had escaped to *Dunbar*, levied an Army, under pretence to defend the Queen, wherewith invading her Person in the Way betwixt *Dunbar* and *Edinburgh*, they did take her Majesty Captive. And whereas they alledge, That her Majesty, preferring the Impunity of *Bothwel* to her own Honour, made him to be convoyed safely away; the same was most untrue: For they themselves sent the Laird of *Grange* to her Majesty, desiring her to cause *Bothwel* to pass out of the Field, as suspected of the King's Murder, till the same might be try'd, and that she would go with them and follow the Conduct of the Nobility; which if she would do, they would honour, serve and obey her, as their Princess and Sovereign: Whereunto her Majesty, for the Love she bore unto her Subjects, and to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, did willingly assent: In Verification whereof, the said Laird of *Grange* took the Earl of *Bothwel* at the same Time by the Hand, and willed him to depart, giving his Word, That no Man should pursue

sue him : So as nothing is more clear, than that he passed away by their own Consents ; for if they had been inclined against him only, would they not have pursued him as long as he was in the Country ; for he remained a great Space after that in his own House, and might more easily be taken there than on the Seas, where they in a coloured Manner did pursue him ; and if taken, to have kill'd him, to prevent any further Inquiry : From whence all Men of sound Judgement might perceive, that they valued not what became of him ; if so they might advance their own ambitious Purposes and Designs. As to the Charge against the Queen, of having used them with Threats and Menaces. It was answered, Supposing it true, it could not be thought strange, considering their undutiful Behaviour, and the rude and vile Usage that her Majesty suffered by them ; for when the Earl of *Morton*, at her Highnesses first coming to them, had reverently, as it became him, said, Madam, here is the Place where your Grace should be ; and we will honour and serve you, as truly as any of the Nobility in the Realm, did any of your Progenitors in former Times ; ratifying thereby the Promise made by the Laird of *Grange* in their Names to her Majesty ; and that she, trusting their Speeches, had gone with them to *Edinburgh*, they first lodged her in a Citizen's Houle, contrary to their Promises, did most rudely intreat her, whercupon she sent *Lithington* her Secretary, and made Offer unto them, That for any Thing wherewith they or any of the Subjects were offended, she was contented that the same should be reformed by the Nobility and Estates of the Realm, her Highness being present and permitted to answer for herself ; yet would they not give the least Ear to the Motion ; but in the Night, secretly, and against her will, carried her to *Lochleven*, and put her in Prison.

As to that Cause, of her Majesty's being wearied with the Toils of Government, and that she thereupon did voluntarily resign or abdicat the Kingdom, in Favours of the Prince her Son, and appoint the Earl of *Murray* Regent during his Minority ; it was replied, That the Falshood thereof did many Ways appear ; for first, her Majesty is neither decayed by Age, nor weakened by Sickness, but (praised be God) both in Mind and Body, able to discharge the most weighty Affairs ; and also the Truth is, that the Earl of *Athole*, the Lairds of *Tillibardin* and *Lithington*, who were of their Council, sent Sir *Robert Melvil* to her Majesty, advising her to subscribe the Letter of Resignation, and what else should be presented to her, to save her own Life, and avoid the Death which was assuredly prepared for her, if she would refuse to do the same : And at the same Time, the same Gentleman did bring a Letter to her Majesty, writ by Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton*, Ambassador of *England*, requesting her Highness, for the Reasons foresaid, to set her Hand to whatsoever they should desireof her: To whom her Majesty answered, That she should follow his Counsel ; praying him to declare to her dearest

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Sister the Queen of *England*, how she was used by her Subjects, and that the Resignation of the Crown, made by her, was extorted by Fear; which her Highness doubted not, but the said Sir *Nicolas* performed: Further, it is notoriously known, that the Lord *Lindsay*, at the presenting of the Letters of Resignation to her Majesty, did menace to punish her in a closer Prison, if she refused to put her Hand to the same; adding, That in that Case, worse should shortly follow; with many vile and opprobrious Words: And that her Highness never looked what was in the Writings presented, but signed the same with many Tears; protesting, That if ever she should recover her Liberty, she would disown that which he compelled her to write at that Time, and to testify that the said Resignation was made against her Will, the Laird of *Lochleven*, who was then her Keeper, refused to subscribe it as a Witness, and did obtain a Certificate under her Majesty's own Hand, declaring, that he refused to be present at the said Resignation: Neither can that Resignation by any Person be thought good, considering that no Portion of the Revenue was reserved for her to live upon, neither was her Liberty granted, nor any Security of her Life given her: All which weighed in the Balance of Reason, by Men of indifferent Judgement, make manifest, that the alledged Demission, so unlawfully procured, can never prejudge her Majesty in her Royal Estate; especially considering that at her Escape out of the Prison, she did revoke the same, and in Presence of a great Part of the Nobility at *Hamil-toun*, by solemn Oath, declared, That what she had done was by Compulsion, and upon just Fear of her Life.

Concerning the Coronation of the young Prince, it was urged, That the same was most unorderly done; because there being in the Realm above an hundred Earls, Bishops and Lords, having Votes in Parliament (of whom the greatest Part at least, ought to have consented thereto, . it being an Act of such Consequence) four Earls, and six Lords, the same that were present at her Apprehension, with one Bishop, and two or three Abbots and Priors, and some Lords were only assisting; and of the same Number, some did put in a Protestation, that nothing then done should prejudge the Queen, or her Successor, by Reason that she was at that Time a Captive: Nor can any Man think, that if the Demission had been willingly given by her Highness, she would ever have nominated the Earl of *Murray* Regent, there being many others more Lawful, and have the better Right thereto than he, of whom, some have been Gouvernours of the Realm in former Times, and during her Majesty's Minority had worthily exerted that Place.

To the Ratification in Parliament, it was replied, That the principal Persons amongst the Nobility dissented, and put in their Protestation, both to the Lords of the Articles, and in the open Parliament, against their Proceedings, affirming, That they would never

never agree to any Thing that might hurt the Queen's Majesty's Person, her Crown, and Royal Estate, further, than her Highness her self, being at Liberty, would approve.

Lastly, As to the Pretence of being universally obeyed, and of all Things being justly administrated: It was answered, That both these were equaly untrue; for a great Part of the Nobility never acknowledg'd another Authority, than that of the Queen's keeping and holding their Courts in the Queen's Name; and for the Administration of Affairs, it is apparent, that Wickedness did never Reign more, and with less Controlment in the Realm; Murder Blood-shed, with Theft, and Robbery every where abounding, Policy destroyed, Churches thrown down, honourable Families ruin'd, and true Men bereft of their Goods, by satisfying the Souldiers, haited up by them to maintain the Regent's usurped Authority; the like whereof hath not been, seen or heard for many Ages before; in Regard whereof, they in Behalf of the Queen of *Scotland*, their Mistris, did earnestly request the Support and Assistance of the Queen of *England*, her Cousin; for restoring her to her Crown, and for suppressing the Rebels that had attempted against her.

To these Reasons, the Queen's Commissioners thought fit to add an attested Copy of a Protestation, made by the Earls of *Hunty* and *Argyle*, immediately after King Henry's Death, the Original being then lodged in Queen Elizabeth's Hand, and which is as follows, (a).

Forasmuch as Murray and others, to cloak their Rebellion against the Queen, whose Authority they arrogate to themselves, do openly calumniate her, as guilty of the Murder of her Husband: We do publickly protest and witness these Things following. In the Month of December 1566 when the Queen staid at Craigmiller, Murray and Lithington acknowledged before us, that Morton, Lindsay and Ruthven slew David Rizio, to no other intent, than to save Murray who was at that Time to be proscribed; therefore, that they might not seem unthankful, they much desired, that Morton and the rest, who lived in Exile for the Murder of David, might be brought home again; but this they said could not be effected, unless the Queen might be divorced from her Husband, which they promised to bring to pass, so as we would give our Assent: Afterwards Murray promised to me Hunty, that my Inheritance should be restored unto me, and that I should be in eternal Favour with the Exiles, if I should favour the Divorce: Then went we to Bothwel that he might also consent. Lastly, we came unto the Queen; and Lithington, in the Name of us all, earnestly intreated her, that Morton, Lindsay and Ruthven might have their Banishment remitted; the King's Errors and Offences against the Queen and Realm he aggravated with such Sharpness of Words,

A.D. 1568. and showed, that it mainly concerned the Queen and State, that there should forthwith be a Divorce, forasmuch as King and Queen could not live together in Scotland with Security. She answered, That she rather would withdraw her self for a Time into France, until her Husband did acknowledge the Errors of his Youth; for she would not that any Thing should be done that might be prejudicial to her Son, or dishonourable to her self. Hereto Lithington replied, we which are of your Council will look to that; but I command you (said she) that you do nothing that may blemish my Honour or burden my Conscience: Let the Mitter remain as it is, till God remedy it from above; that which you think will be for my Good, may perhaps turn to my Hurt. To whom Lithington said, Leave the Matter to us, and you shall see nothing shall be done but what is just, and approveable by Authority of Parliament: Hereupon, seeing the King was murdered by wicked Hands, and within few Days after, we, out of the inward Testimony of our Consciences do hold it most certain, that Murray and Lithington were the Authors, Contrivers and Persuaders of this Regicide, whosoever were the Actors of the same.

An Account
of the
strength of
her Friends
in Scotland

This long and just Reply for the injured Queen, put Murray and his Associates to their last Shifts; and the Duke of Northfolk having espoused her Interest, lost his Head in the Quarrel; but by this Time, the Queen plainly perceived, that it had been good for her, that she had not distrusted the Strength and Power of her Friends in Scotland, who in all probability, might have ruined Murray and his Associates; for Mr. Crawford, in his Collections from the Cotton Library, has a Bond subscribed by 9 Earls, 9 Bishops, 18 Lords, and several others at Hamilton, upon the 8th Day of May 1568, wherein they oblige and bind themselves, to stand by one another, with their Lives and Fortunes, in Defence of her just Right and Title: And it is a Duty owing to the Memory of those worthy Persons to transmit their Names to Posterity, and they are as follows: *The Earls of Argyle, Huntly, Eglinton, Crawford, Castrilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, John Bishop of St. Andrews, John Bishop of Dunkel, John Bishop of Ross, Alexander Bishop of Galloway, Alexander Bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Bishop of Brechin, John Bishop of the Isles, James Bishop of Argyle, and John Bishop of Murray; Lords Fleming, Livingston, Seaton, Boyd, Somerville, Herris, Ross, Maxwel, Ogilvie, Oliphant, Borthwick, Sanchar, Hay of Zeaster, Drummond, Elphinston, Lord Cleuid Hamilton, Sinclair, Carlisle; Abbots, St Colm's Inch, Lindoris, Glenluſſ, Haly-rode-house, New Abby, Dundranan, Salside, Croſe-regal, Inch-jaffry, Kelſo, Pluscarty, Kinloſſ, Priors, Barons, the Laird of Lochinvare, Sheriff of Tweddale, Bals, Weighton, Roslin, Corſorphin; Johnston, Weymess, Balivery, Torry, Dalhousie, Farniherſt, Lamington, Calderwood, Clasburn, Lanton, Traquair, Kitkaldy, Clackmannan, Sauchie, Tulliallan, Finlator, Barnbugal, Greenhead, Bamf, Haddo, Rowallan, Drumalier, Coilsburn, Whitefoord*

foord of that *Ilk*, Robert Boyd, Badenoch, Jeriswood, James Johnston of Torry, Robert Johnston of Lochmaben, John Crichton of Rihil Sheriff of Ait, Sir James Hamilton Knight, Sheriff of Clydesdale, Robert Master of Semple, Thomas Master of Boyd; the Laird of Bombie, Stirling Knight, Boyn, Boghall, Inerweick, Stenhause, Dunwood, Craigyhall, Ainsburn, Kilbirny, Cockpool, Sir Neil Montgomery, Patrick Congilton of that *Ilk*, Pollock, Ladyland, Smeton, Preston Knight, Caldwel Knight, Master of Kenland, James Stewart of Cardoual, Gawston, Kenland, Canibuskeneth, Lachop, Balkarn, Romarne, Cranston Knight, Newton of that *Ilk*, Badernoth, Belstanes, Whitefoord. Sir Andrew Ker Sheriff of Linlithgow, Gartlie, Silverton Knight, Haning, Rickarton, Ardkinlas, Dalziel, Slamanence, Lycprevick, Core-house, Robert Lawson of Humby, Erfilmont, McIntosh, Gicht Creechy Knight, Abergaldy and Whitlaw.

The Regent found himself involved in a Labyrinth of Difficulties; for the Duke of Northfolk declared, That they had perused the Writings of both Sides, and were not satisfied with any Thing the Regent had said in his own Defence; and therefore required him to produce some better Reasons and Grounds for the Severities they had used against their Sovereign, otherwise they could not think but that she had been too hardly dealt with; and they would Report the same to their Royal Mistress.

The Regent, upon this, craved first to be informed if his Grace and those in Commission with him, and sent down to hear their Debates, had full Power in the Cause of the Scots Queen, to pronounce Guilty or not Guilty, if her Crimes should be made apparent by the Papers he was to give in, whether she should be delivered into his Hands, or detained in England, and if Queen Elizabeth would, for the Future, maintain the Authority of the young King and the Regency, at present established in his own Person. To which it was answered by the Duke, That their Commission did not extend so far as to enable them to dispose of the Queen of Scots, or to answer every Article he proposed; but that Queen Elizabeth's Royal Word and Promise were sufficient Securities. To which Murray replied, That the Affair was of the last Consequence, his All lay at Stake; and tho' he doubted not her Affection for the young King, and her good Intentions towards himself as an honest Man, that had ventured his Life and Estate for the King's Preservation, and the Safety of his Country; yet he thought it absolutely Necessary for the Security of both, to have these Questions he had now asked, positively and fully resolved; and to see her own Hand and Seal, for the Performance of what he required.

This procured a Delay on both Sides; they were obliged to wait till the Post had brought them an Answer from Queen Elizabeth; to whom the English Commissioners sent up an Account of all their Proceedings. Queen Elizabeth no ways satisfied with Murray's

Anno 568 *Mary's Conduct, and knowing that Things might be better done to her Mind at London, than at so great a Distance, taking no Notice of what Murray had urged, she recalled her Commissioners and required him to come, or send such as he thought fit to answer what had been charged against him at the Instance of his Queen, and to give sufficient Reasons for what he had done; since what he had hitherto given in, did not plainly appear to be Matter of Fact.*

Upon this Letter, *Murray* was obliged to trudge up to the *English* Court where both Parties being met, they found added to the Number of the *English* Commissioners, *Bacon*, Keeper of the Great Seal, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Leicester*, *Clinton* Lord Admiral, and Sir *William Cecil*, all of them great Enemies to Queen *Mary*; and they earnestly press'd *Murray* to proceed in his Accusation against the Queen. But he answered as he had done at *York*, That he would do nothing, unless Queen *Elizabeth* gave him her Hand and Seal for the Performance of those Conditions he had mentioned, if he proved the *Scots* Queen guilty. This occasioned another Delay; during which Time, *Murray* went into the Project of the Duke of *Northfolk's* Marriage with Queen *Mary*: And having most treacherously betrayed him, he brought (as we have said) that unfortunate Nobleman to the 'Scaffold,

Queen *Elizabeth* having summoned the Commissioners to appear before her (a); the Queen's Commissioners would no tenter into any Conference with the *English* Commissioners, until they admitted their former Protestation at *York*; and granted that they came there as Ambassadors of a sovereign Princess to treat with them, and not to debate any Cause in Judgment, or to approve them Judges; and that nothing should be done in that Treaty, but by free Consent; which Protestation the *English* Commissioners subscribed: And in doing of this, the Queen's Commissioners acted as worthy Patriots of their Country, and faithful Servants to their Royal Mistress; whereas *Murray*, to his eternal Disgrace, against all solemn Oaths and Promises given to the Duke of *Northfolk*, in a most scandalous and villainous Libel, accused his Queen of her being privy and accessory to the murdering of the King her Husband, but upon such evident Falshoods and Calumnies, that *Cambden* says (r), None of the *English* Commissioners gave any Credit to them: Yet Queen *Elizabeth* urged, that the Queen's Commissioners should give in an Answer to them; upon which they produced a Letter from their Queen, discharging them, unless the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors were joined with them in Commission, and she permitted to justify herself in Person, against her Accusers; who

The Treaty broke up, and the Duke of Chatelherault claimed the Regency, which is denied him by Queen Elizabeth.

About this Time, the Duke of *Chatelherault* arrived from *France* and claimed the Regency, as being nearest of Blood to the Crown; but the Queen of *England* told him, That she would never condenc

scend to that ; and that, if he attempted it, she would oppose him with Force of Arms ; for which *Murray* returned her his most hearty Thanks : And having kissed her Hands, and returned to *Scotland*, where, by his Treachery and Cunning, in a short Time he made himself Master of the whole Kingdom. In the mean Time Queen *Elizabeth* caused Queen *Mary* to be removed from *Bolton* to *Coventry*, where she was committed to the Custody and Care of *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Edward Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, who kept her in a closser Confinement than ever she had been in before ; and notwithstanding of the Solicitations of the *Spanish* and *French* Ambassadors, and the many lamentable and elegant Letters wrote by her self concerning her Condition, yet Queen *Elizabeth* could never be prevailed upon to give her the common Justice of a Hearing ; but that she might amuse the World, she caused *Murray* to call a Convention of the Three Estates of Parliament, at the opening of which, he told them, that he had called them, to lay before them a Proposition that had been made to him by Queen *Elizabeth* in Favours of Queen *Mary*, which was, *That she (a) should be restored to her Crown and Dignity, or to be associate in the Government with her Son, and the Administration of Affairs should continue in the Regent's Hands till the King was seventeen Years of Age : Or if none of these could be granted, that she might have Liberty to live privately in her own Country, upon a sufficient and princely Allowance.* But the Regent knew Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind too well, and had secured his Party in this Sham-Parliament better, than to grant any of these Propositions, so they were all rejected, as inconsistent with the King's Honour, and Safety of his Person.

Whilst Affairs were in this Posture, the afflicted Condition of the Queen extorted a generous Resentment of it, even in the Hearts of those who were none of her Subjects, and owed their Allegiance to the Queen who persecuted her : For *Thomas Piercie* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Charles Nevil* Earl of *Westmorland* raised a considerable Body of Forces with a Design to set her at Liberty ; but when they found that they were not joined by her Friends in *Scotland*, and that they wanted Money to support them ; and that on the other Hand, Queen *Elizabeth* was raising a great Army against them, they were obliged to disband their Forces, and *Westmorland* fled to *Flanders*, and *Northumberland* to *Scotland*, where the Regent, instead of giving him Protection, took him Prisoner, and sent him to *Lochleven*, and *Mortor* his Successor in the Regency sold him to Queen *Elizabeth*, who cut off his Head.

Not long after this, the Regent was killed at *Linlithgow* by *Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh* ; this Gentleman (*b*), with six others that were taken at the Battle of *Lanefield* fighting for the Queen, were imprisoned in the Castle of *Blackness*, and forfeited in their Estates : These Gentlemen, in order to procure their Liberation, agreed

M m m m 2

amongst

The Earls
of Northum-
berland and
Westmorland
endeavour to
set her at Li-
berty.

The Regent
is killed at
Linlithgow.

A.D. 1569.

themselves to make an Offer of the Estate of *Woodhouſie* to Sir *Lewis Ballanden* Justice-Clerk, a great Favourite of the Regent's; and who for a long Time had his Eye upon it. This Estate of *Woodhouſie* belonged to *Bothwelhaugh*, by his Lady *Alison Sinclair*, Daughter to Sir *Oliver Sinclair*, King *James V*'s great Favourite. This Offer was accepted of by the Justice-Clerk, who promised to procure their Liberty and Estates to them; but it was only a Promise, for all that he did in it was, That he took Possession of the Estate of *Bothwelhaugh*, and turned out *Bothwelhaugh*'s Lady in her Shift in a very cold Night; which Indignity the poor Lady took so hainously ill, that before Morning she became furiously mad. The Year after, the Duke of *Chattleherault* in his Return from *France*, procured a Letter from Queen *Elizabeth*, to the Regent, for setting these Men at Liberty; which being accordingly done, *Bothwelhaugh* petition'd the Regent to be restored to his Estate of *Woodhouſie*, which the Justice-Clerk most unjustly possessed: But all the Answer he got was, *That he was an honest Man who had it, than he who was seeking it.*

Upon which *Bothwelhaugh* swore to be reveng'd upon him; yet before he would go to the utmost, he resolved to try what a distress'd Lady's Tears and Intercession would do. So he sent his Lady to him (for by this time she had recovered her Reason and Senses) with a Petition; she taking alongſt with her Mrs. *Margaret Muirhead*, a Daughter of the Laird of *Lauchop*: They found him sitting in Council in St. *Giles's Church*, and falling down upon her Knees, she presented him with the Petition; but he no sooner saw what the Nature of it was, but he rose up and went out of the Council: But she, following him, catch'd hold of him by the Sleeve, and told him, that she was ordered by her Husband to tell him, That the first Time that ever he should chance to see him, if he did not do him Justice, he should either be his Death, or he, his. To which the Regent answered, Let it fall upon the First, intimating thereby, that he would take his Hazard of that. And *Bothwelhaugh* was as good as his Word; for as the Regent was returning from *Stirling*, thro' the Town of *Linlithgow*, he shot him a little below the Navel; and the Bullet passing thro' his Body, killed Sir *George Douglas*'s Horse, who was riding next to him. This was upon the 23d Day of *January*, 1569.

Bothwelhaugh made his Escape and went over to *France*; where, *Thuan* says, he was offer'd a considerable Reward to dispatch Admiral *Coligny*, as he had done the Regent: But his Answer was, Not, till *Coligny* had as much injured his Sovereign and him as the Regent had done. From *France*, *Bothwelhaugh* went to *Spain*, where he was made a Colonel of a Regiment of Foot; and died in that Station in the King of *Spain's Service*.

As for the Regent, his Death was variously taken, as People were affected to him: And all our *Presbyterian* Historians highly extol him, calling him always *the good Regent*, because he was so instrumental

mental in advancing the Work of the Reformation; but by what we said of him, from uncontroverted Documents, it appears, that he was a Man of an unbounded Ambition, and of an unsatiable Avarice; by the first he was prompt to aspire to the Crown, which engaged him in a long Series of treasonable and villainous Acts against his Sovereign; and by the other he only made Use of Religion, under a Pretence of Zeal for the Reformation, to enrich himself upon the Spoils of the Church; he was naturally unconstant and false, having no Regard to his most solemn Promises and Oaths, if they but in the least obstructed his Designs; he easily forgot the good Offices of his Friends, but never pardoned the ill Ones of his Enemies; he was a deep Dissembler, rarely appearing to be sullen or out of Humour; his liberal Education made him a great Favourer of Letters and learned Men, to whom he never almost denied any Thing they asked of him, for which he can never be too much commended; he was very active and indefatigable in Business, but was of no deep Reach in Contrivances, which were all owing to Morton; so that it was a common Saying among the Vulgar, that Murray had the Hands, but Morton the Head. His Body was transported from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, where he was interr'd in St. Giles's Church, where, below his Coat of Arms, on the left Hand is Written, *Pietas sine vindice luget*, Godliness mourns without a Defender. And on the North, towards the right Hand is Written, *Jus exarmatum est*, Law is disarmed; then below on a Copper Plate is this Inscription,

*Jacobo Stuarte Moravia Comiti, Scotia Proregi, viro etatis sua
longe optimo, ab inimicis omnis Memoria deterrimis eo insidiis
extincto, seu Patri Communi, patria mærens posuit, 23 Januarii
1569.*

When the News of his Death was brought to the Queen, she was so far from showing the least Sign of Resentment against him, that she said, she was heartily sorry for him, and especially, that he was so suddenly taken away, before God had given him a View of his Sins, and Time to repent; and indeed she found no Relief by his Death, for Lenox and Morton, who succeeded him in the Regency, proved as great Enemies to her as ever he was.

After the Death of Murray, several Attempts were made in Scotland for restoring the Queen, upon which a War broke out betwixt the Queen's Party and the King's, as the Rebels called themselves, but the King's Party being assisted by Queen Elizabeth, The Loyalists were obliged to submit; but Queen Elizabeth having received many Letters from foreign Princes, blaming her for her harsh Treatment of Queen Mary, since her rebellious Subjects make nothing out against her, that deserved such a Treatment, to amuse the World once more, she would needs have a Trial of Queen

 *Mary's Case*, and accordingly Commissioners were appointed by both the Parties, and they met at *London* in the Beginning of the Year 1571.

The Queen submits to a new Trial, which like-
wise proves ineffectual. The Commissioners for the Queen, (a) were the Bishop of *Ross*, *Alexander Gordon* Bishop of *Galloway*, Uncle to the Earl of *Hunt-
new*, the Lord *Boyd* and the Lord *Livingston*; those for the King, were the Earl of *Morton*, *Pitcairn* Abbot of *Dumfermling*, and Mr.

James McGill. These Commissioners were no sooner met at *London*, but the Earl of *Leicester* and *Sussex*, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chamberlain; Sir *William Cecil* Secretary, Sir *Walter Mildmay* and Sir *Francis Knolls*, were appointed to confer with them, and after several Meetings and Conferences, Proposals were made to them by the *English* Commissioners, which were so dis- honourable to the Nation, and to the respective Sovereigns of both Parties, that both of them rejected them. But the Commissioners for the King upon the last Day of *February*, gave in a Vindication of their Proceedings against the Queen, wherein they endeavoured to prove (b) the Lawfulness of Subjects resisting of Kings, from the Civil and Canon Law, from the Laws of their Country, and the Examples of their Predecessors; to all which they added the Authority of *Calvin*, and some other Divines of the Reformed Religion; then they highly extolled their own Lenity and Clemency, who suffered the Queen to appoint the King to reign in her Place, and did not take away her Life, which was entirely owing to the Mercy of the People, and not to any Merit or Deser- ving in her: But this Vindication of theirs being against all Sovereign Princes, as well as against their own, Queen *Elizabeth* reproved them sharply for it; but not long after, she gave them a noble Entertainment at *Greenwich*, and renewed her Assurances to them of her Friendship. The Queen's Commissioners finding this, and that she was only trifling with them, acquainted their Mistresses of it, who ordered them to return to their own Country; which they accordingly did, and the Civil War was renewed in *Scotland*, and many hot Skirmishes were betwixt the Loyalists and the Rebels, and for a long Time, the Country was nothing but a Field of Blood, sometimes the one Party prevailing, and sometimes the other,

Whilst these bloody Wars were in *Scotland*, Queen *Elizabeth* was not wanting to creat further Trouble to the Queen of *Scotland*, for she caused imprison Lady *Margaret Douglass* Countess of *Lenox*, for keeping Correspondence with her in the Year 1574, which so impaired her Health, that it was thought to have been the Occasion of her Death, which happened about 4 Years after. This Lady

Lady Margaret Douglass is impris-
oned for keeping a Correspon-
dence with the Queen. Her Death and Charac-
ter. was sole Heir to *Archbald Douglass* Earl of *Angus*, by *Margaret Queen of Scotland*; she married the Earl of *Lenox*, by whom she had the Lord *Darnly*, who married Queen *Mary*, she outlived eight of her own Children, and was three Times imprisoned; the first, because *Thomas Howard* Son to *Thomas Howard Duke of North-*

Northjoik, and she designed to marry, for which they were both ^{An. 1578} imprisoned by King *Henry VIII.* And this young Nobleman was so troubled at the harsh Treatment that she met with upon his Account, that he died of Grief in the Tower; the second was for her Son the Lord *Darnly's*, marrying Queen *Mary* by Queen *Elizabeth's* Order; and the third, as we have said, was for keeping a Correspondence with Queen *Mary*, and for marrying her Son *Charles* with Lady *Elizabeth Candish*, which she alledged was done at the Desire of Queen *Mary*: She was a Lady of strict Virtue and admirable Beauty, which was accompanied with an Air of Majesty and Greatness, that was suitable to her Birth and Quality, which was certainly the greatest that any Subject ever had; she died in the Year 1578, in the 63 Year of her Age, and was buried with great Pomp and Magnificence in *Henry the VII's Chappel* in *Westminster Abbey*, where at the lower End of the South Side of the Chappel, her Tomb is to be seen of black Alabaster, and diverse coloured Marble; on the Pedestal whereof there are eight Children in a kneeling Posture, four Boys and as many Girls, four on the North, and as many on the South Side, of the finest Alabaster, set about with armorial Ensigns, and gilt with Gold, she herself lying at full Proportion on the Tomb, of the same Alabaster, with this *Latin* and *English* Inscription.

Margareta Douglsia, Matthai Stuarti Lenoxia Comitis, Uxor, Henrici VII. Anglia Regis, ex Filia Nepti, potentiss: Regibus cognatione conjunctissimae, Jacobi VI. Scotorum Regis Avia, Matrone sanctissimis moribus, & invicta animi patientia incomparabili. P.

*Margareta potens virtute, potentior ortu,
Regibus ac proavis Nobilitate cluis
Inde Caledoniis, australibus inde Britannis
Edita Principibus, principibusq; parens.
Qua mortis fuerant, solvit letijima morti;
Atq; Deum petiit, nam fuit ante Dei.*

Henry, second Son to this Lady, was King of Scots, and Father to James the VI. King of Scots; this Henry was murdered at the Age of 21 Years, and she is here entombed.

*Absolutum cura Thoma Fowler, hujus Domini Executoris, Octob.
14 1578.*

Here lieth the noble Lady *Margaret Countess of Lenox*, Daughter and sole Heir of *Archibald Earl of Angus* by *Margaret Queen of Scots*, his Wife was eldest Daughter to King *Henry VII.* Who bore unto her Husband four Sons and four Daughters.

This Lady had to her great Grand-father, King *Edward the IV.* To her Grand-father King *Henry the VII.* To her Uncle King *Henry the VIII.* To her Cousin German King *Edward the*

Anno 1579. V. To her Brother King *James the V. of Scotland*, to her Son King *Henry I.* And to her Grand-Child King *James the VI.* Having to her great Grand-Mother and Grand-Mother, two Queens both named *Elizabeth*, to her Mother *Margaret Queen of Scots*, to her Aunt *Mary the French Queen*, to her Cousin Germans, *Mary* and *Elizabeth Queens of England*, to her Niece and Daughter in Law *Mary Queen of Scots*.

The Queen's Treasurer is robbed by the English Secretary. In the Year 1579, Queen *Mary* had a notable Piece of Injustice done unto her by Secretary *Walsingham*, he had given a Pasport to Monsieur de *Lu* Treasurer to Queen *Mary*, who had brought to her from her Dowary in *France* some Gold and Money, some Rings and Jewels, a Chain of Gold valued at 500 Crowns, and a Mirrour of the same Value; but being informed, that he had some Letters of secret Intelligence, with a Sum of 60000 Crowns, he caused way-lay him, and robbed him of all that he had; and altho' the Justice of the Place caused two of the Robbers to be apprehended, and sent them Prisoners to *London*, yet they were shortly after set at Liberty, and a Pension settled upon them, instead of being punished: But our Queen having got some of her Jewels restored to her, she sent her Secretary Monsieur *Noe* with a Letter to her Son, some Jewels of Value, a Vest, and a Bed of State, all richly embroidered with Gold and Silk, with her own Hand; but the Letter being directed, To our loving Son *James Prince of Scotland*, he was sent back without being allowed to see the Prince's Face.

The Bed of State being one of the most curious Pieces of Workmanship, that either that, or any Age since her Time has produced, and that it gives us a noble Idea of the Sublimeness of her Soul, and the Delicacy of her Wit and Invention, in the several emblematical Representations that are upon it, I shall here gratifie the Readers Curiosity with an Account of it, (a).

The First is the Loadston turning towards the Pole, and the Word her Majesty's Name, *Maria Stuarta* turned into an Anagram in *French*, *sa vertu m' attire*, its Vertue draws me to it; this has Reference to a Crucifix, before which, with all her Royal Ornaments, she is humbled on her Knees most lively, with the *Latin* Word *undique*; from every Part intimating, that in all the Parts of her Life, she had a View to Christ and his Sufferings, as the only Direction of her Life, as the Mariner's Needle, touched by the Loadston, is the Direction to Seamen in their difficultest Voyages. The Second is a Phenix in Flames, with these Words in *French*, *en ma fin git mon commencement*, my Death is the Beginning of my Life; alluding to her Sufferings, who all her Life was involved in the Flames of a Civil War, and never expected to live in Peace till Death should translate her to an immortal Glory. The Third is an Apple Tree growing in a Thorn, with this *Latin* Inscription, *per vincula crescit*, it grows and flourishes amidst its Fetters; alluding to

that Sublimeness and Serenity of Mind which she enjoyed in her Confinement. The Fourth is a Crescent or Half Moon, with this Latin Sentence *donec totum impletat orbem*; till he appears in his full Orb, alluding to her present Condition, which tho' it was eclipsed for a little, yet at the finishing of the Course of her frail Life, her Innocency would appear in its full Splendor and Glory, as that of the Moons after the periodical Revolution. The Fifth, is a Salamander crowned in the midst of Flames, with this Latin Incription, *nutrisco & extinguo*, I nourish and extinguish; alluding to her Imprisonments, being the Cause of a Civil War, which she endeavoured to extinguish as the Salamander, when thrown in the Fire extinguishes all the live Coals about her, yet being there still nourished, and augmented the Flames. The VI. Is an Arrow passing thro' three Birds with this Latin Verse, *dederitne viam casusve Deusve*, whether was this casually done, or by the Direction of God, alluding to the malicious Aspersions of her Enemies, which like so many poisoned Arrows were aimed at her thro' her Husband and Son. The Seventh is, Mercury charming Argus with his hundred Eyes, expressed by his Caduceus, two Flutes and a Peacock with this Latin Sentence, *Eloquium tot lumina clausit*, Eloquence has blinded all these, alluding to Queen Elizabeth blinding all the Eyes of Europe with her seeming Pretences of Justice in detaining her Prisoner. The Eighth is, two Women upon the Wheel of Fortune, the one holding a Launce, and the other a Cornucopia with these Words in Latin, *Fortuna & comites*, the Comitants of Fortune, alluding to Queen Elizabeth and her self, and their two different Fortunes, the one being involved in War, and the other in Plenty and Peace. The Ninth is, a Pyramid overgrown with Ivy with these Latin Words, *te stante virebo*, I shall flourish as long as thou stands, alluding to her Stedfastness and Innocency, which like the Ivy upon the Rock should remain in its Verdure and Beauty as long as she lived. The Tenth is, a Ship with her Mast broken and fallen in the Sea, with these Latin Words, *nunquam nisi rectam*, never but when Straight, alluding to her straight and upright dealings, in the tempestuous Course of her Life, which had supported her as a straight and unbroken Mast does a Ship in a Tempest at Sea. The Eleventh is a big Lion and a young Whelp beside her, with these Latin Words, *unum quidem sed leonem*, one indeed, but it is a Lion, alluding to the Case of her and her Son, whose Power and Strength, if joined in one, would be like that of a Lion's against their Enemies. The Twelfth is a Lion taken in a Net, and Hares wantonly passing over him, with these Latin Words, *et lepores devincto insultant leoni*, Hares insult over a fettered Lion, alluding to the base and insulting Behaviour of her Subjects over her, when they knew that her Imprisonment secured them from that just Punishment they deserved; and which, they no more durst do, if she were at Liberty, than a Hare durst insult over a Lion. The Thirteenth is, a Bed

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of Cammomel Flowers in a Garden with these *Latin* Words, *fructus calcata dat amplos*, the more its trode upon, the more it grows, alluding to the daily Conviction that the World received of her Innocence from the Alpersions of her Enemies. The Fourteenth is, a Palm Tree, with these *Latin* Words, *ponderibus virtus innata resistit*, by its innate Virtue it resists its Burden, alluding to her Christian Fortitude in supporting the heavy Burden of her Impisonment, as the Palm Tree is said to rise, the more it is depress'd. The Fifteenth is, a Bird in a Cage, and a Hawk flying above, with these *Italian* Words, *il mal me preme et me spaventa deggio*, a present Evil oppresses me; but it trees me from a worse, alluding to her Imprisonment, and the Designs of her Enemies upon her Life. The Sixteenth is, a Triangle with a Sun in the middle of a Circle, with these *Latin* Words, *trino non convenit orbis*, a Glob agrees not with a Triangle, alluding to the Glob of the Earth, represented by the Circle and the Sun, and the three different Pretensions, that she, Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Son had for the Government of the 3 Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* represented by the Triangle. The Seventeenth is, a Porcupine amongst Sea Rocks, with these *Latin* Words, *ne volvetur*, least she should be tossed about, alluding to her close Imprisonment. The Eighteenth, a Portcullis, with the *Latin* Words, *altera securitas*, a double Security, alluding to her Enemies having both her and her Son in their Power. The Nineteenth is, the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, with these *Latin* Words, *fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*, by her Power he kept *Rhodes*, alluding to the Duke of *Savoy's* Impressa, who attributed his keeping of the Island of *Rhodes* to the Assistance of the Virgin, *Mary* by whose Intercession she hoped to be secure against the Attempts of her Enemies. The Twentieth is, Flourishes of Arms, as Helmets Launces, Croslets, Pikes, Muskets, Canons, and other warlike Engines, with this *Latin* Sentence, *dabit deus his quoq; finem*, God in due Time will put an End to those; likewise, alluding to the Civil Wars in *Scotland*. The Twenty first is, a Tree planted in a Church-yard environed with dead Mens Bones, with these *Latin* Words, *pietas revocabit ab orco*, Piety brings back from the Grave, alluding to the Dead from whose Intercession she expected Assistance, as a Tree planted in a Church-Yard, is nourished and supported by the dead Corps who environ it. The Twenty second is, Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, with this *Latin* Sentence, *ipsa tibi lumen quod invidet auferet*, she takes away the Light that she envies in another, alluding to Queen *Elizabeth*, robbing her of her Reputation; because she thought, that it eclipsed her own. The Twenty third is, *Brennus's* Balances, a Sword cast in to weigh Gold, with this *Latin* Sentence, *quid nisi vittis dolor?* what is there, but Sorrow to the conquered? alluding to the Cause of her Imprisonment for nothing; and considering it either to proceed from the Success of her rebellious Subjects Arms, represented here by the Sword, or from the Pensions,

Pensions that were given them from Queen *Elizabeth*, represented here by the Gold ; either was alike to her. The Twenty fourth, A Vine-tree watered with Wine, which, instead of making it spring and grow, maketh it fade, with these *Latine* Words, *Mea sic mihi profunt*, This is the Good I reap from my own ; alluding to her Maintenance in Prison, which, altho' 'twas from her own Revenues, with a sufficient Competency for human Life ; yet, like a Vine-tree that's watered with her own Juice, in stead of supporting her Life, made her daily fade and decay away with Sorrow. The Twenty fifth, is a Wheel rolled from a Mountain into the Sea, with these *Italian* Words, *Precipitio, senza speranza*, Precipitanly, without Hope ; alluding to her precipitant Flight into *England*, by which she had thrown her self into a Sea of Sorrow, without any Hope of Recovery. The Twenty sixth, is a Heap of Wings and Feathers dispers'd, with these *Latine* Words, *Magnatum vicinitas*, The Neighbourhood of Greatness ; alluding to her experimental Knowledge of the Vanity of the World ; which, with all its Pomps and Splendor, takes Wings and flies away, and leaves the greatest Princes, in the last Period of their Life, as void of them as the meanest Peasant. The Twenty seventh, A Trophy upon a Tree, with Mitres, Crown, Hats, Masks, Swords, Books, and a Woman with a Veil over her Eyes, pointing to Some about her, with these *Latine* Words, *Ut casus dederit*, As they are casually given ; alluding to the Vanity of all States and Conditions in the World, for, be what they will, they may flourish for a Time in their Gayety and Verdure, as a Tree, but at length, they must all become the Trophies of Death, and lie undistinguished in the Grave. The Twenty eighth, Three Crowns, two opposite, and another above in the Sky, with these *Latin* Words, *Aliamque moratur*, Another waits her ; alluding to her having been once in Possession of the Two Imperial Crowns of *Scotland* and *France*, and now in Expectation of a Crown of Glory. The Twenty ninth, is the Sun in an Eclipse, with these *Latin* Words, *Medio occidit die*, He sets in the Middle of the Day ; alluding to her Misfortune in the Ptime and Glory of her Age. Besides all these are the Arms of *Scotland*, *England* and *France*, severally by themselves, and all quartered in many Parts of it.

By these Emblematical Representations, we at once see the Greatness of her Soul, and the Innocency of her Diversions during her Imprisonment. But now her Sorrows began to multiply upon her ; for in the Year 1582, the News was brought to her, of her Son's being kept Prisoner by the Earl of *Courie* ; and she no ways doubting but that he would meeet with the same Treatment that she had met with, she wrote a long Letter (a) to Queen *Elizabeth* ; wherein she represented all her Treatment, from the Beginning of her Misfortunes till that very Day, and beseeches her, by the dolorous Passion of our Saviour and Redcemer *Jesus Christ*, that she might have Permission to depart out of her Kingdom, to assist her Son and

She writes to
Q. Elizabeth
concerning
her self and
her Son.

Anno 1582. to refresh her poor Body, oppress'd with daily Sorrows and heavy Diseases, and that she might prepare her Soul for God, to whom she hourly expected to render it up; but if this could not be obtained, she hoped, that in her last Hours she might be allowed to have a Churchman of her own Religion, and two Maids to attend her in her Chamber in her Sicknes; protesting before God, That they were necessary for her, to keep her from the Shame of being expos'd by Reason of the many Infirmities which her Imprisonment had brought upon her: And concludes with these pathetick Words, *Madam, Reassume the Marks of your ancient good Nature, oblige your own to your self; grant me that Contentment before I die, as to see all things accommodated betwixt you and my self, to the end that my Soul, being enlarged from my Body, it be not constrained to lay open her Groans before God, for the Injuries which you have suffered to be done unto me upon the Earth: But on the contrary, that departing from this Captivity in Peace and Concord, it may, with all Content, repair to him whom I most humbly beseech to inspire you to condescend to the just Requests of your most desolate, most near, and most affecti-onate Kinswoman.*

M. Regina.

The 8th Day of November, 1582.

But Queen *Elizabeth* was Deaf as the Stone to all that she could say; and I would be too prolix, if I should give an Account of the hundred Part of the Indignities that were done to her; in the mean Time her Son being of sufficient Age begun to resent the harsh Treatments his Mother met with, and lookt with a favourable Eye upon all those that had stood by her during his Minority. And wrote very pressingly to Queen *Elizabeth* to set his Mother at Liberty; Queen *Elizabeth* on the other Hand, resolved to dispatch her, and in order thereto, Sir *Amias Paulet* and Sir *Drw Drury* were ordered to be her Keepers, and many Attempts were made for Poisoning her, and murdering her; but most of them failed, at length it was accomplished, and brought about after this Manner.

One *Gilbert Gifford* an English Man, (a) who had been brought up in the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and bred at *Rheims*, was bribed by Secretary *Walsingham*, and employed by him for the discovering of all the Designs of the *Roman Catholicks* in Favours of Queen *Mary*, and went frequently betwixt *France* and *England*; the *Roman Catholicks* having obseived this traffecking Kind of Life of his; and that he was never challenged by the Government, they began to suspect him to be a Rogue; he finding this, to remove all Grounds of Suspicion from them, went over to *Pontamousson* where he commenced *Batchelor* of Theology, and immediately after entered into Holy Orders at *Rheims*, and going to *Paris*, he became intimately acquainted with *Thomas Morgan* a faithful Servant of Queen *Mary's*, to whom he told, that if

*The History
of Queen
Mary's Tri-
al.*

he

he had to much Money as to defray his Charges into *England* An. 1586. with some Letters of Credit to her Friends, he knew of an infallible Way of making her Escape; this, Mr. *Morgan* communicated to the Archbishop of *Glasgow* the Queen's Ambassador at *Paris*: But that wise Prelat would not hear of him; however *Morgan* was prevailed upon to trust him; and gave him some Letters of Credit to the Queen's Friends; and amongst the rest to *Antony Babington* of *Dethicke* in *Derbyshire*, a young Man well born, rich of an excellent Genius, and learned above his Years. *Gifford* arriving in *England*, went straight to Secretary *Walsingham*, to whom he shew'd all his Letters, and then delivered them to the Persons to whom they were directed, and *Gifford* and *Babington* had a long Conference, concerning the Manner of delivering of Queen *Mary*, and it was agreed, that Queen *Elizabeth* should be murdered by Six Fellows, whom *Gifford* was to engage, and *Babington* with a Hundred Horse-Men, at the same Time, should relieve Queen *Mary*: All this was contrived by *Walsingham*, that they might have some Ground to proceed against Queen *Mary*; but the gteat Difficulty was to have it under *Babington's* Hand, which they procured thus.

Walsingham had some of Queen *Mary's* Letters wrote in Cyphers; and in these Cyphers a Letter was writ to *Babington* as it were from Queen *Mary* challenging him for his long Silence, and requiring a Packet to be sent, that *Gifford* had brought to her from *France*, *Babington* returns an Answer, wherein he tells of what was agreed betwixt him and *Gifford*, which being read and copied by Sir *Amias Paulet*, it was delivered to her Secretaries *Nave* and *Curl*; they knowing the Strictness of their Royal Mistris Virtue durst not acquaint her of it; but returned an Answer in their Mistris Name, commanding his Zeal and Forwardness in her Service; and promising a Reward to the Assassimators, which was delivered to *Walsingham*, who acquainted the Council of it; Sir *Amias Paulet* after this received a Letter from *Walsingham*, wherein he was desired to take the Queen, her two Secretaries and her other Servants to the Hunting, which he accordingly did; but they had no sooner come to the Field; but she and they were seized upon by a Company of armed Men sent for that Purpose, and committed all to different Prisons, and her Majesty was sent Prisoner to *Fotheringay Castle*. All or most of those who were engaged with *Babington* were put to death, and a gteat many of them most cruelly, being ript up alive, and quartered, *Gifford* was sent over to *France* till they should have more Use for him; but being apprehended there and found a Spy, by the Letters that were seized upon him, some of which were written in Cyphers, and some with the Juice of an Onion and Allom, he was thrown into Prison, and died in a starving Condition, notwithstanding that the English Ambassador then at *Paris* often promised to relieve him. But what they should do with the Queen of *Scotland* was their next great Concern,

Anno 1586. cern, some were for doing no Harm to her, because she was a sovereign Princess, sickly and not like to live long; besides the Plot was neither begun by her, nor had she any Hand in it, further than what her Secretary had done, her Punishment should be but a close Imprisonment; others were for prosecuting her by Law, my Lord Leicester was for poisoning her, and sent privately a Divine to Walsingham to perswade him of the Lawfulness of it; but Walsingham told him he would never agree to that, at length Queen Elizabeth resolved to try it Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drw Dury would undertake to murder her privately in her Chamber, that she might not be thought to have any Hand in her Death; but how this was transacted, will best appear from Secretary Davison's Apology for himself, found amongst Sir Amias Paulet's Papers. A Copy of which transcribed from the Original, was sent to me, by my worthy and learned Friend, Mr. Hurry of Christ's-Church Oxon, and is as follows.

*The Queen
of England
proposes to
murder her
privately in
her Cham-
ber.*

ON Wednesday the 1st of this Present, about Ten of the Clock, came one of the Grooms of the Chamber to me, to let me understand, that Her Majesty had called for me by my Lord Admiral, who was in the Privy Chamber: I found his Lordship there, who told me the Cause of my sending for. Having first summarily discours'd unto me some Speech that had pass'd that Morning betwixt Her Majesty and him, touching the Execution of the Scottish Queen; the Conclusion of which was, That she would no longer defer it, and therefor had commanded him to send expresly for me, to bring the Warrant unto her: Whereupon, returning to my Chamber, I took both that and diverse other Things to be sign'd, for her Service, and returning back, sent in Mr. Brook to signify my being there to Her Majesty, who immediately called for me. At my coming in, Her Majesty first asking me, whether I had been Abroad that fair Morning? advising me to use it oftner, and reprehending me for the contrary; finally, demanded what I had in my Hands? I answered, Divers Warrants, and other Things to be sign'd for Her Majesty's Service. She enquired, whether my Lord Admiral had not sent for me? and, whether I had not brought up the Warrant for the Scots Queen? I answered, Yes; and thereupon calling for it, I delivered it into her Hands. After the reading whereof, calling for Pen and Ink, she sign'd it; and laying it from her, asked me, Whether I was not heartily sorry that it was done? Mine Answer was, That I was sorry a Lady so near in Blood to her self, and of her Place and Quality, should so far forget her Duty to God and Her Majesty, as to give her this Cause: But sithence this Act of Her Majesty was, in all Mens Opinions, of that Justice and Necessity that she could not defer it, without the manifest Danger of her Person and State, I could not be sorry to see Her Majesty take this Course, of removing the Cause of that Danger which threatened the One and the Other; protesting nevertheless, That I was

was so far from thirsting after the Blood of that unhappy Lady, that if there had been any other Way to preserve Her Majesty and the State from Mischief, than by taking her Life, I could have wished it: But the Case standing so, in the Opinion of all Men, that either Her Majesty or She must die, I must confess freely, that I preferred the Death of the Guilty before the Innocent. After this, she commanded me to carry it to the Seal, and to give my Lord Chancellor Order from her, to use it as secretly as might be, and by the Way, to show it to Mr. Secretary *Walsingham*, because, she thought, the Grief thereof would kill him outright; for so it pleased Her Majesty to say of him. This done, she called for the rest of the Warrants and other Things I had to sign, and dispatch'd them all with the best Disposition and Willingness that could be: In the mean time, repeating unto me some Reasons why she had so long deferred the Matter, as namely, For her Honour's Sake, that the World might see that she had not been violently or maliciously drawn unto it. She concluded, That she was never so ill advised, as not to see and apprehend her own Danger, and the Necessity she had to proceed to this Execution; and thereupon, after some intermingled Speech here and there, she told me, That she would have it done as secretly as might be; and misliking that it should be executed in the open Court, or Green of the Castle, expressly will'd that it should be done in the Hall; which I take to be a certain Argument, both of her Meaning it should be done, and in the Form prescribed in the Warrant. But after I had gathered up my Papers, and was ready to depart, she fell into some Complaint of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Others, that might have eated her of this Burden; wishing me yet to deal with Mr. Secretary, and that he would jointly write to Sir *Amias* and Sir *Drury*, to sound their Dispositions: Aiming still at this, that it might be so done, as the Blame might be removed from herself. And tho' I had always refused before to meddle therein, upon sundry of Her Majestie's former Motions, as a Thing I utterly condemned; yet was I content, as I told her, for her Satisfaction, to let Sir *Amias* understand what she expected at his Hands, albeit I did before hand assure my self it should be so much Labour lost, knowing the Wisdom and Integrity of the Gentleman, who I thought would not do any unlawful Act for any Respect in the World; but finding Her Majesty desirous to have him sounded in this Behalf, I departed from Her Majesty, with Promise to signify so much to Mr. Secretary, and that we would both acquaint Sir *Amias* of her Pleasure: And here repeating to me again, that she would have the Matter closely handled, because of her Danger, I promised to use it as secretly as I could; and so for that Time departed. That Afternoon I repaired to my Lord Chancellor, where I procur'd the Warrant to be sealed; having in my Way visited Mr. Secretary, and agreed with him about the Form of the Letter which should be written for her Majesty's satisfying to Sir *Amias Paulet* and Mr. *Drury*, which at my returning from my Lord Chancellor was dis-

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Anno 1586. patched. The next Morning I received a Letter from Cranmer my Servant, whom I left at Court, signifying unto me Her Majestie's Pleasure, that I should forbear going to my Lord Chancellor's till I had spoken with her: And within an Hour after came *William Killigrew* with the like Message from her; whom I returned with this Answer, That I would be at the Court as soon as himself, and give Her Majesty an Account of what I had done, At my Coming to her she asked me, whether I had been at my Lord Chancellor? I answered her, Yes. She demanded, What needed that Haste? I answered, That I had done no more than she commanded, and thought it no Matter to be dallied withall; but saith she, me thinks the best and safest Way for me, is to have it otherways handled, particularizing a Form, that she, as she pretended liked, better, naming unto me some that were of that Opinion whose Judgements she commended, I answered, that I took the honourable and just Way to be the best and safest, if she meant to have it done at all; whereto her Majesty replying nothing for that Time, left me, and went to dinner; within a Day or 2 after, her Majesty being in the Privy Chamber called me unto her, and smiling, told me how she had been troubled with me that Night, upon a Dream she had, That the *Scots Queen* was executed, pretending to be so troubled with the News, that if she had had a Sword she could have run me through; but this being delivered in a pleasant and smiling Manner, I answered her Majesty, That it was good I was not near her, so long as that Humour lasted; but with all taking hold of her Speech, I asked her Majesty in great Earnestness what it meant, and whether having proceeded this far, she had not a meaning to go forward with the Execution; confirming this with a solemn Oath, and some Vehemency she answered, Yes; but she thought it might receive a better Form, because saith she, this casteth the whole Burden upon my self, whereto I replied, That the Form subscribed by her Warrant was such as the Law required, and the only Form that was to be kept in Honour and Justice, she answered, There were wiser Men than my self of another Opinion, I told her, I could not answer for other Men; but this I was sure of, that I never heard any Man give sound Reason to prove it either honourable or safe for Her Majesty to take any other Course than that which standeth with Law and Justice: So without farther Replication or Speech at that Time, Her Majesty rose up and left me.

The same Afternoon (as I take it) she asked me, if I had heard from Sir *Anias Pawlet*; I told her, No: But within an Hour or two after, going to *London*, I met with Letters from him, in Answer to those that were written to him by Mr. Secretary and my self. The next Morning, having Access to Her Majesty upon some other Occasion, I told her I had Letters from Mr. *Pawlet*, which Her Majesty, desirous to see, took and read; but finding thereby, that he was grieved with the Motion made unto him, offered his Life and all he had to be disposed of by Her Majesty, but absolutely refusing

sing to be an Instrument in any such Action as was not warranted in Honour or Justice: Her Majesty falling into some Terms of Offence, complaining of the *dainty* (as she called it) *Perjury* of him and Others, who, contrary to their Oath of Association, did cast the Burden upon herself; she rose up, and, after a Turn or two, went in to the Gallery, whither I followed her: And there renewing her former Speech, blaming the Niceness of those precise Fellows, who in Words would do great Things for her Safety, but in Deed perform nothing! And concluded, *She would have it well enough done without them;* and here entring into Particularities, named unto me, as I remember, one *Wingfield*, who, she assured me, would, with some Others, undertake it: Which gave me Occasion to show unto Her Majesty how dishonourable, in my poor Opinion, any such Course would be, how far off she would be from shunning the Blame and Stain thereof, which she sought so much to avoid; and here falling particularly into the Case of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Driw Drury*, told, That 'twas a marvelous Extremity she would have exposed these two Gentlemen unto; for if, in a tender Care for her Security, they should have done that which she desired, she must either allow their Act, or disallow it: If she allowed it, she took the Matter upon her self, with her infinite Dishonour; if she disallowed it, she overthrew those faithful Gentlemen, (who she knew did truly and faithfully love her) and not only themselves, but their whole Estate and Posterity; and therefor, thought this a most dangerous and dishonourable Course both for her self and them; and so after some particular Speech of Mr. Secretary and others, touching some Matters past heretofore, her Majesty calling to understand whether it was Time to go to the Closet, brake off our Discourse.

At my next Access to her Majesty (which I take was *Tuesday*, the Day before my coming from Court) having certain Things to be signed, Her Majesty entered, of her self, into some earnest Discourse of the Danger she daily lived in; and how it was more than Time this Matter were dispatched, swearing a great Oath, that it was a Shame for them All that it was not done; and thereupon spake unto me to have a Letter written to Mr. *Poulet* for the Dispatch thereof; because the longer it was deferred, the more her Danger increased; whereunto (knowing what Order had been taken by my Lords in sending the Commission to the Earls) I answered, That I thought there was no Necessity of such a Letter, the Warrant being so general and sufficient as it was, Her Majesty replied little else, but that she thought Mr. *Poulet* would look for it. And this as near as I can possibly Remember, is a faithful and true Report of what hath passed betwixt her Majesty and me, from the Day of signing the Warrant and the Commandment given unto me to carry it unto the Seal, untill the Hour of my Departure from the Court: In all which, I must protest unfeignedly before God, That I neither remember any such Commandment given

Anno 1586. me by Her Majesty, as is pretended, neither did ever I conceive such an Intent or Meaning in her, and that my Innocency herein, may the better appear, let it be considered, First, What the Commandment is, and next upon what Considerations, it was granted; the Commandment as I understand it, hath two Parts, one, that I should conceal it from the Rest of her Majesty's Council, another that I should retain it by my self, until some tumultuary Time as a Thing Her Majesty meant not, otherwise to put in Execution, both which I must in all Duty and Humbleness under her most gracious Favour absolutely deny ; and for the first, I trust her Majesty in her princely and honourable Nature will not deny ; but, that she first sent for me by my Lord Admiral to bring the Warrant unto her, which proveth, that his Lordship was acquainted with her Purpose, and next that she gave me express Word, both to carry it forthwith to the Seal, with a Message to my Lord Chancellor, who consequently must be acquainted with it and also by the Way to impart it to Mr. Secretary, so that these three being made privy to it with her own good likeing; and my self as I say not restrained from the Contrary by any such Commandment, as is pretended, what Reason had I to conceal it from my Lord Treasurer, to whom my Lord Admiral had first imparted it, or from my Lord *Liecester* to whom her Majesty signified as much, as likewise to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, and as they are all well acquainted with the Rest of the whole Proceeding, and as far interested in the Cause as my self, or any of the others, unless Her Majesty had a meaning that Mr. Secretary and I should have dealt alone in sending of it to the Earls, which for mine own Part, I confess I never liked, knowing her Majesty's Purpose was often to my self to remove as much of the Burden as she might from her own Shoulders upon others, which I knew my own unfit to sustain. Now seeing the End of signing and sealing this Warrant in all reasonable Probability and Judgement was to go forward, withall that the Delay thereof did infinitely increase Her Majesty's Peril, and thereby hazard the whole Estate, seeing it was imparted to some by Her Majesty's own Order, and no Cause or Possibility being sealed to keep it from the rest as much interested in the Cause as my self, and finally seeing I could neither, as I take it in Law, nor Duty of a good Subject conceal it from them, the Cause importing so greatly Her Majesty's Life as it did, and the Disposition both of the Time and the State of Things at home and abroad being such as it was, I trust it shall sufficiently appear, that I was both in Reason, Duty and Necessity forced thereunto, unless I would have wilfully endangered my self, whose Offence if ought in the mean Time had happened amiss unto Her Majesty must have been in my own Censure, worthy of 1000 Deaths ; and as to my proceeding therein with the Rest of my Lords, after it was resolved,

That

That it was neither fit nor convenient to trouble Her Majesty any further with it, considering that she had done all that the Law required at her Hands, and that she had both to my self and others, signified at other Times her Indisposition to be acquainted with the particular Circumstances of Time, Place, &c. And that to detain the Warrant in Expectation of any farther Directions from herself, was both needless and dangerous, considering the hourly Hazards her Majesty lived in. And finally that my Lords knowing Her Majesty's Unwillingness to bear all the Burden alone, were content most resolutely, honourably, and dutifully to ease her as much as they might; with what Reason and Justice should I have hindered the Course of Justice tending so greatly to her Majesty's Safety and Preservation of the whole Realm; and for the other Part of keeping it by me to such Ends as is before alledged, I trust the World doth not hold me so undutiful to Her Majesty, or ill advised for my particular, as to take such a Charge upon me, to the evident Peril of Her Majesty's Life, Subversion of the whole Estate, and mine own utter Overthrow, neither is their Cause to think (I speak in all Reverence, and under Her Majesty's gracious Favour) that Her Majesty having proceeded so far as she had done to the Trial of that Lady's Fact, found her Guilty by a most honourable Jury of her Nobility, assembled her Parliament only for that Purpose, graciously heard their Petitions, and dismissed them with so great Hope, published afterwards the Proclamation for her Disablement, rejected the Suits both of the *French* and *Scottish* Kings for her Life, and returned their Ambassadors Hopeless; confirmed the Imprisonment by her Letters to both Princes, (some of which it pleased her to communicate with my self) protested many 100 Times her Necessity and Resolution to go through with all, (albeit for sundry good Reasons she had so long deferred it) having given her Commandment to me many Days before, to bring up the Warrant unto her, and then voluntarily sent for it by my Lord Admiral, signing it as soon as I brought it, her express Commandment given me to carry it to the Seal, and to have it secretly handled: And finally, her particular Direction whilst she was signing other Things at the same Time, to have the Execution done in the Hall, misliking that it should be done in the Green or open Court; with a Number of other foregoing and following Circumstances, may sufficiently testify her Majesty's Disposition to have it proceeded in, albeit she had to my self and others, declared her Unwillingness to have been made acquaint with the Time and other Circumstances, having done all that the Law required of her, or that in Honour was fit and expedient for her to do.

An. 1586.

The Letter wrote to Sir Amias Powlet and Sir Drw Drury.

ATTE R our hearty Commendations, we find by a Speech lately made by her Majesty, that she doth note in you, both a Lack of that Care and Zeal for her Service, that she looketh for at your Hands, in that you have not in all this Time (of your Selues, without other Provocation) found out some Way to shorten the Life of the Scots Queen, considering the great Peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said Queen shall live; wherein, besides a kind of Lack of Love towards her, she wondereth greatly that you have not that Care of your own particular Safeties, or rather the Preservation of Religion, and the publick Good and Prosperity of your Countries, that Reason and Policy commandeth; especially, having so good a Warrant and Ground for the Satisfaction of your Consciences toward God, and the Discharge of your Credit and Reputation towards the World, as the Oath of Association which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed; especially, the Matter wherewith she standeth charged, being so clearly and manifestly proved against her: And therefore she taketh it most unkindly, that Men professing that Love towards her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for Lack of the Discharge of your Duties, cast the Burden upon her, knowing as you do, her Indisposition to shed Blood; especially, of one of that Sex and Quality, and so near to her in Blood as the said Queen is. These Respects, we find, do greatly trouble her Majesty; who, we assure you, hath sundry Times protested, That if the Regard of the Danger of her good Subjects and faithful Servants, did not more move her than her own Peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her Blood. We thought it meet to acquaint you with these Speeches lately passed from her Majesty, referring the same to your good Judgments: And so we commit you to the Protection of the Almighty.

Your most assured Friends,

London, February
1st, 1586.

FRA. WALSINGHAME
WILL. DAVISON.

Directed thus,
To the Right Honourable, Sir Amias Powlet
Knight, one of her Majesty's Privy-Council.

This Letter was received at Fotherengay, the 2d of February, at 5 in the Afternoon; and in another Letter from Mr. Davison, of the 1st of February, to Sir Amias, he says, *I pray you, let both this and the inclosed be committed to the Fire, which Measure shall be likewise met to your Answer, after it hath been communicated to her Majesty for her Satisfaction.* And in a Postscript of another Letter, from Mr. Davison to him, dated the 3d of February 1586, he says, *I intreated you in my last Letters, to burn both the Letters sent you for the Arguments sake; which by your Answer to Mr. Secretary (which*

(which I have seen) appeareth not to be done; I pray you let me entreat to make Hereticks of the one and the other, as I mean to use yours after her Majesty hath seen it. And in the end of the Postscript, ^{Anno 1586.} I pray you let me know what you have done with my Letters, because they are not to be kept, that I may satisfy her Majesty therein; who might otherwise take Offence thereat, and if you entreat this Postscript in the same Kind, I shall not care a Whit. But it seems none of them observed this; for amongst the same Papers, is the following Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham.

S I R,

VOYR Letters of Yesterday coming to my Hands this present Day, at 5 p. m. I would not fail according to your Direction, to return my Answer with all possible speed; which I shall deliver unto you with great Grief and Bitterness of Mind, in that I am so unhappy, as living to see this unhappy Day, in which I am required by Direction from my most gracious Sovereign, to do an Act, which God and the Law forbiddeth; my Goods and Living and Life are at her Majesty's Disposition, and I am ready to lose them the next Morrow, if it shall please her, acknowledging that I do hold them as of her mere and most gracious Favour, and do not design to enjoy them, but with her Highness good liking; but God forbid I should make so foul a Shipwrack of my Conscience, or leave so great a Blot to my poor Poverty, and shed Blood without Law or Warrant, trusting, that her Majesty of her accustom'd Clemency, and the rather by your good Mediation, will take this my Answer in good Part, as proceeding from one who never will be inferior to any Christian Subject, living in Honour, Love, and Obedience towards his Sovereign; and thus I commit you to the Mercy of the Almighty.

Your most assured poor Friend,

From Fotherengay the 2d of
February, 1586.

A. POWLET.

P.S. Your Letters coming in the plural Number, seem to be meant to Sir Drw Drury as to my self; and yet because he is not named in them, neither the Letter directed unto him; he forbearereth to make any particular Answer, but subscribeth in Heart to my Opinion.

D. DRURY.

From all this it is manifestly plain, That Queen Elizabeth designed to have had our Queen dispatched privately, either by these two who were her Keepers, or by some others; but not finding any so wicked, as to undertake it, she was obliged to do it publickly, and accordingly as Mr. Davison has observed, she signed a Warrant, which past under the great Seal of England, for trying of her; and a Proclamation was issued out, summoning so many of the English Nobility,

Anno 1586. Nobility to be her Judges; which Proclamation Mr. *Udal* has at length (a) in the Life of this Illustrious Queen.

These or most of them came to *Fotheringay Castle* in *Northamptonshire*, upon the 11 Day of *October*, where our Illustrious Queen was then (as we have said) Prisoner, the next Day the Commissioners sent unto her Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amias Powlet*, and Edward *Barker* a Publick Notary, with a Letter from the Queen of England to her; wherein she told her, *That she had given a Commission to her Counsellors of State to hear her in Judgment, upon the Facts of which she was accused.* Which she having read with a serene and majestick Countenance, addressed her self to them and said (b).

" I am much afflicted, that my dear Sister the Queen, should
 " be so ill informed of me, and that having been so many Years
 " most strictly guarded; which amongst other Things has brought
 " upon me a Numness in my Limbs; the many fair Conditions
 " which I have offered for my Liberty have been neglected, and
 " my self abandoned, I have sufficiently advertised her of diverse
 " Dangers, and yet she never would believe me; but hath alwise
 " undervalued me, although I am the nearest to her in Blood, when
 " the Association was made, and when it was confirmed in the Par-
 " liament, I foresaw, that whatsoever Accident did arrive either
 " without the Kingdom, by foreign Princes Abroad, or within the
 " Kingdom, by harbouring of Fellows for the Cause of Religion,
 " I should pay dearly for it. I having so many deadly Enemies at
 " Court. I have Reason to take it in evil part, That a League was
 " made with my Son without my Knowledge; but I shall not insist
 " upon it at this Time, but to come to this Letter, it seems strange
 " to me, that the Queen should command me as if I were her Sub-
 " jeet to come unto a Trial, I am an absolute Queen, neither will I
 " do or commit any Thing to the Prejudice of the Royal Majesty
 " of Kings and Princes of my Place and Rank; and especially to the
 " Prejudice of my Son, my Courage is not yet abated, nor will I
 " ever stoop unworthily under my Calamity; I refer my self for
 " those Things which I protested before *Bromly* and the Lord *De la*
 " *ware*, the Laws and Statutes of *England* are to me utterly unknown;
 " I am destitute of Counsellors, and I tell you plainly, I know none
 " that can be my Peers, my Papers and Notes of Remembrance are
 " taken from me, there is none that dares plead or speak in my
 " Cause, I am free from all Offence against the Queen, neither
 " should I be called in Question, but upon mine own Word or Wri-
 " ting; which can never be brought against me, neither do I deny,
 " but that I have commended my self and Cause to foreign Prin-
 " ces".

The next Day Sir *Amias Powlet* and *Barker* were sent to her by the Commissioners, to know if she approved of what she had said the Day before, and it was read to her, which having heard, she adhered

(a) Mr. *Udal's Life of Q. Mary*, Page 357. (b) *Ibid.* Page 364.

adhered to it ; but withal told them, " That she did remember ^{An. 1586} one Thing which she desired them to put in ; and that was, where- " as the Queen hath written that I am subject and liable to the Laws " of *England*, and am to be judged by them, because I live un- " der the Protection of them. *I answer*, That I came into *England* " to ask and crave Aid and Help ; from which Time I have been " detain'd and kept in Prison, and therefore could not enjoy the " Protection and Benefit of the Laws of *England*, and hitherto I " could not be informed by any Body what the Laws of *England* " were".

In the Afternoon, the same Day, the Chancellor and the Trea- surer came to wait upon her, and having read their Commission, the Chancellor told her, That neither Captivity nor the Prerogative of Royal Majesty, could exempt her from being tried by the Laws of *England*, and therefore exhorted her calmly to hear what was to be laid to her Charge, and if she did it not, they were resolved to proceed against her according to Law, whether she would or not. To this she answered, " That she was not a Subject, and " would rather die a thousand Deaths, than own her self as such, " since by it she would wrong all Majesty, and confess her self bound " to the Laws of *England*, even in Matters of Religion ; but she " was willing to answer as a Sovereign and Absolute Princess ought " to do, and since by the very Tenor of their Letters, which they " had read, it plainly appeared, that they had condemned her be- " fore ever they had heard her ; and that now they were only come " to amuse the World with a sham Procedure of Justice : But she in- " treated them to consult their own Consciences, and to remem- " ber, that the Theatre of the World was of a larger Extent than " that of *England* ; laying aside the dreadful Tribunal of God, be- " fore which they were to answer for all their Actions ". At length, after several Altercations betwixt her and them concerning the Le- gality of their Authority, (which she absolutely declined) they par- ted with her, assuring her, That the next Day they would proceed to pass Sentence against her.

The next Day, being the 14th of October, she sent for some of the Commissioners, and told them, That if her Protestation was ad- mitted, she would come and justify herself; which she could not do otherwise, without prejudicing the Royal Dignity, This being granted to her, they met in the Chamber of Presence, where there was a Chair of State, set under a Canopy, in the upper Part of the Chamber, for the Queen of *England*; and opposite to it, a Chair of Crimson Velvet, for the Queen of *Scotland*: Hard to the Walls, on both Sides, Benches or Forms, on the which, on the one Side, sat the Chancellor of *England*, the Treasurer of *England*; the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, and Viscount *Montague*: On the other Side, the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Surton*, *Sands*, *Wentworth*, *Mordan*, *St. John of Bletso*, *Compton*

AB 1585. and Cheiny : Next to them sat the Knights of the Privy Council ; as James Crofts, Christopher Hatton, Francis Walsingham, Ralph Sadler, Walter Mildmy and Amias Pawlet. Forward before the Earls sat the two Chief Justices and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer : On the other Side, two Barons and other Justices ; Dale and Foord, Doctors of the Civil Law. At a little Table in the Middle, sat Popham, Queen Elizabeth's Attorney, Egerton the Solicitor, Gaudie the Queen's Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two other Clerks. The Queen being come and set in her Chair ; Silence being made, Bromley the Chancellor turning towards her, said,

M A D A M, *The most Illustrious Queen of England being assur'd, not without extream Anguish of Spirit, that you have conspired the Destruction of her, of the Realm of England and of Religion : To quit herself of her Duty, and not to be found wanting to God, herself and her People, hath, without any Malice of Heart, established those Commissioners to hear the Things of which you are accus'd, how you will resolve them and clear your Innocency.* To which she made this Reply.

If the Queen my Sister hath given you a Commission to see Justice done, it is reasonable that you should begin it rather by easing me of my Sufferings, then by the oppressing of my Innocence. I came into England to implore Succour against the Rebellion of my Subjects : My Blood, Alliance, Sex, Neighbourhood, and the Title which I bear of a Queen, did promise me all Satisfaction : and here I have met with my greatest Affliction. This is the Twentieth Year that I have been detain'd Prisoner, without Cause, without Reason, without Mercy ; and which is more, without Hope. I am no Subject of your Mistress's, but a free and absolute Queen ; and ought not to make answer but to God alone, the Sovereign Judge of my Actions, or bring any Prejudice to the Character of Royal Majesty, either in my Son the King of Scotland or his Successors, nor other Sovereign Princes of the Earth. This is the Protestation which I have made, and which I repeate again in your Presence, before I make any Answer to what you have to say against me.

The Chancellor opposed the Admitting of her Protestation ; but the Commissioners voted, that both her Protestation and the Chancellor's Dissent should be recorded. Then Gaudie expounded all the Parts of the Act upon which they were to proceed against her, and gave a long Narrative of Babington's Conspiracy ; concluding, That Queen Mary not only knew of it, but concurred with him in it, as it appeared from her Letter to Babington, and the Confession of her own Secretaries : That she had engaged foreign Princes to invade England, and promised and wrote to Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador, That she would transfer the Right of the Kingdom of Scotland to his Master. To all which she made particular Replies, answering all their Objections and ensnaring Questions ; which are to be seen at length in Mr. Udal and Cambden, (a) taken from the Commentaries of Edward Barker, principal Register to Queen

(a) See Udal's Life of Q. Mary, and Cambden's of Q. Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Wheeler, a publick Notary, Register of the Audience of Canterbury, and other Persons who were present: ^{Anno 1586.}
 The Sum and Substance of which is, That, as for Babington, who was the principal Person in the Charge against her; she never saw him, or received any Letters from him, or sent any Letters to him; besides. She had always such an Aversion against Murdering and Murderers, that the very Mentioning of the Thing was a Terror to her: 'Tis true that Babington might have writ to her what he pleased; but that ever she saw or heard of any Letter from him, was a notorious Untruth: And that if any Letter could be produc'd under her Hand to him, notwithstanding that had been often counterfeited, she dared them to produce it, and this she said, because she was informed that Walsingham had wrote the said Letter in her Name. And as to Babington's own Confession of the Matter of Fact; 'twas no strange Thing to see a Man under the Terrors of a cruel and torturing Death, confess more than he knew to shun them: But as she had said, If they could produce but one Letter under her Hand to him, she should be held as convinced. And as to the Fact it self, of Consenting to the Murdering of her Sister; She told them, That she would not conquer a Kingdom with the Blood of the vilest Person of the Nation, much less with that of her Sister and Kinswoman.

And as to the Confession of her two Secretaries, She acknowledg'd that she did always believe them to be honest Men: And if they had accused her in their Depositions, to have dictated an Answer to Babington's Letter, they had committed two great Faults; the first, in Violating the Oath of Secrecy which they had taken to her at their Admission; and 2dly. in Inventing so detestable a Calumny against her their Sovereign and their Mistress: And all that can be drawn from it, amounts to no more, than that it comes from two perfidious Men. And, O good God! (says she) in what a desperate Condition is the Majesty and Safety of Princes, if they depend upon the Writings and Witneses of their Secretaries, who are subject to all the Frailties that other Men are subject to! And lastly, Why did they not bring her Secretaries before her, to attest it in her Face; which she was confident they durst not do: But (says she) you are noble Lawyers and Judges, to put Babington to death without bringing him before me; to open his Mouth by Torments to tell a Lie, and then to shut it up for ever against the Truth. And if my Secretaries be alive, why do you not (as I have said) bring them before me?

And as to the Invading of England; I acknowledge I did require the Aid and Assistance of foreign Princes, for restoring me to my Liberty; and in this, I think, I did nothing but what Nature does suggest to every one: Who is not desirous of Liberty that are in Thrall? I am no Subject to your Queen; I have been these many Years her Prisoner: The many Offers I have made to her have been rejected; my Sickneses have increased on me, and I have been deny'd Aid and Assistance in them: And is it such a Crime in me as deserves your Consideration, to desire to be set at Liberty? And lastly; As to the Gi-

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ving over her Kingdom to the K. of Spain; *The very Mentioning of it is a sufficient Refutation of it: I had not my own Person at my Disposal, much less my Kingdom; besides, 'tis very well known, that it is not in my Power to transfer my Kingdom, which is an Hereditary Kingdom, and of right belongs to my own Son after my Death.*

And here I must advertise my Reader, That as to this last Article, that I have an attested Copy, under the English Commissar's Hands, of her Letter to *Mendoza*, wherein she promises to transfer the Kingdom to his Master; which they pretended to have found, with many other Letters, when they seized upon her Person and all her Papers: All which attested Copies of these Letters, I had from the Right Honourable the Earl of *Balcarras*, who found them in his Charter-chest, his Grandfather being Secretary to King *Jannes*; and at the Desire of the said Noble Earl, I have lodged them in the Lawyers Library. Now, I leave it to the Reader to judge, if it be any ways probable, that they should find them with her; or if it be more reasonable to believe them than Her, who when they were produc'd, denied them to be any of Her's, and with Her dying Breath affirmed, That she had never done any Thing that was prejudicial either to the Kingdom or her Son.

' Yet, notwithstanding of which, they having all met, says Mr.
 ' (a) *Udal*, saying the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, who were
 ' sick; and after that *Navus* and *Curlus* had affirmed and confir-
 ' med before them, That every and singular of the Letters and Co-
 ' pies of Letters which were produc'd before, to be most true, upon
 ' their Oathes, *viva voce*, voluntarily, without Hope of Reward;
 ' the Sentence against the Queen of *Scotland* was pronounced, and
 ' confirmed with the Seals and Subscriptions of the Commissioners,
 ' and recorded in these Words, *By their Assent, Consent and Ac-
 ' cord, they do pronounce, give and say their Sentence and Judgment,*
 ' *at the Day and Place last rehearsed: That after the End of the a-*
foresaid Session of Parliament specified in the aforesaid Commission,
*' viz. after the aforesaid First Day of June, in the 27th Year afore-
 ' said, and before the Date of the said Commission, divers Things*
' were imagined and compassed within this Realm of England, by An-
' thony Babington, with the Privacie of Mary Queen of Scotland;
' and pretending Title to the Crown of this Realm of England; tend-
' ing to the Hurt, Death and Destruction of the Royal Person of our
' Ladie the Queen: For all which, they decern her worthie of Death.
' Of this Sentence, which depended wholly upon the Credit of
' her Secretaries; neither were they brought Face to Face, accord-
' ing to the First Statute of the 13 Year of Queen Elizabeth, there
' was very much Speech and Difference amongst them; some judg-
' ing them worthy of Credit, and others again, unworthy to be be-
*' lieved. I have seen seen the Apology of *Navus*, written unto K.*
*' *James* in the Year 1605. in the which he doth laboriously excuse*
' himself, in protesting, That he was neither Author nor Perswader,

' nor

The Sentence pass'd
against Her,
and confirm'd
by Act
of Parlia-
ment

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‘ nor first Discoverer of that Plot or Device; neither that he fail’d
 ‘ at all in his Duty, thro’ Negligence or Incircumspection; but ra-
 ‘ ther, that he stoutly did impugn the Heads of the Accusation a-
 ‘ gainst his Lady this Day: Which Thing yet doth not appear by
 ‘ the publick Records.” Thus far Mr. *Vdal.* And *Cambden*, in
 his Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, says, ‘ That it cannot be denied, but
 ‘ that *Walsingham* did break up the Letters which *Giffort* brought
 ‘ him, counterfeiting in them what he thought fit; and that it was
 ‘ the Judgment of the most rational Men, that the Secretaries of the
 ‘ Queen of Scotland, were seduced and corrupted with Money;
 ‘ and it’s certain, That they demanded a Recompense of *Walsing-
 hame*; who told them, That they ought to content themselves
 ‘ with their Lives; and added, That in condemning their Mistris;
 ‘ without producing Witnesses, they had not proceeded according
 ‘ to the Rules of Justice. Not long after this; a Parliament was
 ‘ held at *Westminster*, who approved of, and confirmed the Sen-
 ‘ tence past against the Scots Queen; howsoever it was suspended
 ‘ for three Months, during which Time her Son King *James VI.*
 ‘ laboured earnestly for her Relief, as we shall show in the Life of
 ‘ that Prince”.

Our Illustrious Queen being informed of the Parliament’s confirming their Sentence, wrote the following Letter to Q. *Elizabeth*.

MADAM,
 I give Thanks to God with all my Heart, who by the Sentence of Death, hath been pleased to put an End to the tedious Pilgrimage of my Life, I desire not that it may be prolonged, having had too long a Time to try the Bitterness of it. I only beseech your Majesty, since I am to expect no Favour from some zealous Ministers of State, who hold the first Place in your Councils, I may receive from you only, and from no other, these following Favours. In the first Place, I desire, That since it is allow’d me, to hope for a Burial in *England*, that I may be decently interred, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Catholick Church, of which I am a Member, and in which Faith, all your Predecessors and mine liv’d and died; and when my Enemies are satisfied with the shedding of my Blood, That my Servants may be allowed, to carry my Bones into *France*, to be there interred, with the Bones of the Queen my most Honour’d Mother. Secondly, I beseech your Majesty, in the Apprehension which I have of the Tyranny of those to whose Power you abandon me, That I may not suffer in any private Place, but in the View of my Servants and other People; who may give a Testimony of my Faith, and of my Obedience to the true Church, and defend this Period of my Life, against the false Reports which my Adversaries may contrive against me. In the third Place, I require, That my Servants who have attended on me, with great Fidelity, during so many Afflictions; may have free Leave to retire where they please; and enjoy those small Legacies, which in my last

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Will, my Poverty hath bequeathed to them. I conjure you, Madam, by the Blood of Jesus Christ, by the Nearness of our Consanguinity, by the Memory of *Henry* the 7th our common Father, and by the Title of a Queen, which I carry to my Grave, not to deny me these reasonable Demands, but by one Word under your Hand, to grant me an Assurance of them, and I shall die as I lived,

Your most affectionate Sister,

MARY R.

At length Queen *Elizabeth* gave Orders to put her Prisoner, our Illustrious Queen, to Death; and how she behaved at that Time, I shall give the Reader a particular Account of, from a Relation wrote by an Eye Witness, by Secretary *Cecil's* Command, and from a printed Relation of another Eye Witness, printed at *Antwerp* the Year after.

It being certified to her on the 6th of *February* 1587, by the Earls of *Kent* and *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Amias Powlet*, and Sir *Drw Drury*, That she was to prepare her self to die on the 8th of *February*; she seemed noways concerned, but received the Message with a Smile, and said, *That Death was welcome to her, since her Majesty would have it so; and (a) that Soul is unworthie of the Fruition of the Joys of Heaven for ever, whose Bodie in this World, would not be content, to endure the Stroke of the Executioner for a Moment.* Then she desired, That she might have the Liberty to confer with her Confessor, about the State of her Soul, and with *Melvin* her Steward, concerning her Testament. And required, That she might have some longer Time allowed her to put her Affairs in order: But the Earl of *Shrewsbury* replied, No, No, Madam you must die, you must die, and we cannot grant longer Delay, nor your Confessor; but we shall send you the Dean of *Peterburrough*: But she would not hear of him, and so they left her. When they were gone, she commanded them to make Haste with her Supper, and she supped sparingly; but after the same Manner that she usually did. In Time of Supper, perceiving her Servants all in Tears, with an undaunted Mind, she exhorted them to be cheerful, and rather to rejoice than mourn, for she was now to be freed from all her Sorrows and Troubles. Then calling for a Glaſs of Wine, she drank to them all, and made each of them pledge her; which they did upon their Knees, mingling their Tears with their Wine, and begging Pardon for the Neglect of their Duty. After Supper she read over her Testament, and the Inventory of her Goods and Moveables, and wrote on them, the Names of those to whom she appointed them; and the Gold and Silver that she had, she put in different Purses, according to the Number of her Servants, and according to their Merits and Qualities, and distributed it amongst them.

Her Behaviour
at her
Death.

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them. Then she called for Pen Ink and Paper, and wrote to her Son, the King of France, the *Guises*, and a Letter to her Confessor, to pray to God for her. After this she went to Bed, and slept soundly for some Hours, and the rest of the Night she speht in Prayer. The fatal Day being come, betwixt 8 and 9 in the Morning she was advertised, by *Thomas Andrews* Sheriff of the Shire, whilst she was at her Prayers, that the Hour was come: Upon which she immediately arose and went alongst with him. *R. W.* the Author of the Narration wrote by Secretary *Cecil's* Command, which is amongst Mr. *Crawford's* Collections in the Lawyers Library, gives us this Account of Her: 'She appeared (*says he*) on the Day appointed; being tall of Body, corpulent, round-shoulder'd; her Face fat and broad, double-chin'd and hazle-eyed, her borrowed Hair brown. Her Attire was; She had on her Head a Dressing of Lawn, edged with Bonlace; a Pomander Chain and an *Agnus Dei* about her Neck; a Crucifix in her Hand, and a Pair of Beads at her Girdle, with a golden Cross at the End of them; a Veil of Lawn fastned to her Caul; bowed out with Wire, and edged round about with Bonlace; her Gown was of Black Sattin printed, with a Train, and long Sleeves to the Ground, sett wirth Accorn Buttons of Jett, trimm'd with Pearl, and short Sleeves of black cut Sattin, with a Pair of Sleeves of Purple-velvet whole; under them her Kirtle, whole of figured black Sattin; her Petticoat Up-
per-body usilaced in the Back, of Crimson Sattin, and her Petticoat Skirts of Crimson Velvet; her Shoes of Spanish Leather, with the rough Side outwards; a Pair of green Silk Garters; her nether Stockings Worsted coloured, watch'd and clack'd with Silver, and edged on the Top with Silver; and next her Leg, a Pair of Jersey Hose white. Thus attired she went chearfully to the Place of Execution, being gently supported by two of Sir *Amias Powlet's* chief Gentlemen; Mr. *Andrews* the High Sheriff going before her. She was met at the Great Hall by the two Earls and all the rest.

At the Entry to the Hall, she found her Servant *Melvil* kneeling, who, all in Tears, addressed her thus; *Ah Madam! Unhappy me, what Man on Earth was ever before the Messenger of such important Sorrow and Heaviness as I shall be, when I report that my good and gracious Queen and Mistiss is beheaded in Englan!* And thier he stopt, not being able to say more for Weeping. Then she said to him, *My good Servant, cease to lament; for thou hast Cause rather to rejoice than mourn, for now thou shalt see M^r *Stuart's* Troubles receive their long expected End; For know, my good Servant, that all the World is but Vanity, and Subject still to more Sorrow than an Ocean of Tears can bewail! But I pray thee, carry this Message frōm me, That I do die a true Woman to my Religion, and like a Woman of Scotland and France. But God forgive them that have long desired my Life and thirsted for my Blood, as the Hart doth for the Water-brooks:* O God! thou who art the

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Author of Truth and Truth itself, knows the inward Chamber of my Thoughts, how that I was ever willing that *Scotland* and *England* should be united together. Well! commend me to my Son, and tell him, That I have done nothing prejudicial to the State and Kingdom of *Scotland*. Good *Melvil!* farewell; and then she gave him her Hand to kiss, and was observ'd to drop some Tears (which was thought to proceed from the Mentioning of her Son.) Then she said again, Good *Melvil*, farewell, and pray for thy Mistris and Queen. Then turning to the Lords, she told them, that she had some few Things to ask of them; One was for a Sum of Money, which, she said, Sir *Amias Powlet* knew she owed to one *Curl* her Servant: Next, That her poor Servants might have, and enjoy with Quietness, what she had given them by her Will and Testament; That they might be favourably treated, and sent safely to their respective Countries: And lastly, That her poor Servants might be permitted to be present at her Death; that their Eyes might behold and their Hearts be Witnesses, how patiently their Queen and Mistris should endure her Execution, that thereby they might be able to make a Relation, when they came to their own Countries, how she died a true constant Catholick to her Religion. The Earl of *Kent* told her, That if that were granted, either by their Speeches or Practice, they might do Things that were not fitting for them to allow, if it were no more than the superstitious Trumpetry of dipping their Handerchiefs in her Blood. To which she replied, My Lord, I will give my Word (altho' it be but dead) that they shall not deserve any Blame in any of the Actions you have named; but alas! poor Souls, it would do them good to bid their Mistris Farewell: And I hope your Mistris, being a Maiden-Queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of Womanhood, that I should have some of my own People about me at my Death: And I know her Majesty hath not given you any such strict Command, but that you might grant me a Request of a far greater Courtesy than this, tho' I were a Woman of a far meaner Station than the Queen of *Scotland* is: And perceiving that she was not like to obtain it, she burst forth in Tears, saying, *I am Cousin to your Queen, and descended from your Blood Royal Henry VII. and a married Queen of France, and an anointed, Queen of Scotland:* Then the Lords, after several Consultations granted her Request, and desired her to choose a few of her own Servants: And she made choice of *Melvil*, her Physician and her Apothecary, her Surgeon and another old Man; and of her Women, two that us'd still to lie in the Room with her. Then, supported by Sir *Amias Powlet's* two Servants, and *Melvil* carrying up her Train, she went into the Great Hall with an unparalleled Courage and Serenity of Countenance; the Sheriff, Lords, Knights and Gentlemen going before her. She went up to the Scaffold, which was two Foot high, and twelve Foot broad, with Rails round about, hung and covered with Black, with a low Chair and a Cushion; the Block was likewise covered with Black: Then she having the Chair brought

brought to her, she sat down, and on her Right-hand stood the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, and on her Left Mr. Andrews the Sheriff, and opposite to her the two Executioners, and round the Rails a great many Knights, Gentlemen and others : Silence being made, Queen Elizabeth's Commission for the Execution, was read by Mr. Beal Clerk of the Council ; and after it was done, all the People with a loud Voice cried; *God save the Queen.* During the reading of the Commission, she was very silent, listening to it with so careles a Regard, and such a cheerful Countenance, as if it had been a Remission to her.

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Then Doctor Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, standing directly before her, without the Rails, bending his Body with great Reverence, gave her a long Exhortation ; which she interrupted threc Tines, by telling him, *Mr. Dean, do not Trouble your self or me, for know, that I am settled in the ancient Catholick & Roman Religion; in Defence whereof, by God's Grace, I mind to spend my Blood.* And notwithstanding of the earnest Sollicitations of the Dean; backed with that of the two Earls, she would not join in Prayer with them, but pray'd aloud in Latin all the Time ; and when the Dean was done, she kneel'd and pray'd in English, for Christ's afflicted Church, for Queen Elizabeth and her Son : Then holding up the Crucifix which she had in her Hand, she said, *That she hoped to be saved in, and by the Blood of Jesus Christ, at the Foot of whose Crucifix she would shed her Blood.* After Prayer she kissed the Crucifix, and signing her self with the Cross, she said, *Even as thy Arms. Jesus Christ was Sprad here upon the Cross, so receive me, I beseech thee, in the Arms of thy Mercy, and forgivē me all my Sins.* Then forgiving the Executioners, and all her Enemisies, she hastned her Maids to take of her upper Garments, and finding that they could not refrain from weeping most bitterly, and crying aloud, she gently reproved them, saying, *She had past her Word for them.* And then signing them with the Cross, she embrased them, kiss'd them, and with a Smile, bid them *Farewell.* Her Face being covēred with a Linnen Cloath, she laid her Head down upon the Block, she repeated aloud the 31st Psalm, *In the O Lord I put my Trust;* and stretching out her Arms, after she had repeated the whole Psalm, repeating again the 5th Verse, *Unto thine Hands O Lord I commit my Spirit, thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of Truth;* Which was the Sign that she appointed for the Executioner, who gave her three Strokes with the Ax, beforē he separated her Head from her Body. Then taking up the Head, he showed it openly all full of Blood, and mangled with the Strokes he had given it, yet still carrying those attractive Charms of Beauty and Majesty, that were so conspicuous in her ; and with a loud Voice he said, *Long Live Queen Elizabeth, and so let the Enemies of the Gospel perish;* Which Words were repeated, by the Dean and the two Earls ; for all the rest of the Spectators were dissolved in Tears, for amongst them all, there were not above four able to contain themselves from weeping most bitterly ; yet amidst

~~Ex 187.~~ their Tears, she showed such a Serenity and Firmness of Soul, that is hard to be imitated, telling the Spectators with a Smile, when her Maids were undressing her for her Execution, *That it was a new Spectacle, to behold a Queen brought to die upon a Scaffold; and that she used not to be undrest before so great a Company, and to have two Hang-men to attend her for her Grooms of the Bed-chamber :* But (says she) *We must submit to what Heaven is pleased to have done, and obey the Decrees of the Divine Providence.* There was one remarkable Thing which happened at her Execution, and which ought not to be omitted, and that is the strange and surprising instinct of a little Dog that she had, whom they could never separate from her, without doing Violence to her Majesty, sheltering himself always beneath her Royal Robes, and when the Blood began to flow about him, he lapt some of it, and would never afterwards be induced to taste Meat or Drink, but died for Grief.

Thus died *Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland*, the only Daughter of *James V. King of Scotland*, and *Mary de Lorain*, Grand-child to the thrice virtuous *Antonietta of Bourbon* (a Queen says *Cauſſin*) who in my Judgment, hath equalled the Excess of her Disasters, with the Height of her Glory ; and it seems her whole Life was no other, but a Theatre hung round with Blacks, and covered with Blood, where the Revolution of humane Affairs, did act unheard of Tragedies. Never did Nature produce more Beauties, nor Grace more Wonders in a Person of that high Condition. Never did Fortune deal more rigorously with a Head, which Heaven had made to support three great Crowns. In her Infancy she was as the Bud of a Rose, her hidden Graces not being disclosed ; but as she began to lay them more open by the Increase of Age, we might then behold a Princess descended from the Blood of a hundred Kings ; who had a Body formed and fashioned by the Hand of Beauty, a fine and clear Spirit, a deep and a sound Judgment, a high Virtue, and incomparable Grace in all her Expressions ; and in one Word, it seemed, that Felicity it self, had with full Hands, poured down her Favours upon her, till this glorious Flower was blasted ; but as long as Truth or Virtue, or Men shall continue upon the Earth, that Wound shall Bleed, as long as there shall be Eyes or Tears in this Vale of Misery, there shall be Tears distilled on those Royal Ashes ; and the Piety of the living, shall never cease with full Hands, to strew Lilies and Violets and Roses on her Tomb. *Mary* whom Heaven absolveth, doth now commence an eternal Process against *Elizabeth*, she shall be brought before as many Tribunals, as there are reasonable Spirits, and shall daily be condemned, without ending of her Misery ; because she put no end to her Injustice, it seemeth that God did expressly give her a long Life, as to *Cain*, to *Herod*, to *Tiberius* and other Tyrants, to fill up the Measure of her Iniquity, to possess a bloody Sceptre amongst Jealousies, Afrights and Defiances, and to

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' to see her Hell alive: When at last, stooping to the Impotency of Age, and slighted by her own Creatures, she would often complain, ' That all the World did abandon her; and that she had not one left in whom she might repose her Confidence. And, Great God! how just and mysterious art thou in all thy Ways, who made the Offspring of *Mary* succeed and possess not only her own, but her Enemy's Throne.'

Sir *Thomas Craig* (a) who knew well our Illustrious Queen, being one of her Privy Counsellors, speaking of her, says, ' I have often heard the most Serene Princess *Mary Queen of Scotland*, discourse so appositely and rationally, in all Affairs which were brought before the Privy Council, that she was admir'd by all; and when most of the Counsellors were silent, being astonished, they straight declared themselves to be of her Opinion; she rebuked them sharply, and exhorted them to speak freely; as becomes unprejudiced Counsellors, against her Opinion, that the best Reasons only might over-rule their Determinations: And truly, her Reasonings were so strong and clear, that she could turn their Hearts to what Side she pleas'd. She had not studied Law; and yet, by the natural Light of her Judgment, when she reasoned of Matters of Equity and Justice, she oft-times had the Advantage of the ablest Lawyers. Her other Discourses and Actions were suitable to her great Judgment: No Word ever dropt from her Mouth that was not exactly weighed and pondered. As for her Liberality and other Virtues, they were well known.'

But at this Time no more shall be said of her: And indeed I need say no more of her either; for should I collect all the Elogiums that have been made upon her, I would nauseate my Reader with her Praises: Only I shall add, That the Reason why I have put her among the Illustrious Writers of our Nation, is, because of her many excellent and Divine Poems and Letters, wrote in *French*, *Latin*, *Italiens* and *English*: In all which Languages she was perfectly well versed. And the Beauties of her Mind were more bright and glorious than those of her Body, which was a Master-piece of Nature. Many *Latin* Epitaphs were made upon her; and great Numbers of Poems; but I shall only take notice of Six of them, that have the Approbation of being Master-pieces in their Kind: The First is what was fixed upon her Grave, but immediately taken away when discovered.

MARIA Scotorum Regina, Regis Filia;
Regis Gallorum Vidua; Regina Anglia
Agnata & Hares proxima; virtutibus
Regiis & animo Regio ornata:
Jure regio frustra saepius implorato, barbara
& tyrannica crudelitate, Ornamentum nostri
Seculi, & Lumen vere Regium extinguitur:
Eodemque nefario judicio, & Maria Scotorum Regina,

V v v v

Mor-

An 1587.

*Morte naturali, & omnes superstites Reges
Plebeii facti, morte civili multantur.
Novum & inauditum Tumuli genus, in quo
Cum vivis mortui includuntur, hic extat :
Cum sacris enim Divi Mariae cineribus, omnium
Regum atque Principum violatam atque prostratam
Majestatem hic jacere scito : & quia tacitum Regale
Satis superque Reges sui officii monet,
Plura non addo, Viator.*

That is to say,

MARY Queen of Scotland, Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of France, Kinswoman and next Heir to the Queen of England; adorned with Royal Virtues and a Princely Spirit; Having often, but in vain, implored to have the Right due to a Prince done unto her, the Ornament of our Age and Mirror of Princes, by a barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty, is cut off; and by one and the same infamous Judgment, both Mary Queen of Scotland is punished with a natural Death, and all Kings living, as well as other Men, made liable to a Civil Death. A strange and unheard of Grave is here, in which the Living are included with the Dead; for with the Ashes of this blessed Mary, know thou, that the Majesty of all Kings and Princes are depressed and violated: And because the Regal Secret doth sufficiently admonish all Kings of their Duty, Traveller, I will say no more.

Great Search was made for the Author of this Epitaph, but he could not be discovered; but it was afterwards found to be composed by the Famous *Adam Blackwood*: Who composed the two following Epitaphs likewise upon her.

HIC jacet Maria Scotorum Regina, Regis Filia, Uxor & Mater, Francisci II. Galliarum Regis Vidua: vixit annos xliv. ac menses prope duos. Nata est enim Idib. Decem. 1542. Reducta in Galliam mense Augusto 1548. Rediit in Scotiam eodem mense 1571. In Angliam descendit, auxilii spe & opinione a cognata promissi, 16 Calend. Junii 1568. Ibidem contra jus gentium, contra promissi fidem, annos undeviginti retenta, hospitis execrabilis iussu neci tradita, sanguinis liberaliter effusi testimonio, Dei cultum, & Ecclesiae Romane fidem professa, coronam meruit in Cælis, illis tribus illustriorem quarum usum violenter amisit in terris. Mane sub horam decimam, 12 Calend. Mart. 1587. Supputatione Gregoriana, qua nunc utuntur Christiani. Ex nobilissimis & antiquissimis Stuarta & Lotherenæ familiis orta: Latine, Gallice, Scotice, Anglice, Hispanice, Italice docta: inter omnes sua etatis Reginas admirabili & incomparabili corporis pulchritudine prædita. Denique, quondam Galliarum & Scotia florentissima Re-

Regina, nunc vero spectaculum rerum humanarum facta. Vale, & a lachrimis, si quis humanitatis sensus in te est, Viator (si potes) tempora.

Anno 1581.

That is to say,

Here lies *Mary Queen of Scotland*, the Daughter, Wife and Mother of a King, Widow to *Francis II. King of France*. She lived 44 Years, and nigh two Months. She was born upon the Ides of December 1542. and carried over to *France* in the Month of *August* 1548. She returned to *Scotland* in the same Month 1561. She fled into *England*, upon Hopes promised of Assistance against her Enemies, given to her by her Kinswoman, on the 16th of the Calends of *June* 1568. Where, contrary to the Law of Nations and the Faith given to her, she was kept Prisoner for 19 Years; and at length, by the execrable Command of her Host, was executed by the Hand of the Hangman: Having deserved, by the plentiful Effusion of her Blood, her Zeal for the Worship of God, and Faith of the *Romish* Church, a more glorious Crown in Heaven, than the Three that she was violently hindred from possessing upon Earth. She suffer'd about Ten of the Clock in the Morning; upon the 12 of the Calends of *March* 1587. according to the *Gregorian Calculation*, now used by the Christians. She was sprung from the noble and ancient Families of *Stuart* and *Lorain*. She was learned in the *Latin, French, Scots, English, Spanish and Italian Languages*: In the admirable and incomparable Beauty of her Body, she excelled all the Queens of her Age. This most beautiful Queen, who was the Glory and Pride of *France* and *Scotland*, is now become the Object of human Frailty. Farewell Traveller: And if you have any Sense of Humanity or Compassion in you, endeavour (if it be possible) to moderate your Tears.

The Other is,

VIATOR quisquis, hic te vult Lapis consistere;
Cavesis pergas, donec querelas hasce pellebis.
MARIA STUARTA, vita interior,
Occido prate statem & ordinem.
Vah! maniis oppleta mortalitas,
Vitaque fluxore aranciarum operis.
Quid iuvat me duplice potitam Sceptro,
Si lustra prope quatuor inter custodias,
Pavens intus & formidans,
Torris, exheres facta vita mea; rapior ad carnificem?
Apice sacram parenticidam,
Qua nemo faeminarum magis immisercors cluet:
Egone viator, te celiem istius intemperias,
Qua malevolente natu genio pium sorbet sanguinem;

VVVVZ

Qua

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*Quæve antiquum obtinens hoc suum,
Maritumis mecum experitur moribus?
Nempe ausa es, Elizabetha, scelerum caput,
Quam tu post-fecisti nequam nequiter,
Indignis Reginam exemplis perdere;
Adversumque Regum preces, jura, leges,
Bonoisque ritus, Principum ire precibus, ut dannes
Æqualem tui?
Heu fides Britannorum punica pænior,
Insularis & sublesta!
Enimvero cum in Terris tranquillus mihi locus non sit,
motis in pietatem meam Religionemque machinis,
mandor letho, adponique jubeor ad gladii violentiam.
Ut non tamen despundi ipsa animum,
neque mens absuit; ex quo sceleris interpres ad me,
usurpantque aures summa verba carnificis:
Vocato Sacerdote, nequicquam Christum feliciter spirans,
Christo fælicius inspirante, coram populo misi
Regium caput in gladium.
Exim mutilum cadaver in humum vertitur;
solutisque tandem Anima vinculis,
ad Cælum remeat.
Ne lugete, Errice Philipeque Reges.
Neve tu Jacobe, Fili, quum fatisoccupor
ante fata, quando morte melius.
Nil accidit in malis rebus miseris,
neque adeo, quia sapitis, sævite vehementius:
in tenue paucorum mensum imperium,
suo statim iniquitatis pondere ruiturum.
Valete, Abite.*

The Fourth is said (by Dempster) to have been composed by his Kinsman John Dempster, Keeper of St. Mark's Library at Venice: But in Johnston's Inscriptions, 'tis ascribed to Mr. Andrew Melvil.

*Regibus orta, auxi Reges, Reginaque vixi;
Ter nupta, & tribus orba viris, tria Regna reliqui:
Gallus, opes; Scotus, cunas; habet Angla sepulchrum.*

The Fifth is by Dr. Robert Boyd prefixed to Queen Mary's Life, writ in Italian Verse by the Prior Bassiano Gatto, Monacho di S. Girolomo, printed at Bologna 1633. in 4to.

*Scotia dat cunas, censem dat Hibernia, Sponsum
Gallia dat Maria; terra dat Anglicæ necem:
Dibuerant hæc Sceptra uni parere Maria
Quatuor; at Cælis omnia postposuit:
Postposuisse parem est, nisi despicit omnia: Jam quo
Despicit illa magis, hoc magis illa sovet.*

The Last is upon her Tomb at *Westminster*: But before I give the Reader an Account of this, I shall give an Account of her Funerals.

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After the Execution, the Body was taken and embalmed, and laid in one of the Chambers of the Castle, till they should know Q. Elizabeth's Will as to the Interrement, and after what Manner it should be. When the News was brought to her, she seem'd to be quite confounded: But this Crocodile of Iniquity, to palliate her Dissimulation the more, wept most bitterly, put on Mournings, and laid the whole Blame upon Secretary *Davison*, for having put the Sentence in Execution without her Knowledge, and against her Will; but from his Apology, which we have already given an Account of, it appears how that Affair was transacted: However, to amuse the World for the deep Concern that she had for the Death of her dear Sister the Queen of *Scotland*, she ordered her Corps to be interred after the following Manner (a).

Upon *Tuesday*, the 1st of *August* 1587. the Corps was order'd to be interred in the Cathedral Church of *Peterburrow*; and there were sent from the Court to the Solemnyt the Queen's Household-officers; to make Provision for the Diet, Mr. *Borell* and Mr. *Cox*; for the Funeral-offices, Mr. *Fortescue* Master of the great Wardrobe: The Heralds came down three or four Days before, and appointed, together with the Bishop and Dean, the Place for the Interrement of the Body, which was over against the Burial-place of Queen *Catherine*: On the Right-side of the Quire, near to the Tomb of *John* last Abbot and first Bishop of that Chutch; there was a rich Hersc erected above the first Step of the Quire, near to the Place of the Burial; and the whole Quire and Church was hung with Black. Upon *Sunday* at Night, the Thirtieth of *July*, the Body was brought by Torch-lights from the Castle of *Fothrengay*, by *Garter* King at Arms and other Heralds, with a Guard of Horse, in a Chariot made of purpose, covered with black Velvet, and adorned with her Ensigns: They came to the Porch of the Church betwixt One and Two of the Clock in the Morning; where it was received by the Bishop and Dean, the Master of the Wardrobe, *Clarencieux* King at Arms, and many of Her Majesty's Servants and other Persons. Next to the Body were Six of Her own domestic Servants; amongst whom was Mr. *Melvin*, her Physician, Chirurgeon and Apothecary: The Body, with the Closures, weighed 900 Weight; which being attened and carried orderly by the said Peisoris, was committed to the Ground in the Vault appointed; and immediately the Vault was covered, having a small Hole left open for the Staves to be broke into. There was not at that Time any Offices of the Church done, it being agreed that it should be done upon the Day of the Solemnyt. Upon *Monday* in the Afternoon, came to *Peterburrow* all the Persons appointed for the Solemnyt: And at the Bishop's Palace was prepared a great Supper for them; and all of them supp'd at

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one

 one Table. The Great Chamber, where the Entertainment was, was hung with Black, and a Seat set on the Right-side of the Table of Purple-velvet.

Upon *Tuesday* Morning, the Chief Mourner, Lords and Ladies, and other Assistants being ready, about Ten of the Clock they marched from the Hall of the Bishop's Palace, as followeth:

In the First Place, The Countess of *Bedford*, Chief Mourner.

2. The Earl of <i>Rutland</i> .	22. Sir <i>Edward Montague</i> .
3. The Earl of <i>Lincoln</i> .	23. Sir <i>George Hastings</i> .
4. The Bp. of <i>Peterburrow</i> .	24. Sir <i>Richard Knightly</i> .
5. The Bp. of <i>Lincoln</i> .	25. Sir <i>Andrew Mowet</i> .
6. The Lord <i>Dudley</i> .	26. Sir <i>George Savil</i> .
7. The Lord <i>Chamberlain</i> .	27. Sir <i>James Harrington</i> .
8. The Lord St. <i>John</i> .	28. M. <i>Jo. Mannors</i> as a Knight.
9. The Lord <i>Steward</i> .	29. The Lady <i>Cecil</i> .
10. Lord <i>Willoughby of Parham</i> .	30. The Lady <i>Montague</i> .
11. The Lord <i>Compton</i> .	31. The Lady <i>Mannors</i> .
12. The Dean of <i>Peterburrow</i> .	32. The Lady <i>Mowet</i> .
13. The Lord <i>Mordaunt</i> .	33. Ms. <i>Alingtonian</i> , a Knight's Lady.
14. The Lady <i>Mordaunt</i> .	34. Eight <i>Scots</i> Gentlewomen, Eighteen <i>Scots</i> Gentlemen, and divers Esq; and other Gentlemen; Two Kings at Arms, 5 Heraldts at Arms, and 100 poor Women.
15. The Lady <i>Talbot</i> .	
16. The Lady <i>Dudley</i> .	
17. The Lady St. <i>John of Basng</i> .	
18. The Lady St. <i>John of Belso</i> .	
19. The Lady <i>Mary Savil</i> .	
20. Sir <i>Thomas Cecil</i> .	
21. Sir <i>Thomas Mannors</i> .	

The Solemnity being settled, the Prebends and Quire sung an Anthem, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* preached upon the *xxxix Psalm*.

After Her Son King *James VI*. his Accession to the Throne of *England*, he caused her Corps to be transported from *Peterburrow* to *London*; where she was buried again with great Pomp and Splendor, in the Abbey of *Westminster*, in *Henry VII*. his Chapel, under a most stately Monument, which he caused to be erected to Her Memory; having Her Image, of the finest Marble, in full Proportion, in Her Royal Robes, upon a most noble Pedestal of curious Workmanship, under a most beautiful Canopy, supported by eight Columns of black and white Marble; viz. four at the West, and as many at the East End of the *Corinthian* Order; the Pedestals and Capitals gilt, and the Fries adorned with several Coats of Arms; And on the Body of the Tomb are the following Inscriptions.

D. O. M.

Bona Memoria.

*MARIAE STUARTÆ Scotorum Regina, Francia Do-
tarie, Jacobi V. Scotorum Regis Filia & Hæredis unica; Henrici
VII. Anglia Regis, ex Margareta, majori natu Filia, (Jacobi IV.
Regis Scotorum matrimonio copulata) Proneptis Edwardi IV. Anglia
Regis, ex Elizabetha, Filiarum natu maxima Abneptis; Francisci
II. Gallorum Regis Conjugis: Corona Anglia, dum vixit, certa & E.
indubitate Heredis; & Jacobi Magna Britannia Monarchæ Matris;
Stirpe vere Regia & antiquissima prognata erat, maximis totius Eu-
ropa Principibus agnatione & cognatione conjuncta; & exquisitissimis
animi & corporis dotibus & ornamentis cumulatissima. Verum, ut
sunt varia rerum humanarum vices, postquam annos plus minus vi-
ginti in custodia detenta, fortiter & strenue (sed frustra) cum male-
volorum obrectationibus, timidorum suspicionibus, & inimicorum ca-
pitalium insidiis conflicta esset; tandem, inaudito & infesto Regibus
exemplo, securi percutitur: & contempto mundo, devicta morte, laf-
sato carnifice; Christo Servatori anima salutem, Jacobo filio spem
Regni & posteritatis, & universis infaustæ cadis spectatoribus exem-
plum patientia commendans; pie, intrepide cervicem Regiam secura
maledicta subjecit; & vita caduca sortem, cum Cœlestis Regni per-
nitiate commutavit, Ult. Idus Febr. Ann. Christi 1587. Etat. 46.*

*Si generis splendor, par & si gratia forma
Probri nescia mens, inviolata fides.
Pectoris invicti robur, sapientia, candor,
Nixaque solantis spes pietate Dei:
Si morum probitas, duri patientia frani,
Majestas, bonitas, pura benigna manus.
Pallida fortuna possint vitare tonantis
Fulminaque montes, templaque sancta petunt.
Non prematur a fatorum sorte perisset,
Nec fieret mœstis tristis imago genis.*

*Jure Scotos, thalamo Francos, spe possidet Anglos,
Triplex sic triplex jure corona beat,
Felix, heu nimium felix, si turbine pulso
Vietnam sero conciliaasset opem.
Sed cadit, ut terram teneat, nunc morte triumphat,
Fructibus ut sua stirps, pulluleat inde novis.
Vieta nequit vincere, nec carcere clausa tenteri,
Non occisa mori, sed neque capta capi.
Sic vitis succisa gemit fœcundior avis,
Sculptaque purpureo gemma decore micat.*

An. 1587.

*Obruta frugifero sensim sic cespite surgunt,
Semina per multos qua latuere Dies.
Sanguine sancivit fœdus cum plebe Jehova;
Sanguine placabant numina sancta patres
Sanguine conspersi quos praeterit ira penates;
Sanguine signata est, qua modo condit humus.
Parce Deus, satis est, infandum! siste dolores
Inter funestos pervolet illa Dies.
Sit Reges mactare nefas, ut sanguine posthac
Purpureo nunquam terra Britanna fluat.*

*Si meliore sui post mortem parte triumphet,
Carnifices fileant, tortima, claustra, crucis:
Quem dederant cursum Superi Regina peregit,
Tempora lata Deus, tempora dura dedit.
Edidit eximum, fato properante, Jacobum,
Quem Pallas, Musæ, Delia Fata colunt.
Magna Viro, major Natu, sed maxima Partu:
Conditur hic Regum Filia, Sponsa, Parens.
Det Deus! ut Nati, & qui nascentur ab illis,
Æternos videant hinc sine nube dies.*

H. N. Gemens.

1 Pet. ii. 21.

Christus pro nobis passus est, relinquens exemplum ut sequamur vestigia ejus.

1 Pet. ii. 23.

Qui cum malediceretur, non maledicebat; cum pateretur, non comminabatur: tradebat autem judicanti juste.

The Catalogue of her works.

- I. Several Letters upon Affairs of State, and in Vindication of Her self, either published at Length or in Substance, by the Writers of the History of Her Life, or preserved in Libraries.
- II. A great many of her Original Letters are to be seen in the Cotton Library, *Julius F. 5. Vide etiam Cat. Ms. Oxon.* Tome I. Par. 3. Num. 1090. Tome II. Par. 1. Num. 3767, 8680, 8802. *Bibl. Cot. Tit. A. XIII. 23. Cat. Ms. Oxon.* Tome I. Par. I. Num. 3515, 5003. Tome II. Par. I. Num. 3828, 5383, 3492, &c.
- III. Several Poems in Latin, French and Italians: There is one of those Poems among *A. Blackwood's Poems*; but where the Originals of these Poems (for which she was so much commended) are now lodged, we know not.

THE

T H E

L I F E of *THOMAS WINTER-HOPE*, Doctor of Divinity and Rector
of the *Scots College at Paris*.

THOMAS Winterhope, or *Wintropē*, was born at *Gallowheels* in the Diocese of *Glasgow*, and was taught his Grammar at *Glasgow*; after which he went over to the University of *Paris*, about the Year 1552. and was made Master of Arts in that

University in the Year 1554. In the Year 1556. he obtained, from *Patrick Hepburn Bishop of Murray*, the Presentation to one of the Burses of the *Scots College of Grisij*, and had a long Contest for it with one Mr. *Robert Straloch*.

He was afterwards settled Procurator to that Foundation, and was at great Pains and Expence, for many Years, in recovering the Rights, and settling that Foundation on a better Foot than it had been formerly. He was chosen 15 Times Procurator of the Stranger Nation, called then in the University, *The Scots and German Nation*; which is one of those Four that compose the Faculty of Arts in that University: And the whole University was so sensible of his excellent Parts and Abilities, that they made choice of him for their General Procurator; and he was deputed by them, in the Year 1570. to *Charles IX. King of France*, for recovering their Rights, and maintaining their Privileges against Taxes and Burdens, which they were threatned with at that Time: And he acquit himself so well in this important Negociation, that he obtained their Desire; and he had the Thanks of the University returned to him by several Patents, still extant in the *Scots College at Paris*: And in one of them he is designed, *Restaurator Collegij Scotorum de Grisij, Parisijs*, The Restorer of the *Scots College at Paris*.

But that for which our Author can never be too much commended, is his Zeal for the propagating of Learning; of which he has left several Instances behind him: The First of which was a long Petition, which he presented to Queen Mary in the Year 1566. in which, having represented to Her Majesty the Necessity of encouraging of learned Men in her Dominions, from the Honour and Advanrage that would redound to Her Majesty and her Dominions, by relieving the great Numbers of indigent *Scotsmen*, of excellent Capacities and Learning, who came over in great Numbers to the University of *Paris*; and who, upon a sufficient Encouragement from Her Majesty's Royal Bounty, could not fail to make the Kingdom powerful and rich, and render her Memory glorious to Posteriority. All which he urges, in a most pathetick Stile, in *French* and

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La-

An. 1592.
His Birth,
Parentage &
Education.

He is made
Procurator
to the *Scots*
College.

And to the
University.

He is sent to
Quality of
their Depute
to *Charles IX*
K. of France

An Account
of his Work

An. 1590. Latin: And then he concludes with a Supplication to Her, to add to the ancient Establishment of the Bishop of *Murray*, particularly intended for that Diocels, the Foundation of a General College in the University of *Paris* for all *Scotsmen*, of whatever Diocess they be. And 'tis no ways to be doubted but that this excellent Princess would have granted our Author's Petition, had she not fallen into her Misfortunes, she being learned herself, and a great Encourager of it in others; for notwithstanding of all her Troubles, and during the Time of her Imprisonment, she gave, at the Archibishop of *Glasgow*'s Desire, to our Author, and the other Students of the Foundation of *Grisij*, a yearly Pension, and left to them and her other Scholars in *Paris*, a Legacy in her Testament: And in the Year 1587. in the Act for settling onerary Executors of her Testament, Mr. *Winterhope*, then Doctor of Theology, is named amongst the rest of her Legataries.

Dempster tells us, that our Author wrote (a) a Compend of Moral Philosophy, and an Apology for *Epicurus*; which Last it seems he had seen, for he calls it a most elaborate Work. This *Epicurus* was a Philosopher, who was born at *Gargetius*, a Town of *Attica*, and has been accused of holding and teaching many impious Opinions: But not only our Author, but *Gassendus* and several Others have wrote in his Defence, and shown, that his making the Happiness of Humane Life to consist in Pleasure may admit of a very good Interpretation; for 'tis most certain, that he did not take that word, as it is commonly taken, for the brutal Enjoyments of this Life; for *Diogenes Laertius*, and all the Ancients assure us, that he himself was by Nature docile, humane, temperate, sober, and ordinarily lived on Bread and Water; having taught his Disciples, That Nature was content with very little; and that not to be subject to Passions, was to live like a God amongst Men; That to have Joy, we must have Honesty, Prudence and Justice; and that we could not possess true Joy, if we were not honest, prudent and just; That God is a happy and immortal Spirit; and that, without Impiety, they might believe, that there was but One God, whose Nature was incomprehensible to our Reason: He had likewise a great Concern and Love for his Friends, Relations, Servants and Country; for which Cause the *Athenians* raised Statues to his Honour: And *Cicero* and *Seneca* highly commend him for his Virtue.

Besides these Writings of our Author mentioned by *Dempster*, there are, as we have said, his Petition to Queen *Mary*, and several other Things of his, still extant in the *Scots College* at *Paris*, such as, a Supplication to *Patrick Hepburn* Bishop of *Murray*, for augmenting the Foundation made by his Predecessors; and a large Address to the whole Clergy of *France*, assembled in the Year 1580. But they had no Success with either of them at that Time. In the Year 1565. he collected all the Charters belonging to the *Scots College* at *Paris*, and all the ancient Writs and Records belonging

(a) *Dempster*, Lib. 19, Page 665.

ing to it; all these are in a large Volume, curiously bound up, and wrote on Vellum, with the Attestations of two publick Notaries; and for the greater Authenticity, he caused the whole to be authenticate by the Provost of *Paris*, and the Seal of the City appended to it. The same Year likewise, he wrote a short History of the *Scots Colledge*, from its first Foundation till his Time. At length in the Year 1590. he died, and resigned the Care of the College to Mr. *George Crichton*; who came afterwards to be Professor Royal of the *Greek at Paris*; to whom succeeded Mr. *William Lumisden*, in whose Time the new Foundation was made, by the Arch-bishop of *Glasgow*, and of which we shall give the Reader an Account, in that Prelates Life.

An. 1590.

His Death
and Char.
æc.

It appears from what we have said of this Author, That he deserves to be particularly taken Notice of, for his singulat Zeal, in the propagating of Learning, and the indefatigable Care that he took, not only for the good of the College in which he was more immediately concerned, but likewise for the whole University, of which he was a most worthy Member.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **M***ORALIS Philosophia Compendium.*
- II. *Apologia pro Epicuro.*
- III. *A Petition to the Illustrious Princess, Mary Queen of Scotland, and Dowager of France, for the encouraging of Learning, and the favouring of the Learned Men within her own Domains, MS. in the Scots College at Paris, in Latin and French.*
- IV. *An Address to Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Murray, for encouraging the Scots College at Paris, MS. ibidem.*
- V. *An Address to the Clergy of France, assembled in the Year 1580. for the encouraging of the Scots College at Paris, MS. ibidem.*
- VI. *The Chartulary of the Scots College at Paris, collected A. D. 1565. in a large Folio, MS. ibidem.*
- VII. *The History of the Scots College at Paris, from its first Foundation, till the Year 1588. MS. ibidem.*



T H E

LIFE of PATRICK ADAMSON, Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.

His Birth,
Parentage &
Education.

He teaches
a Grammar
School.

He goes
over to
France.

He writes
a Poem on
the Birth of
K. James,

for which he
is imprisoned
at Paris:

He is set at
Liberty,
where he stu-
dies the Ci-
vil Law.

THIS Learned Prelate, was born in the Town of *Perth* (a), of a mean, but honest Parentage; having learned his Grammar at the School of *Perth*, he went to the University of St. *Andrews*; where he was taught his Philosophy, and made Master of Arts: But his Parents not being in a Condition to afford him Money for the prosecuting of his Studies, he was obliged for Bread, to teach Grammar for 4 Years at *Cyrus*, a Country Village in the Shire of *Fife*. His extraordinary Endowments of Mind, made him to be taken Notice of, by the Gentry of that Shire, who sent many of their Children to his School; but Mr. *James McGill*, a Gentleman of good Learning, and one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, taking Compassion upon the mean Circumstance of his Life; and designing to send his Son to *France* to study the Laws, he made Choice of Mr. *Adamson* to be his Son's Governor or Preceptor.

Having arrived safely in *France*, they went straight to *Paris*, where they had not been long, when they were advertised of the Birth of King *James VI*. Mr. *Adamson* being an excellent Poet, took this Occasion of letting the Publick know so much, in an incomparable Latin Poem, which he wrote upon this Occasion; and which was printed at *Paris*, upon the 25 of June 1566. being the 6th Day after the Birth of this young Prince. This Performance of our Author's, was highly commended by every Body, that had the least Knowledge in Poetry; so that, at length it came to the Hands of the Courtiers, as an extraordinary Performance. Which, tho' it tended very much to our Prelate's Honour, yet it proved very fatal to him; for he had unadvisedly given the Title of King of *France* and *England* to his own King. The Title of the Poem running thus, *Serenissimi ac Nobilissimi Scotorie, Anglia, Francie & Hibernie Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illustrissimi Herois, ac Mariae Reginae Amplissime Filii Genethliacum.*

This could not fail to provoke both the King of *France* and Queen *Elizabeth* against him; so he was seized upon, and thrown into close Prison, in which he remained for six Months; and at length, at the earnest Sollicitation of Queen *Mary*, back'd with those of several Noblemen, he was set at Liberty. After this, he and his Pupil went straight to *Bruges*, where both of them entered Students of the Civil Law in that famous University.

Whil'st

(a) Vit. Pat. Adamson, per Tho. Volus.

Whilst they were at *Bruges*, the Massacre of *Paris* happened, ^{An. 1591.} which put the whole Protestants of *France* in a horrid Confusion; and our Author and his Pupil, as he tells us himself, were for seven Months, confined to a Tavern (a), expecting every Day to be massacred, during which Time he wrote his poetical Paraphrase upon *Job*, and his Tragedy of *Herod*; of both which he sent Copies to *Lyons* and *Paris*, to be printed. That to *Lyons* was directed to *Bouillius*; and that to *Paris* to *Lambinus*; but the Civil Wars of *France* hindered them from being printed at that Time 1572. And probably they had never been printed, had it not been for a very singular Accident, for both *Bouillius* and *Lambinus* were dead, and our Author had no Copy of it to himself; but Dr. *Henry Blackwood* having the Inspection of *Lambinus* Papers after his Death, found them there, and sent them over to *Scotland* to our Author. His next Performance he says (b), was his six Books of the Mosaical Polity; but these were never printed, and here I cannot but take Notice of what our Presbyterian Historians say of our Prelate (c), if we may believe them *His Father's Name was Constance a Baker in Perth, and under the Name of Constance he assisted as a Minister in the first General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in the Year 1560.* After this, having deserted his Ministry, he went over to France to study the Laws; but upon his Return, he betook himself again to the Ministry, and being baulk'd of the Arch-bishoprick of St. Andrews in the Month of February 1572. he preached at St. Andrews; and in his Sermon told the People, that there were three Sorts of Bishops, my Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop was in the Time of Popery, My Lord's Bishop is now, when my Lord getteth the Fat of the Benefice, and the Bishop serveth for a Portion out of the Benefice, to make my Lord's Right sure; and the Lord's Bishop, is the true Minister of the Gospel. Now let us examine the Truth of this Story; and first, laying aside the Improbability of the changing of his Name, when his Parents were so well known, and without assigning any Reason for it, the most of these that were present at the first General Assembly were all Laicks, they consisted says Mr. Petrie (d) of 44 Persons; and the excellent Mr. Sage says (e), 'That in the Manuscript Extract which he had of the Acts of the General Assembly, he found exactly 44 Names: But (says he) of all the 44, there were not above 9 at most who were called Ministers; so that at least, more than 30 were but lay Brethren, according to the then Way of Reckoning. Probably they were generally such, if you speak in the Dialect, and reckon by the Measures of the Catholik Church in all Ages'. And as for our Author's being one of them, there is no other Reason given but that, That there was one Mr. *Patrick Constance* there; and as for his Sermon preached at St. Andrews 1572. wherein they make him pun so wittily upon the Word *Bishop*; he tells us himself, That he

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was

(a) Vide Pref. ad Job. (b) Ibid. (c) Vide Petrie, Calderwood, &c. (d) *Mer. 2. Page 332.* (e) *Fundamental Charters, Page 6.*

An. 1591.
He returns
to Scotland.

was then at *Bruges* in *France*, nor did he return to *Scotland*, till the Year 1573. And one of his greatest Enemies, who has published an Account of his Life, with Mr. *Andrew Melvil's Poems*, says, That upon his Return to *Scotland*, he married a Lawyer's Daughter, thinking thereby, to gain some Employment to himself; but that failing him, and being reduced to great Misery and Want, he returned again to the Ministry, and that Mr. *Andrew Hay*, out of mere Compassion to his indigent Circumstances, provided him in the Church of *Paisley*: But the Author does not consider, in the Heat of his Passion against our Prelate, that he makes the Church he designs to extol, guilty of a great Oversight in their Discipline, in re-establishing him in the Exercise of his Ministry, upon a Secular Consideration, without any Censure. But we shall proceed to the History of our Author's Life, from the more certain Accounts of his co-temporary Writers.

Before he went from *France*, he translated into elegant *Latin* the *Confession of Faith* that was approven of by Act of Parliament, and drawn up by the Reformers as the Standard of their Faith: Whether he distributed any Copies of this whilst he was at *Bruges*, which might have been the probable Cause of his Seven Months Concealment, I know not; but 'tis certain, that his Landlord who did conceal him was severely punished: For we are told, (a) That he was thrown headlong from the Top of his own House, for his Hospitality, in the 70 Year of his Age.

Our Prelate, upon his Return to *Scotland*, was dissuaded from prosecuting the Study of the Laws, and to apply himself entirely to Theology: So entring into Holy Orders, he was made Minister at *Paisley*. And in the Year 1575. he was one of those Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly (b) to confer upon the Jurisdiction and Polity of the Church: And in a General Assembly convened at *Edinburgh* the next Year, he and Mr. *David Lindsay* were appointed to acquaint the Regent of their Proceedings. And the same Year he was advanced by the Regent *Morton*, to be one of his Chaplains (c): And upon the Death of Bishop *Douglas*, he presented him to the Archbishoprick of St. *Andrew's*. Upon which,

He enters in-
to holy Or-
ders, and
made Min-
ister at Paisley.

He is advan-
ced to the
Arch-bisho-
plick of St.
Andrew's.

For which
he is accused
before the
Assembly, of
an illegal In-
trusion into the
said Bisho-
plick.

in the General Assembly met at *Edinburgh* in the Month of October, 'twas moved, That he should be called before them and examined; and he being enquired if he would submit himself to the Assembly, he absolutely refused to do it, it being no ways Consonant to the Episcopal Dignity, that the Bishop should subject himself to the Censure of his inferior Presbyters. And from this Time

commenced these Animosities and Hears that happened betwixt Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and him; and the Assembly was so displeased with his refusing to submit himself to them, that they discharged the Chapter to proceed. But upon a new Charge given them, they proceeded to the Election, and made Choice of him; upon which, in the General Assembly, met at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of April

1577.

(a) *Tho. Vol. Jud. de Auth. Scrip.* (b) *Calder. Hist. ad An.* (c) *Ibidem.*

1577. an Accusation was brought against him, for having entered into the Bishoprick, contrary to the Acts and Ordinances of the General Assembly, having left his ordinary Office of the Ministry, and usurped the Office of Visitation within the Bounds of Fife, authorized by Commission or Power from the Assembly; and because he was absent, Power and Commission was given to Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. James Lawson, David Ferguson, and the Superintendant of Fife, conjunctly, and in Case of the said Superintendant his Inability, Mr. David Lindsay and John Brand, to direct Summons out against him, to appear before them, at such a Day or Days as they should think fitting, within the Town of Edinburgh, to try and examine his Entry into the said Bishoprick, the Usurpation of the Office of Visitation, and deserting his ordinary Office of the Ministry; with Power also to summon the Chapter of St. Andrews, or so many of the Chapter, as shall seem to them expedient if need require, and the Ordainers and Inaugurers of the said Mr. Patrick Adamson, as they shall think good, for the better Trial of the Premises, and what herein they find after Trial, to Report again to the next General Assembly; and in the mean Time, in Name of the Assembly, to discharge him of further Visitation of the said Bounds, till he be admitted by an Assembly.

Our Prelate this Year, published a Catechism in Latin Verse, for the Use of the young Prince; which received such a favourable Approbation from the Publick, that it was deservedly look'd upon as a Master-piece, and Mr. Lawson and Mr. Pont were so well pleased with it, that altho' they were two of his Persecutors, they made two Latin Poems in Commendation of his Performance. In a Meeting of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in the Month of October 1578. a new Commission was given to the Ministers of Edinburgh; and to Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Pont, David Ferguson and John Brand, to charge him with the Transgressions committed by him, in not submitting himself to the Assembly, according to the Draught they had presented him with, and to receive his Answer; as also, to charge him to free himself of the Corruptions of the Estate of Bishops in his Person, particularly to be specified to him; and if he refuse, that after Admonition he be excommunicated, by such as shall be appointed by them for that Effect.

These harsh Proceedings against our Prelate, made him agree to some Things that were below the Episcopal Dignity, particularly in owning their Authority over him, who were meer Presbyters, and strictly speaking, the most part Laicks, that had usurped the Ministry, and that he did approve of several Heads of their Polity, that were not agreeable to Episcopal Jurisdiction. Yet all this would not satisfy them, therefore, in a Meeting of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in the Month of July 1579. they gave Power to the same Commissioners, who were appointed by their last Assembly, to summon our Prelate to appear before them at Edinburgh;

He publishes a Catechism in Latin Verse,

He is urged to submit to the Assembly, under Pain of Excommunication.

An. 1591.

burgh, with all convenient Speed, and to charge him with the particular Offences following.

1st, That he having submitted himself to the Assembly, went immediately after his Submission, and voted in Parliament. 2d, That he has given Collation of the Viccarage of Boltoun, having no Power of Visitation, in the Bounds where the said Viccarage lieth. 3d, That he hath agreed to all the Heads of Polity excepting four, and yet opposed the same. At the Parliament in the Year 1582. our Prelate was seized with a heavy Sicknes, which kept him all that Year, and a good Part of the next; and because there was a poor Woman who had advited him to some simple Remedy, they raised a Report of Witchcraft upon her, and imprisoned her in the Castle of St. Andrews; and because the Bishop set her at Liberty, they told the People from their Pulpits, *That he had consulted the Devil for the Recovery of his Health.*

He preaches before the King.

Disputer publickly with Mr. Andrew Melvil.

He is summons'd to appear before the General Assembly, whn suspend him.

He is sent Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth.

In the Year 1583. the King coming to St. Andrews, our Prelate preached a Sermon before him, wherein he mantained the Cause of Episcopacy; upon which a publick Dispute ensued, betwixt him and Mr. Andrew Melvil. There were present at this Dispute, the whole Members of the University, the King, and the famous French Poet *Salustius Dubartas.* People decided in Favours of the Disputants, according to their different Capacities, but it was granted by all, that the Bishop showed much more reading in the Fathers, than Mr. Melvil did.

The General Assembly having met at Edinburgh, in the Month of October, our Prelate was warned by the Synod of Fife, to appear before the Assembly; but he not compearing, they suspended him from his Office. A malicious Report being spread, of the King's Inclinations to Popery, to satisfy the Queen of England, not only in this, but in several other Things which the factious Ministers had spread Abroad, concerning the King, our Prelate was sent Ambassador from the King to Queen Elizabeth. And Mr. Wilson in his Dedication of our Prelate's Work to King James VI. appeals to his Majesty for his good Conduct in this Negotiation: And he says, That his eloquent Preachings, drawing great Concourses of People to him, he raised such a high Idea of the young King his Master (whom he was constantly extolling) in the Minds of the English People, that Queen Elizabeth discharged him from preaching any more in her Dominions. On the other Hand, the Presbyterian Historians say, That he behaved most Disgracefully, being much given to drinking, and all Manner of Lewdness: But whatever Truth be in this, which we have all the Reason in the World, to suspect to be only their Malice against him; it is most certain, that he involved himself into great Debts by his Mismanagement; and if we may believe Sir James Melvil in his Memoirs (a), borrowed Gold and Precious Furniture from the Bishop of London and several others; which was never returned, nor paid for. Yet by his Negotiations

tiations at that Time, he very much strengthned the Episcopal Party in *Scotland*; which the King had now established. He returned out of *England* immediately after the Execution of the Earl of Gowrie; and upon his Arrival a Parliament was immediately called, in which he gave an Account of his Negotiation: And for his good Services the following Commission was granted to him (a).

A.D. 1591.

A Commission granted by the King and Privy Council to him.

OUR Sovereign Lord, with Advice and Consent of His Highness's Privy Council, Ordains a Letter to be made under the Great Seal, in due Form, Giving and Granting to his well-beloved Clerk and Orator, Patrick Archbisshop of St. Andrew's, Power, Authority and Jurisdiction, to exercse the samen Archbisshoprick, by himself, his Deputies and Commissioners, in all Matters Ecclesiastical, within the Diocy of St. Andrew's, and Sheriffdoms which have been heretofore annexed thereto; with Power to the said Archbisshop, under His Highness, to call and conveen Synodal Assemblies of the Ministry within the Diocy, for keeping of good Order, maintaining of true Doctrine and Reformation of Manners; To plant Ministers in Kirks which shall happen to be desolate and vacant; To give Admission and Collation of Benefice to Persons qualified, either presented by the lawful Patrons or Us; To depose Persons unqualified, and unable in Life and Doctrine for discharging their Cure; (the which Persons being so deposed, their Rents, Stipends and Benefices to vaik in the Hands of the lawful Patrons, to be conferred a-new to qualified and godly Persons) To reform Colleges, Kirks, and other such Places appointed for Learning; To place and displace Masters of Colleges unqualified, according to the Tenor of their Foundation, or evil affected to Our Service and Obedience, contraveening by Word or Writ Our Royal Power and Privilege, established by Our late Acts of Parliament, or slandering Us by erroneous Doctrine; To visit the Hospitals within the Diocels, and Kirks, and to see them well furnished, maintained and apparelled: Commanding Our faithful and true Subjects to yield unto the said Pattick Archbisshop of St. Andrew's, due Obedience. And that the same may be the better reverenced and obeyed, We have given and granted Power to the said Archbisshop, to have one of the most vertuous, godly and honest Officers at Arms within the said Diocy, who shall be called Officer of the Kirk; who shall, in Our Name and Authority, assist the aforesaid Bishop, and shall command all and sundry Contraveeners and Breakers of the good and godly Order of the Kirk, of what Degree or Quality soever they be under Us; with such Penalties, Mulcts, Imprisonments, Repentances and Manner thereof, as We, Our Counsellors and Officers shall agreee unto, upon the humble Suit of the said Archbisshop, other Bishops or Commissioners in Ecclesiastical Matters: In which, if the said Archbisshop and Officer be disobeyed, We will account the Injury done to Our own Person, and punish the same with all Rigour, in Example of Others: Providing always, That if any Person or Persons receive any intolerable Wrong,

A a a a a

or,

An. 1591.

or, without Cause or just Deserving, be otherwise used by the said Bishop; then the Law of God, and the lovable Constitution of this Realm doth permit, it shall be leisom to the Persons so enormly hurt to appeal to Us, and Our Sovereign Authority to be interponed for Remeid thereof; for if the Statue and Image of Superiors, in ancient Times, was a sufficient Girth, Asyle and Protection to them that had Refuge thereunto, it becometh Us much more, in our Persons, to be a Comfort and Relief to those that shall seek unto Our Clemency against whatsoever Oppression by Spiritual or Temporal Persons; to whom We promise Our principal Favour: The which We mind always to administrate, by the Grace of God, in such manner, as We may be answerable to him whose Image and Lieutenantry We bear in this Realm. And farther, because it is necessary for the Kirk of God and Preservation of good Order to be maintained therein, that, when Necessity requireth, the Bishop of every Diocy, and such other learned Men of their Diocy as shall be thought meet for that Purpose, assemble together for taking an uniform Order to be observed in the Realm, in Common Prayer and other Things requisite for the common Estate of the Kirk, We, of Our Princely Power, Grant the Privilege unto the said Archbishop to conveen the Rest: Providing always, That before any Convention General of the Clergy, the said Bishop shall make Us advertised of the necessary Causes of the foresaid Convention, that We may understand the same to tend to the Welfare of the Kirk and Policy of the Country; and that the said Bishop may have Our special Licence thereto granted to him under Our Privy Seal; and that no Action or Constitution, made by the Assembly of Bishops or Clerks, have any Force, Strength or Effect within Our Realm, to bind any of Our Subjects, unless they be allowed, approved and confirmed by Us, Our Council and Estate, and, after the Approbation of Our Royal Authority, they stand in full Force and Effect.

He writes a Declaration in the King's Name.

The Factious Ministers having writ several scandalous Libels against the Proceedings of the Parliament, our Prelate wrote, in the King's Name, a Declaration, giving the World an Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament, and the Reasonableness of them, and a large Preface, wherein he gave an Account of the treasonable and villainous Proceedings of the Presbyterian Teachers, which highly incensed them; but was so acceptable to the English Clergy, that in the Month of February 1585. twas re-printed at London from the Edinburgh Copy in the Month of January, and vast Numbers of them sold: And Mr. Thinne has inserted it at Length in his Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle.

He is excommunicate by the Provincial Synod of Fife.

The Provincial Synod of Fife having met at St. Andrew's, they summoned our Prelate to compear before them, to answer to what should be laid to his Charge: Which he having done, without having any Regard to his Answer, they past the following Sentence against him.

An. 1586.

' The Assembly having considered and tried the whole Proces
 deduced against Mr. *Patrick Adamson*, with mature Deliberation
 and Conference; they find, That the said Mr. *Patrick* hath no
 ways amended his Contumacy and Disobedience to the Kirk of
 of God and of the said Assembly, conveened in the Name of our
 Lord *Jesus*; but rather, continuing therein, contemptuously tra-
 vaileth to usurp and exerce his tyrannical Ambition and Supre-
 macy over the Kirk of God, his Brethren and this present Assem-
 bly, with slanderous Untruths, as well against the Word as against
 some of the Brethren: And being desired, by divers Admonitions
 given to him by certain of the Brethren in Name of the Assembly,
 to hear the Voice of the Kirk; he not only contemptuously and
 disdainfully refused the Censure and Judgment thereof to be tried
 by the Assembly, but claiming Supremacy and Judgment above
 them, heapeth up Contempt against the Ordinance of *Jesus Christ*,
 adding thereto the Notoriety of the Accusation before the Gene-
 ral Assembly; wherein he was thought worthy, for weighty and
 great Causes and Crimes, to be suspended indeed from all Fun-
 ction of the Ministry, as an Act made by the General Assembly
 in October 1583. produc'd and read in this Synodal Assembly, at
 more Length proports: Contrary to the Tenor wheteof, he hath
 not only usurped the foresaid Function, against the Ordinance of
 the Kirk, and to the heavy Slander of the Ministry; but also dis-
 played a Banner against the whole good Order and Government
 of the Kirk practised within this Realm, with most fruitful Effects
 following thereupon since the Reformation of Religion within the
 same; and specially, his notorious Impugning the settled Order
 of the Generall Assemblies and Presbyteries, which are grounded
 upon the same Word: Therefor, and for divers other notorious
 Slanders whereof he was to be accused, and refusing to underly
 any lawful Trial; the Assembly, in the Fear of God and Name of
Jesus Christ, moved by Zeal to the Glory of God and Purging
 of this Kirk, ordains the said Sentence of Excommunication in-
 stantly to be put in Execution in Face of the Assembly, and by the
 Mouth of Mr. *Andrew Hunter* Minister at Carnbie, at Command
 and Appointment of the Assembly; Declareth him to be one of
 those whom *Christ* commandeth to be holden, by all and every
 one of the Faithful, as an Heathen or Publican; and ordaineth
 the Sentence of Excommunication to be intimated in all Kirks,
 that none pretend Ignorance thereof'. And accordingly he was
 excommunicated, notwithstanding that he had appealed from them
 to the General Assembly of the Kirk proclaimed by His Majesty up-
 on the 12th of May. And this was done in the Month of April
 1586.

On the other hand, the Archbishop caused the Moderator of the Assembly, Mr. *James Melvil*, to be excommunicated, and his Brother Mr. *Andrew*, and all these of the Synod that adhered to the Sentence past against him: And some Days after he published an

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Account of their whole Proceedings against him, and made an Appeal from them to the King, the Three Estates of Parliament, and the ensuing General Assembly.

The General Assembly absolves him The General Assembly having met at *Edinburgh* upon the Tenth of *May*, amongst other Things, they took into their Consideration the Sentence of Excommunication against our Prelate, and absolved him from the same ; but Mr. *Andrew Hunter*, who pronounced the Sentence against him, protested against the Assembly ; and Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* adhered to his Protestation : But after the Assembly was dissolved, their Sentence of Absolution was intimate to the People by Sound of Trumpet ; and by an Order of the Privy Council, he was appointed to teach two Lessons of Theology every Week within St. *Salvador's College*.

The General Assembly having met at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *June 1587.* a Complaint was given in against our Prelate, for having suffered himself to be denounced Rebel, and put to the Horn for his Debts, which made many propose to them, if they could hear him without being guilty of Scandal : But the King's Commissioners moved, that nothing should be done against him, till such time as the Matter should be examined before the King.

He is cited before the Assembly for marrying the E. of Huntly. The General Assembly having met at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *August 1588.* our Prelate was cited to compear before them, for having married the Earl of *Huntly* without obliging him to subscribe the *Confession of Faith* : But he not compearing, the Assembly gave Commission to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* to summon him to compear before them at such convenient Times as they should think expedient, and to proceed and give Sentence against him according to the Discipline of the Kirk, as the Assembly it self might do.

He publishes the Lamentations. In the Beginning of the Year *1590.* our Prelate published the Lamentations of the Prophet *Jeremiah* in Latin Verse, which he dedicated to the King ; and towards the latter End of the same Year, he published the Apocalipse in Latin Verse, which he dedicated likewise to the King ; and in his Dedication, complains of the harsh Usage he met with from Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and his Copartners : And indeed after this, we find, that they misrepresented him so to his Majesty, that the King gave the Liferent of his Bishoprick to the Duke of *Lennox* ; by which Means, and the Debts which he had contracted, he and his Family were reduced to a starving Condition ; and if we may believe the Presbyterian Historians, he was supplied by their Charity ; but how improbable this is, will appear from the following Copy of Verses, addressed to the King about this Time, wherein he beggs his Protection against them.

An. 1591.

*Ad Illusterrimum & Serenissimum Principem, Jacobum sextum
Scotorum Regem Adhortatio, qua se audiri postulat, gravissimis
adversariorum odiis, & inquis calumnis lacefisis Author
alloquens Musam.*

Auspiciis I Musa bonis, pete limina Regis,
Difficiles aditus non habet ille locus.
Invenies illic castas, tua vota, sorores,
Musarum princeps praesidet ipse choro.
Cum te lugubrem, cum tristia viderit ora;
Inquiret subita, qua tibi causa via est.
Tu veniam prefata prius, pedibusque voluta,
Pro Domino lachrymas dixeris esse tuo.
Abjecit Musas, spretisque Heliconida Lymphis,
Et luctu & lachrymis vix superesse putas.
Nescio quid toto suspirat pectore Regem,
Regem sole novo, sole cadente vocat.
Nec petit ille nefas, justa libramina lancis,
Postulat imperii jura fidemque tui.
Sive illum occultis technis gens subdola vexet,
Seu premat opprobrii Melviniana cohors:
Audi illum, Rex audi inquam, si vera recordor,
Haud unquam causa defuit ille tua.
Cum quondam affereret, triplicis tua jura corona,
Parisiis arcto carcere vincitus erat.
Et quum differeret, tua magna encomia laudans,
Londini, applausus lata theatra dabant.
Tempora quid memorem, quorum pars magna fuisti,
Invidiosa, quibus fidus Athleta fuit,
Sic proprias exhaust opes, impendia nulla
Rettulit, hac aula gratia sola fuit.
Quod te per Musas, geniumque & debita fatis,
Regna tuis, nostri nunc miserere precor.
His dictis, postquam surgentes ordine Musas,
Viderit ad lachrymas ingemuisse tuas.
Et tristi aspiciens Bartasia numina vultu,
Haud dubie votis annuet ille tuis.
Tu voti compos caveas ne deside pennae
Segnior in laudes reperiare suas.

Mr. Calderwood says (a), ‘That in a Meeting of the Provincial Assembly of Fife, convened at St. Andrews, in the Month of April 1591. Mr. John Caldclough presented in Mr. Patrick Adamson’s Name, certain Articles written in Latin, containing his Recitation, which were read; and the Synod directed the Rector of the University, Mr. Andrew Melvil, Mr. Robert Wilkie, David B b b b b His Death and Charter. Ferguson

Anno 1591. ' Ferguson and Mr. Nicol Dalgleish to him, to crave a more clear
 ' and ample Recantation in the vulgar Tongue; which he did, and
 ' subscribed with his own Hand; which Recantation he interts at
 ' Large : And in the Paragraph immediately preceeding this, he
 ' says, his Necessity was so great, that he was forced to crave Help
 ' of Mr Andrew Melvil, confessed his Offences, and offered to pre-
 ' sent himself to the Pulpit and make publick Confession : . But had
 ' not the Hap to perform it. He sent to the Presbytery of St. And-
 ' rews, and desired to be absolved from the Sentence of Excommu-
 ' nication. The Brethren doubting, whether his Desire proceeded
 ' from Trouble of Mind, or if it was a Shift, only to get some Sup-
 ' port, directed Mr. James Melvil and Mr. Andrew Moncrief to
 ' try him. As soon as he saw Mr. James, he pull'd off his Cap and
 ' cried, *Forgive me, forgive me for God's Sake, Mr. James, for I
 ' have many Ways offended you.* Mr. James forgave him, and ex-
 ' horted him to unfeigned Repentance. When he was asked, if
 ' he acknowledged the Validity of the Sentence of Excommunica-
 ' tion pronounced against him ? He interrupted Mr. James, and
 ' cried pitifully and often, *Loose me for Christ's Sake.* At their
 ' Report, the Brethren, with Prayer and Thanksgiving, absolved
 ' him.

All this has so much the Air of a Fable in it, that the very reciting of it, is a sufficient Confutation of it; unless we suppose, that our Prelate was wrong in the Head, and indeed it looks like the Ravings of one in a Fever : For is it to be supposed, that the Bishop was so void of Sense, that he had more Regard to the Sentence of a provincial Synod past against him, than of a General Assembly that absolved him : And altho' in his Christian Charity he might, and no Doubt did forgive his Enemies, and particularly the Melvils ; yet to make him acknowledge that he was only in the Wrong, and cry for Mercy like a Child whipt at School, is so ridiculous, that the Author it seems has only inserted it, to vindicate his Character of our Prelate ; for, speaking of his Death he says (*a*), Mr. David Black, a Man mighty in Doctrine, and singular Fidelity and Diligence in the Calling of the Ministry, came to Mr. Patrick in February the Year following, when he was drawing near to his End, and found him as he lived, Senseless.

Archbishop Spotswood gives another Account of this Affair, tho' it does not much mend the Matter; for he says (*b*), speaking of the Provincial Synod of Fife; ' In this Assembly, certain Articles were presented, subscribed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, allow-
 ' ing the Presbyterial Discipline, and condemning the Government
 ' Episcopal; which were afterward imprinted, under the Title of
 ' Mr. Patrick Adamson's Recantation. The Bishop lay Bed-fast at
 ' the Time, and was fallen into great Necessity by his own Misgo-
 ' vernment, whereof his Adversaries taking Advantage, it was devi-
 ' sed, That he should be visited by some of the Brethren, and desir-

' red

An. 1591.

‘ red to leave a Testimony under his Hand, of his Opinion of Ministers of Discipline. This being moved unto him, he said, That he did not trouble himself with such Thoughts at that Time, and had never allowed of any other Bishop in the Church, but St. Paul’s Bishop, which he would willingly set his Hand to. Upon this his Answer, were these Articles drawn up and subscribed by him ; whether he knew what was contained in them, or that he was induced thereto, by a poor Collection that they gave him in the Time (for so the Report went) or otherwise, it is uncertain : But when it was told him that such a Recantation was published in his Name, he complained heavily of the Wrong that was done him, and committing his Cause to God, ended his Days in the End of the Year 1591. A Man he was of great Learning, and a most persuasive Preacher ; but an ill Administrator of the Church-patrimony, which brought him to the Misery that is pitiful to think of. Divers Works he left ; of which some are extant which shew his Learning : But his Prelections upon the Epistle to *Timothy*, which were most desir’d, falling into the Hands of his Adversaries, were suppressed.

Mr. *Wilson*, who publishes our Prelate’s Works, tells us, That he was a Prelate endowed with such excellent Qualifications, both as to Mind and Body, that he was a Miracle of Nature, and rather seemed to be the immediate Production of God Almighty than born of a Woman ; being a profound Theologue, an incomparable Poet, an eloquent Orator, well seen in the Greek and Latin Languages ; a Prelate of great Prudence, Experience, and Wisdom in the Management of Affairs, skilful in the Civil and Canon Law ; and of so happy a Memory, that he did not know what it was to forget any thing that he had either heard or read : So that the Death of such a Person, who was the Glory of his Country and of the Republick of Letters, can never be too much lamented : And a great deal more to this Purpose. But that I may satisfy the Reader’s Curiosity, I shall set down his own Words, in his *Preface to the Reader*, before our Author’s *Paraphrase upon Job*.

At in re Poetica quis sit, quantusve, res ipsa loquitur : hoc unum audeo affirmare, Neminem, nec Theologia scientia, Fidei Christianae analogia, sacra pagina notitia, neque lingua sancta genuina ac orthodoxa versione, ex idiomatis proprietate, nitore ac puritate, (quod citra cuiusquam contumeliam dictum velim) simile quid tentasse, Hunc natura φιλολαγη, hoc est, pulchri & honesti studiosum finxit, cui vera insidebat ἐνθυμη, animi scilicet tranquillitas ; in quo virtutis omnis bractea, & seminarium quoddam, naturali sua indole, medullitus quidem (ut Plautina voce utar) & divinitus inhærebat ; cunctis animi & corporis dotibus præditus : & (juxta M: Tullium) nature muneribus audeo ornatus, ut non natus, sed a Deo factus videatur : & cui arte benigna (ut fert Juvenalis) & meliore luto finxit præcordia, Titan. Divinus Theologus, lingua sacra sui temporis Coriphæus ;

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orator summus, suadendo aptissimus, poeta insignis, fælix in eo calor,
 cultus non invitus, temperatum judicium, dictio candida, numeri non
 affectati, usu rerum, prudentia & experientia plurimum pollens; &
 quasi alter scientiarum & linguarum orbis, nihil hominem latuit:
 immo, quod omnium maxime mirum & rarum est, rei semel lectæ seu
 audite obliuisci nunquam potuit. O qua profusissima lachryma, tan-
 tum literarum decus, gentis sue illustrissimum lumen; tantam pru-
 dentiae affluentiam morte in uno illo extinctam, satis digne unquam
 deflere possunt!

Yet notwithstanding of all these high *Elogiums*, it must be ac-
 knowledged, that our Prelate had not so much Prudence and Ma-
 nagement as could have been wish'd in a Person of his Character,
 otherwise he had not reduc'd himself and Family to the pinching
 Circumstances that Mr. Wilson acknowledges he brought his Family
 to: Neither seems he to have had such Knowledge in the Writings
 of the primitive Fathers and the Discipline of the primitive Church,
 as was requisite in a Person of his Character, otherwise he had not
 made such Concessions and Compliances with Mr. Melvin and his
 Brethren as he did: And altho' never Prelate of so much Learning
 and Merit as he had, was so much calumniated by them; yet he
 had not that Firmness and Resolution that was requisite to oppose
 their Malice; which made many believe, that he was guilty of what
 he was really innocent of: And he was so far from being stupid
 and sensless in his last Minutes, as they represent him, that he com-
 posed the following Divine Poem, addressed to his Soul then ready
 to part with his Body: By which the Reader may judge of the
 Brightness of his dying Sentiments, and the hellish Contrivances
 of his Enemies.

O Anima! assiduis vita jactata procellis,
 Exilii pertusa gravis; nunc lubrica, tempus
 Regna tibi, & Mundi invisas contemnere sordes.
 Quippe Parens rerum, cæco te corpore clemens
 Evocat, & verbi crucifixi gratia, cæli
 Pandit iter, patrioque beatam limine siflet
 Progenies Jovæ, quo te cœlestis origo
 Invitat, fælix perge, eternumque quiesce.
 Exuvia carnis, cognato in pulvere vocem
 Angelicam expectent, sonitu quo putre cadaver
 Exiliet redivivum, & totum me tibi reddet
 Ecce beata dies: nos Agni dextera ligno
 Fulgentes Crucis, & radiantes sanguine vivo
 Excipiet. Quam firma illic quam certa capesses
 Gaudia, felices inter novus incola cives?
 Alme Deus, Deus alme & non effabile numen
 Ad te unum & trinum, moribundo pectori anhelo.

And

And thus expired our learned and pious Prelate: And I doubt, if there can be many Instances given of Persons composing Poems like to this in the Agonies of Death; which shews, of what a Divine Frame and Make the Soul of our Author was. Many excellent Epitaphs and Poems were made upon him, but I shall only trouble the Reader with that composed by Mr. Wilson.

*Quisquis, ab extremo veniens oriente, Viator,
 Pergis ad oceani, qua sol cadit aureus, undas;
 Seu procul a medii calidis humoribus austri
 Tendis, hyperboreo rigidum contingere littus
 Frigore, & insano ventos aquilone furentes
 Excitus fama ingenti, qua tanta sub auras
 Fertur, & immensum late circumvolat orbem,
 Magna sonans, magnum assiduo vigil aera cantu,
 Dum stridens movet, atque se expatiata repente
 Sublimem excelso tollit super aethere magnum,
 Regni Primatem, doctum, prob! funere ademptum,
 Mutasse & roseum pallenti morte colorem:
 Hic consiste; Vides atro de marmore limen
 Vicinum, tumulumque gravem, quo membra sepulchro
 Mortua conduntur, magni post funera patris.
 Livida, prob! hominem mors corripit, occidit una,
 Occidit Aonidum clarum decus, ipsaque acerbo
 Flevit inexppletum mestissima Scotia casu.
 At passim errantes lachrymas fudere Camena,
 Et genus Aonidum vates, & quisquis amenum
 Facundo volucris fontem bibet ore caballi.
 Nec minus attonita gemuit pars maxima plebis,
 Indeploratum non hunc in morte suprema,
 Religio, pietasque sinunt, & Numinia Divum,
 Sic humana Erebi rapit implacabilis atra.
 Omnia nocte dues; sic altum exangue soporem
 Corpus humo carpit gelida, manesque sepultis,
 Fama sed eternum durat, multoque superstes
 Vivit inextincto per secula nomen honore.*

Tho Wolstenholme parentavit.

As our Author was one of the learnedst Men of his Age, so he was acquainted with many of the learnedst Men in France and Britain; especially the English Bishops and Clergy, with whom he kept a close Correspondence; and who honoured him with that Respect that was due to his Merit upon all Occasions: The Account of his Works I shall give the Reader in Mr. Wilson's Words, who published the most of them.

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The Catalogue of his Works.

NE te lateat (Pie Lector) quas lucbrationes ac operosas vigilias
Author conscriperit, has in usum tuum subjungere visum est.
Scripsit autem compluria.

- I. *Ac primum adversus papismum, in crassiores ejusdem abusus, ac de superstitionis papicolarum ineptiis. Datum Sancti Andreae, 4 Calendas Septembbris, Anno 1564.*
- II. *Catechismus Latino carmine redditus, & in Libros quatuor digestus, 1577.*
- III. *Serenissimi & Nobilissimi, Scotia, Anglia, Francia & Hiberniae Principis Henrici Stuarti, Illustrissimi Herois ac Mariae Regina amplissima Filii Genethliacum. Parisiis conscriptum, & ibidem typis audacius commissum, 25 Junii, Sexto a partu die, 1566.*
- IV. *Scripsit Biturgibus Gallorum in ipso Belli Civilis furore & incendio, in Canaculo (ut fert ipse) apud Hospitem Biturigensem, quotidiano vita periculo septem menses delitescens, dum Martyrii Parisiensis rabies conflagraret, Jobi illam Historiam praetoram patientiae ac constantiae Orthotypum, cum Tragœdia illius Herodis qui ab Angelo percussus tetroreme expiravit, 1572.*
- V. *Apocalypsis S. Joannis Theologi, Latino carmine redditus, Sancti Andreae, 1590.*
- VI. *Threnorum sive Lamentationum F. Eliae Libellus, Latino Carmine redditus, Fano Andreae, 1590.*
- VII. *Confessio Fidei & Doctrinae, per Ecclesiam Reformatam Regni Scotiae receptae, exhibita ordinibus Regni ejusdem in publicis Parliamenti (ut vocant) Comitiis, & eorum communni consensu approbata, uti certissimis fundamentis verbi Dei innixae & consentanea, 1572.*
- VIII. *Dilectis in Christo fratribus suis, D. D. Roberto Pontano & Nicolao Dalglesho, Ecclesia Scoticana Pastoribus, ac Ecclesiastico comitiorum publicorum edicto in septentrionales Scotia Regni partes emissis ad Papismi facem ibidem restinguendam, prudentissimum & saluberrimum Authoris consilium complectens de Ecclesia ejusdem politia & moderatione 1586.*
- IX. *Selectiora quadam ex aliis permultis Authoris Epigrammatia.*

Hæc omnia simul edita sunt Londini, 1619. apud Joannem Billium, in 4to.

Opera inedita.

- X. *Sex de politia Mosaica Libros, cum Ecclesia Orthodoxa Hierarchia soluta oratione diserte conscripsit.*

XI. *Salomonis*

XI. *Salomonis Ecclesiasten, de summo hominis bono concionem complectentem, qua de vera beatitudine & rectis vita Officiis pracepta continet.*

XII. *Vaticinia etiam Danielis, Joelis, Amosi, Abdie, Jone, Habacuci, Hageei, complura etiam Poemata sacra aliaque fragmen- ta utroque idiomate conscripta.*

XIII. *De Politia & Disciplina Ecclesiastica.*

XIV. *De veneranda Antistitum dignitate & cum B. Paulo orthodoxy Episcopali autoritate.*

XV. *De ejusdem B. Pauli Peregrinatione.*

XVI. *Praelectiones etiam doctissimas in utramque ad Timotheum Theologicas, una cum scrutationibus in reliquas omnes Paulinas.*

XVII. *Psillum (sive Psilion) cum animadversionibus in sectas Melvinianas.*

XVIII. *Apologiam, sive libellum apologeticum pro augustissima Regia Majestate, Anno 1584. adversus pertinaces sua Majestatis obrectatores mordacissimos & maleferiatos.*

XIX. *Apologiam contra suos amulos.*

XX. *Orationes etiam apologeticas & funebres illufrissima matris Mariae Regiae, & insignium Regni procerum.*

XXI. *Regni etiam, totiusque Britannia annales candide conscripsit, quos ad extremum non produxit.*

Scripsit etiam alia complura, tam ad Religionem quam ad Reipublica statum pertinentias, qua nisi summa temporis injuria, & malevolorum hominum odiis atque invidia huc illuc disjecta, in varias forent manus discerptae, jampridem in lucem prodissent omnia.

An. 1591.

An. 1592.

T H E

LIFE of DAVID CHAMBERS of Ormond, one of the Senators of the Col- lege of Justice.

His Birth
and Educa-
tion.He studies
the Laws in
France and
Italy.He returns
Home, and
is employ'd
in publishing
the Acts of
Parliament,
and is made
a Lord of the
Session.He is obliged
to flee to
Spain, and
from thence
to Italy.

THIS Gentleman was born in the Shire of *Ross*, in the North of *Scotland*, and had his Education in the University of *Aberdeen*; where, after he had finished the Course of his Studies in Philosophy, he applied himself to Theology, and enter'd into Orders, and the Study of the Laws, and studied them for several Years in *France* and *Italy*; and we find, that he was studying at *Bologne* in *Italy*, under *Marianus Sozenus* (*a*), in the Year 1556.

Upon his Return to *Scotland*, he was made Chancellor of *Ross*, and Parson of *Suddy*; and in his Dedication to Queen *Mary* of his Book concerning the Singularities of *Scotland*, he says, That he was the first, that by her Command digested the Laws of *Scotland* into Order, and in the Proclamation given out by Queen *Mary* for that Effect, we find him amongst others employed in that Edition of the Acts of Parliament, which were published at *Edinburgh* in 1566. and are commonly called, *The Black Acts of Parliament*, from their being printed in the Black Letter. Not long after this, he was made a Lord of the Session, and during all Queen *Mary*'s Troubles, he faithfully served her, and when that unfortunate Princess was overcome by her rebellious Subjects, our Author my Lord *Ormond* retired to *Spain*, where he was kindly received by K. *Philip*, to whose Liberality, he owns, he was much obliged (*b*). Having staid for some Time in *Spain* he went to *France*, where he was no less graciously received by *Charles IX.* King of *France*, to whom he presented in the Year 1572. an Abridgment of the History of *Scotland*, *France* and *England*; and the next Year he published at *Paris*, a Discourse concerning the lawful Succession of Women to the Possessions of their Parents, and of Princesses to Empires and Kingdoms, which he dedicated to the Queen Mother of *France*, *Catharine de Medici*.

In the Year 1579. he augmented his Abridgment of the History of *Scotland*, *France* and *England*, with the History of all the Popes and Emperors, and dedicated it to *Henry* the third King of *France* and *Poland*. The same Year, he likewise published his Enquiry concerning the most remarkable Things in the Government of *Scotland*; which he dedicates to Queen *Mary*. All these being published in one Volume, I shall give the Reader an Account of them, according

(*a*) *Singularities of Scotland*, Page fol. 24. (*b*) See his Ded. to *Henry III.*

according to the Order that our Author has been pleased to give them.

An. 1643.
An Acc^dn
of his Work.

The first, is his Historical Abridgment of all the Kings of *Scotland*, *France* and *England*, as likewise of all the Popes and Emperors. In this Abridgment our Author has given an Account of the most remarkable Things that have happened in *Europe*, from the Creation of the World to his own Time : And in his Preface he tells us, That the Lives of the Popes are taken out of the Writings of St. *Jerom*, *Eusebius*, *Palmerus*, *Prosper*, *Platina*, *Onuphrius*, *Pontacus*, and a pontifical History writ in *Spanish*. The Lives of the Emperors, from the Writings of *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, *Voleteranus*, *Carion*, *Fasciculus Temporum*, *Cuspinian*, *Genebrard*, and the History of the Emperors writ in *Spanish*. The History of *France*, from the Annals of *France*, *Paulus Emilius*, *Gaguin*, *Arnold Terronius*, *William Parradin*, *Guicciardin* and *Paul Jove*. That of *England*, from the Writings of *Gildas*, *Froissard*, *Couper*, *Harding*, *Galfid*, *Caxtin*, *Polydore Virgil*, *Hales*, *Grafton*, and the Annals of *England*. And Lastly, that of *Scotland*, from the Writings of *Verumundus a Spaniard*, *Turgot* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, *John Swinton*, *John Campbell*, *William Elphinston* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, *Hector Boetius*, the Black Book of *Scoon*, and the Chronicles of *Colm's Inch* and *Icolmkill*.

His next Book, is his Enquiry into the most remarkable Things concerning the Government of *Scotland*. Our Author supposes, That every Kingdom or State, is supported by three Pillars, Valour to Fight and Conquer ; Religion to regulate their Duty towards God ; and Justice to regulate their Duty towards their Neighbour : All which are eminently seen in the *Scots Constitution*. And first, our Author shows, from our own and foreign Histories, That there never was a braver Nation than the *Scots*, of which there are undeniable Instances, by their defending of their Country and Monarchy, for so many Hundreds of Years, against so many powerful Enemies, as the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Britons*, *Picts*, *Normans* and *English*: None of which could ever subdue them ; by their expelling the *Britons*, and subduing the *Picts*, and by the large Conquests they made of the Northern Countries of *England*. 2dly, As to Religion, our Author shows, That the *Scots* embraced the Christian Religion in the 2d or 3d Century ; That after they had embraced it, none professed it with more Purity and Zeal than they did ; Witness the Multitude of their Holy Priests, which they sent from *Icolmkill*, to convert the *Irish* and *South Britons* ; and their constant Opposition to all Hereticks and Heretical Doctrines. And lastly, as to the Pillar of Justice, or of rendering to every Man what in Reason is his Due ; our Author shows from the Constitution of our Parliament, Session and other inferior Courts of Judicature, That Justice is no where so well administrated as in *Scotland*. After this our Author shews, That the Government of *Scotland*, has been always Monarchical, and under one Race of Kings ; That no Nation in the

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World can parallel. After this, our Author treats of the three Estates that compose our Parliament; the first of which is the Lords Spiritual, the Archbishops, Bishops mitred, Abbots and Priors; and here he shews how useful at all Times the Clergy has been to the Republick, not only by their holy and exemplary Lives, and their great Acts of Charity; but likewise by their prudent Advices, in the Management of the greatest Affairs of State; and Instances in his own Days, in the wise and prudent Conduct of *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and Ambassador from the Queen, to *Henry III.* King of *France*; of *John Lesly* Bishop of *Ross*, Ambassador from the Queen, to the Queen of *England*; and *William Chisolt* Bishop of *Dunblain*, and *Vason* in *Provence*, Ambassador from the Queen, to the Pope. The second Estate of Parliament, is the Nobility and Gentry, and here our Author shows the different Degrees of the Nobility of *Scotland*, as they were in his Time: The first of which is the Princes of the Blood, the King's eldest Son being always styled the Prince of *Scotland*, since King *Indulfus* Time, about the Year 943. Next to the Princes of the Blood, are the Dukes, the first of this Order was *Robert Stuart* Earl of *Fife*, and Son to King *Robert* about the Year 1370. Next to them are the Earls (but since his Time are the Marquisses) who succeeded to the Thanes, and were first instituted by King *Malcolm Canmore* about the Year 1061. Next to them are the Viscounts. And Lastly, The Lords. All these have their different Privileges and Power, according to their Patents and Charters granted to them by the King, and they are called the greater Barons. The lesser Barons called Lairds, were likewise obliged to appear of old personally in Parliament; but this being a heavy Burden put upon them, they desired to be excused from their Attendance in Parliament; which Favour was granted to them by King *James I.* upon the Condition of their sending two, three, or more from every Shire to represent them (*Vid. Parl. 7. Cap. 101.*) Yet they made no Use of this Privilege for above 150 Years, till King *James VI.* to balance the Nobility, got them restored to that Right; and ever since, there are two sent from every Shire, who are Commissioners for the Shires. The third Estate of Parliament, are the Burrows or Burgesses, whom he classes into three Ranks. The first are the Gentlemen or Barons Sons, who have taken themselves to Trades. The second is the Sons of old Burgesses, the Rise of whose Families cannot be well instructed; and the last is the Tradesmen and Labourers. After this our Author gives an Account of all the Regents or Governors of the Realm, that the Estates of Parliament have made choice of during the Minority of their Princes.

Then our Author treats of the Officers of State: The First of which is the Chancellor, who then was the principal Judge in all Civil Cases: The Justice-General, who is Judge of all Criminal Cases committed by Land: The Lord High Admiral, who is Judge of all Civil and Criminal Cases amongst Mariners, and of all other

ther Cases concerning Traffic by Sea. Next to the Chancellor is the President of the Session, who then was always obliged to be a Churchman; but all Criminal Accusations were judged only by the Judges according to the Verdict of Thirteen Men, or more, who were to be chosen: So that none of them could be suspected of Partiality, reputed Men of good Consciences, and of the same Station with the Persons: And these are called *The Assizers*. The Lord High Constable is Judge in all Criminal Cases committed within two Leagues of the King's Court; and as he has the Charge of Guarding the Doors of the Parliament whilst they are sitting, so the Lord High Marischal has the Care of the Barriers and Seats within the House, and of appointing to every Person his Seat according to his Degree and Quality. The Lord High Chamberlain is Sovereign Judge in all Actions Criminal, committed by Burgesses within their respective Burghs, accused and indicted by the King's Advocate: And as these Courts, held within Burghs by the Chamberlain, are called *Chamberlain Ayres*; so the Courts held by the Justice-General, for Crimes committed without the Burghs, are called *Justice Ayres*: Which Courts were very old in *Scotland*, being first established by *Coranus*, the 45th King of *Scotland*, about the Year of our L O R D 500. The Wardens of the Marches are Judges of all Thefts, Robberies and Crimes that are committed upon the Borders of *Scotland* and *England*. The *Scots Conservator* in *Flanders*, is Judge of all Matters of Traffic amongst the Merchants, according to the Privileges that are granted to them there.

And here our Author refers to the *Regiam Majestatem*, and the *Iter Justiciarij*, for the Privileges, Preheminences and Salaries appointed to each of those Judges: And tells us, That the Persons then employed were, *John Stuart Earl of Athole*, Chancellor: The Earl of *Argyle*, Lord Justice-General and Master of the Household, *Francis Stuart*, Son to the Earl of *Bothwel*, Lord High Admiral. The Earl of *Errol*, Hereditary Lord High Constable. The Earl of *Marischal*, Hereditary Lord High *Marischal*. My Lord *Fleming*, Lord High Chamberlain. My Lord *Hume*, Guardian or Warden of the East Marches: My Lord *Harris*, of the West: And the Laird of *Sesford*, of the Middle. And the Reverend, Abbot *James Balanden*, President of the Session.

As to the Officers of the King's Household, our Author enumerates, The Captain of the Guard, whose Office is to accompany His Majesty where ever he goes, with a certain Number of Gentlemen well armed, for defending of His Sacred Person. The Lord Treasurer, who takes care of the King's casual Rents: And my Lord Comptroller, who takes care of his other Revenues. My Lord Secretary, whose Office is to manage all the important Transactions betwixt the Sovereign and his Subjects, and betwixt him and all foreign Princes. As for the rest of the inferior Officers of the Household, our Author takes no more Notice of them, but that they were all generally either Noblemen or Noblemen's Sons, and were

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regulate in the same Order as the Servants of the Household in France etc.

The next Thing our Author treats of, is the Laws by which the *Scots* are governed; and these are either Ecclesiastic or Civil: The Ecclesiastic Laws are founded upon the Canon Law and the Decrees of the General Councils; and the Civil Laws, upon the ancient Customs of the Kingdom, or upon the Laws of the *Romans*. After this, our Author divides the *Scots* into three different Sorts of People, according to their three different Languages: And the first is those who speak *English*, which was first brought into the Kingdom by *Margaret, Malcom Canmore's Queen*, about the Year 1061. And this is spoke by all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Low Countries. The Second is the *Gachlet*, as our Author calls it, which is spoke by the Highlanders and the *Irish*: And our Author says, That some of the Missionary *Jesuites* found this Language spoken amongst some of the *Indians*. The Third is the *Norse*, spoke by many of the Inhabitants of *Zetland* and *Orkney*: And here he gives an Account of some particular Customs that are amongst each of these People. And Lastly, He concludes with a Political Discourse concerning the Causes of the mutual Friendship and Love betwixt Kings and their Subjects, and the mutual Love of Subjects towards one another.

Our Author's last Performance, is upon the Succession of Women to the Inheritance of their Parents: And he tells us, that the Occasion of his writing this Book, was in Defence of his Royal Mistress, Queen *Mary*.

This Book is divided into 12 Heads or Chapters. In the 1st Chapter, for the better understanding of what he is to say, he gives the Definition and Division of the Laws. The Law then, taken in its general Acceptation, is the Science of Right and Equity, discerning what is just from what is unjust (*a*): And is divided (*b*) first into publick and private Laws: The Publick consists in what belongs to the Church and State; for without Religion and Justice no Republick can flourish. The Private Law (*c*) is what concerns every individual Man; and this is taken either from the Precepts of the Law of Nature, as the Right of all Nations (*d*); or from a positive Law. The Law of Nature, taken in a large Sense, is what is not only proper to Men, but to all Animals: According to the Doctors of the Canon Law, 'tis the common Notions and Opinions that are naturally engraved in the Hearts of all Men tending to a rational and happy Life. The Law of Nations (*e*) is that which natural Reason hath constituted to be observed by all Men, their Necessity requiring it; neither is the Positive Law (*f*) different from it, agreeing in all Things with the Laws of Nature and Nations; and is divided into a Divine and Humane Law. A Divine Law (*g*) has its Rise and Origine from the Divine Reason, to which belongs all Things

(*a*) Lib. 1 de Test. ff. (*b*) De Instit. & Jur. ff. (*c*) L. Glo. § hujus, Instit. de just. & jur. (*d*) Dist. L. 1. ff. do: just. & jur. (*e*) § 1. Instit. de jure nat. gent. & civ. (*f*) L. Jus Civ. ff. de just. & jur. (*g*) Quart. Cap. 1. Dist. 1.

Things that have any Reference to the Worship of God; either in the Old or New Testament. A Humane Law (*a*) is what has its Rise and Origine from humane Reason; and properly it is called *The Civil Law*, as being ordered (*b*) by a particular People, or by those of a City, for the Preservation of their Country or City. But the following Example will make the Reader better understand these Divisions of the Laws, to wit: The Law of Nature (*c*) excites us to Society, as we see it observ'd amongst all Animals of the same Species; and this is the final Scope and Design of all Laws: In consideration of which, the Law of Nations not only orders, that every Man should be diligent and tedious in the Vocation and Employment to which he is called; but likewise, that according to their Diligence, so they should be either rewarded or punished. The Positive Humane Law, otherwise called *The Civil Law*, shews how the Vertuous ought particularly to be rewarded, and what Punishments are to be inflicted on the Bad. The Law of Nature, according to the Canonists, (*d*) shews that all Things are governed by a God: And the Positive Divine Law, shews that this God is our Blessed Lord and Saviour, united with God the Father and the Holy Ghost in the Mystery of the Trinity: It likewise shews the Manner and Method of Worshipping God.

Our Author having laid down these Principles, in the 2d Chapter he proceeds to shew the Hereditary Feminine Succession by the Law of Nature. *Ulpian* the Lawyer shews, (*e*) how that the Education of Children by their Parents, is a Law of Nature common to us and the brute Beasts, as we daily see by the Care that all Animals take about their Young: And 'tis plain and evident, that the Provisions that are given by Parents to their Children, according to the different Customs of the Countries in which they live, is for their Nourishment and Sustenance (*f*); and those that defrauded them of it, were look'd upon and esteem'd as Homicides. During the Golden Age, which lasted from the Days of *Adam* to *Nimrod*, all Things were in common; but afterwards, when each had their Portions assign'd to them, to deprive Women of their Hereditary Right, were a plain Transgression of the Law of Nature, especially when Nature seems to point out the quite contrary; for all Females run the Hazard of their Lives in bringing forth their Young, and very often lose them, and when the Young are brought forth, they run to the Mother for their Nourishment, without ever noticing the Father; so that Nature seems to tell us plainly, That we ought to have more Regard to the Females than the Males.

In the Third Chapter, our Author reasons from the Law of Nations, which was introduced by the Breath of the Law of Nature (*f*): By the first Instruction of this Law, for Dividing of Goods, Nations were separated, Kingdoms were limited,

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and

(*a*) C. A. Jus Civ. i. Diff. § Quid quisque, Inst. de jure nat. gen. &c civ. (*b*) Arist. 2 Polit. Cap. 6, (*c*) Iason Angelus Baldin, § Jus autem, Civil. Iustit. de Jure nat. genet. &c civ. (*d*) Diff. Cap. i. prima Diff. ibi doc. (*e*) L. 1, § Jus nat. B. de jure & just. § 1. Diff. de jure nat. (*f*) L. Cum ratio, &c de bo. dam. L. Negare, & de Lib. & quod. (*g*) § 107/ de jure genet. nat. &c civ.

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and all Contracts introduc'd, and all Pactions and Agreements in human Society : Now, before the Introduction of this Law, when all Things were in common, that Women had an equal Privilege with Men, is plain from the 1st Chapter of *Genesis*, and when it was introduc'd, altho' Men have many special Privileges (*a*) that are not granted to Women, yet there was never any Nation, no, not the most barbarous, but allowed the Hereditary Succession to the Destinations of their Parents, and secured them in their Douanries ; it belonging particularly to the Republick, to settle and secure them in that (*b*), for the Multiplication of Mankind, in which the Strength of the Republick consists.

In the 4th Chapter, our Author reasons, From the Positive Divine Law, by all Histories, sacred and prophane, we find, (*c*) that there was never any Person, that had the least Degree of Reason, but acknowledged that there was a God or Gods, who took care of the Things here below ; nor was there ever any People so ignorant, but had their own Gods whom they owned (*d*) ; nor any Nation so barbarous, (*e*) but worshipped with such Sacrifices and Ceremonies as their Legislators thought fit to prescribe to them. We Christians acknowledge the Laws of the *Jews*, as delivered in the Old Testament, to be the Positive and Divine Law of the Eternal God : Now, what the Law was amongst God's People the *Israelites*, as to the Succession of their Males, their Legislator *Moses* tells us, in these Words : (*f*) *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Unto those the land shall be divided for an inheritance, according to the number of names : to many, thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to few, thou shalt give the less inheritance ; to every one shall his inheritance be given, according to those that were numbred of him : notwithstanding, the land shall be divided by lot, according to the names of the tribes of their fathers they shall inherit ; according to the lot shall the possession thereof be divided between many and few.*

And as this is a clear Decision as to the Succession of the Males, so in the next Chapter there is one for the Females, (*g*) in the Case of *Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah*, the five Daughters of *Zelophehad*, of the Tribe of *Manasseh* ; who coming before *Moses*, and before *Eleazar* the Priest, and before the Princes and all the Congregation, said, *Our father died in the wilderness, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the Lord in the company of Corah, but died in his own sin, and had no sons ; why should the name of our father be done away from amongst his family because he hath no son ? give unto us therefore a possession among the brethren of our father.* And *Moses brought their cause before the Lord*. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, The daughters of Zelophehad speak right : thou shalt surely give them a possession of an inheritance amongst their fathers brethren, and thou shalt*

(*a*) *L. In multis de sua. hom. &c. d. l. 2 ff. de jure dot. L. ff. foliu. matr.* (*b*) *l. 2. ff. de jure dot. l. 1. ff. foliu. matr.*
 (*c*) *S. Aug. de civitate Dei, Lib. 11 & 15. & Cicero de natura Deorum.* (*d*) *Boccace de la Geneal. des Dieux.* (*e*) *Ibidem.*
 (*f*) *Numb. xxvi. 25----57.* (*g*) *Numb. xxvii.*

shalt cause the inheritance of their fathers to pass unto them. And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter; and if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren; and if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance to his fathers brethren; and if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his Inheritance to his kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall possess it: and it shall be unto the children of Israel a statute of judgment.

In the 5th Chapter, our Author reasons from the Positive Humane, or Civil Law; The Positive Humane Laws were brought in after the Law of Nations, either to augment or diminish it, according to the Advice of Lawyers, and prudent and wise Men: (a) Thus, for Example, as to the Augmenting of it; the Law of Nations ordains the Thief to be punished, without condescending upon the Punishment; but the Positive Law orders him to be hanged: and he that is guilty of Homicide, to lose his Head. And as to the Diminishing, the Law of Nations requires, (b) that Promises should be observed; but the Positive Law requires not this in Minors or mad Men, and so of the rest.

And since the Number of Positive Laws that were made during the Monarchies of the *Assyrians Persians Grecians and Romans*, are almost infinite, these writ by the *Romans* have obtained the Preference above all the rest, not only upon the account of their having conquered and subdued these Empires, but upon the account of their Reasonableness: Now, by the Law of the 12 Tables, (c) the Daughters of the *Romans* did succeed, equally with their Brethren, to the Goods of their Parents that died without making a Testament; but some Time afterwards, by the Advice of Lawyers and the Prætors, (d) the Daughters Portions were diminished in favours of their Brethren, for the better preserving the Names of their Families: (e) For the Male Children were called after their Fathers; whereas the Daughters took upon them the Names of their Husbands, and retained the same Names w'en they were Widows. But by the Imperial Constitutions and *Justinian's* Laws, all Difference is taken away. (f) In the Succession of Males and Females to the Goods of their Parents, the Parents cannot defraud their Children of their legal Portion (g): That is to say, If they have four Children, or fewer, the fourth Part of all their Moveables and Immoveables is to be distributed amongst them; the Douaries of the Women and the Debts being first paid: And if they have six Children, or more, the Half must likewise be distributed amongst them, and the Parents may dispose of the rest as they please. And of this legal Patt, neither the Females nor Males can be excluded, unless they can prove against them some of the 14 Crimes (h) Specified

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(a) Bar. in L. Interdum. ff. de con. inde. (b) L. 1. de par. toto titulo, ff. &c de minoribus. (c) Ca. 2. 7. Diff. L. 25. E de orig. iuris. (d) L. Maximum vitium de liber. Prætor. (e) L. 2. § Denunciare, ff. de vero, lisp. (f) L. § Reliquas in autem. de libert. ob intell. res. Col. viii. (g) Auth. noviss. de uso & telle. (h) Sed quia causas, in antiquis ut cum de Appel. cog. Col. viii.

cified in the Laws for excluding of Males, or of the 13 specified for
 excluding of Females.
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Our Author having thus shown, how Women succeed to the Goods of their Parents by the Laws of Nature, Nations, the Divine and Civil Law; he proceeds, in the next place, to shew how, by the same Laws, they succeed to publick Governments. And in the 6th Chapter, he shews the Excellency of Monarchy above all other Governments, and the Qualities that are requisit in a King.

In the 7th Chapter, he shews the Succession of Women to publick Governments by the Law of Nature, since Women succeed to the Goods of their Parents by the Law of Nature, as has been proven; and that they cannot be defrauded of them: By the same Law they should succeed to the Governments of their Parents, for there is a common Rule in the Law, which says, (*a*) *Where the Law makes no Distinction, we ought to make no Distinction.* And here our Author shews, that Women are naturally as capable of Government as Men, since they are endued with Reason as well as they: And GOD Almighty seems to point this out to us in the History of their Creation; for, says our Author, She was not formed out of his Head, that she might domineer over him; nor out of his Feet, that she should be trampled upon and enslaved by him; but out of his Rib, to shew, that she is a Copartner with him in all his natural Endowments.

In the 8th Chapter, our Author reasons from the Law of Nations, by which the Female Government is confirmed by many Instances, which our learned Author brings from the Histories of all Nations; in which he shews an immense Reading: Yea, says he, not only every Nation has had their Female Governors, but there have been some Nations governed only by Women; such as the *Amazons*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, consisting all of Women (*b*), and their Queen *Penthesilea* assisted the *Trojans* against the *Grecians*; and another of their Queens, *Thalestris*, is famous in History. According to *Plutarch*, the Men in *Achaia* (*c*) were so weak in their Prudentials, that for a long Time they were govern'd by Women. And in ancient Times, the sole Government of *Bactria* was by Women. And *Strabo* tells us, (*d*) the *Tenesians* and *Sabrites* were only governed by Women. The *Bohemians*, for a long Time, were very prudently governed by a Race of Queens. The Kingdom of *Panidea*, in the East Indies, was likewise governed by Women (*e*). The *Troglodites* in *Africa* were governed by Women. And *Dionysius Halicarnassus* says, (*f*) That there was a Law amongst the *Lydians* and *Numidians*, That the Women should command within Doors, and the Men, without Doors. *Lycurgus*, in his Laws to the *Lacedemonians*, orders (*g*) the Men to provide for their Families, and the Women to govern them. *Stobaeus* tells us of a People in *Africa*, called the *Buaoi*, where the Women are governed by a Woman, and

(*a*) *Cla. de Clio. Inst. de aet.* (*b*) *Vide Trog. Pomp. Prof. Dindor. Sicul. Herodot.* (*c*) *Plut. de coriol.* (*d*) *Lib. 6.*
 (*e*) *Herod. Lib. 1. Iuli. Lib. 1.* (*f*) *ubi supre.* (*g*) *Lycurgi's Law.*

and the Men, by a Man. After this, our Author gives a List of famous Queens who have distinguished themselves in History, by their Valour, Prudence and Wisdom.

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In the 9th Chapter, our Author reasons from the Divine Law: Where we find the Prophetesses, *Deborah*, who judged *Israel*, and whose wise Conduct and Valour we have an Account of in the 4th Chapter of the Book of *Judges*. Here our Author gives likewise several other Instances, of the wise Conduct and Prudence of Women, from the sacred Scriptures.

In the 10th Chapter, our Author reasons from the Civil Law; which allows Women to be Tutrixes to their Children (a): And here our Author gives a vast Number of Instances of Queens who have governed, in the Minority of their Children, with such Wisdom and Prudence, that they have obtained the universal Applause of all Nations.

In the 11th Chapter, our Author answers the particular Objections made against Queen *Mary's* Accession to the Crown of *England*; which are, first, from the Words of *Deuteronomy*, Chap. xvii. Verse 14. *When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, likeas all the nations that are about me; thou shalt in any wise make him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose, one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayst not set a stranger over thee which is not thy brother.* By these Words, the Queen's Enemies pretended to prove, that it was not only unlawful to make choice of a Woman to be Queen over them, but likewise, to make choice of a Stranger. 2dly, That by the Law of Nature, Women could not succeed to Governments. 3dly, By the Municipal Law of *England*, That all Persons born either of Father or Mother without the Dominions of the said Kingdom of *England*, can claim to no Inheritance within the said Kingdom. The 4th is from the Testament of *Henry VIII.* who, by the Consent of the Three Estates of Parliament, ordered the Heirs procreate betwixt his Sister *Mary* and *Charles Brandon*, her 2d Husband, failing Heirs of his own Body; and excluding the Children of *Margaret*, his eldest Sister, Mother to *James V. King of Scotland*.

To the First, our Author answers; That the Scriptures speak not here of an Hereditary King, but of an Elective One: And altho' it were to be understood of an Hereditary One, we Christians are not obliged to observe it, it being neither a Divine nor a Moral Law. Neither can the Queen of *Scotland* be reckoned a Stranger; for she was not only twicc descended from *William the Conqueror*, but likewise, the last and lawful Heiress of the Royal Blood of the *Britons* and *Saxons*, as descended from *Anna*, the eldest Sister of *Uterpendragon*; and the Wife of *Loth King of the Picts*, as she was of *St. Margaret*, eldest Sister to *Edgar*, who died childless; so the

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last of the Royal Line of the *Saxons*. Neither did the *Jews* themselves strictly observe this Law; for *David*, being descended from *Jeſſe* the Son of *Ruth*, a *Moabitish* Woman, and of *Boaz* her Husband an *Israelite*, was esteem'd worthy to be chosen King of *Israel*. And in the Phrase or Stile of the Scriptures, the Word *Brother* is often understood of the Feminine Sex, as well as of the Masculine; as in the eight Beatitudes, and in many other Places. All which, with what has been said before, is a sufficient Answer to this first Objection.

As to the 2d. 'tis sufficiently answered by our Author before; to which he referrs. As to the 3d. Objection; 'tis utterly denied that there is any such Law: 'Tis acknowledged by our Author, that *Edward III.* King of *England*, in the 25th Year of his Reign, made a Law, by which he excluded all from having any Inheritance in the Kingdom that were born out of it, and not subject to the Crown of *England*, excepting the King's Children. And *Philip Morgan* has shown, from many Reasons, Decisions, and Extracts of their Books of Law, that the laid Law was never understood of their Kings, or of their Children and Successors.

And as to the 4th and last Objection, concerning King *Henry*'s Testament: *Morgan* having shown, by many Reasons, that King *Henry* had no Design of defrauding the Queen of *Scotland*, he says, That my Lord *Paget*, one of his Privy Council, discovered to Queen *Mary* of *England* that this Testament was forged; and that Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord Chief Justice, affirmed the same likewise; and that one *William Clark* confessed, that he had appended the Seal to it after King *Henry*'s Death, for which he obtained Pardon from the said Queen; and the Testament was torn and declar'd null and void. But, granting the Truth of the Matter alledged, our Author proves, that it was neither in the Power of King *Henry* nor his Parliament, to exclude Queen *Mary* from her Hereditary Succession.

And lastly, our Author concludes his Book, with the Advantages that *France* has received by Queens and Princesses: But for the many Virtues and rare Endowments of Women, he refers his Reader to *Plutarch*'s *Book of Illustrious Women*, *Bocacius*'s *Book of Renown'd Ladies*, *Francis Belon*'s *Book of the Impregnable Fort of the Female Honour*, and to a Book writ by *Christina Pisa* an *Italian* Lady.

This Gentleman died at *Paris* in the Year 1592. much regredated by all that knew him. The Bishop of *Carlile* (a) blames him for his Partiality to his own Country, and for bringing the Sovereignty from the People: 'The Affairs of his own Country *says he* (b) are his chiet Subject, and what he had principally in View; and he pretends to give the Marrow of whatever had been offered to the World, by *Veremond*, the *Black Book of Scon*, the old Chronicles of *Icolmkill*, &c. whereas, in truth, *Boethius* is his main Author,

(a) *Sicca His.* Page 123. (b) *Ibid.*

' thor, and the rest are only Ornaments of his *Preface*. His great
 ' Design, over and above the particular Favour to his own Country,
 ' appears to be, the Giving in a *Memorial* to the Court of France,
 ' in relation to the then present State of Religion and Policy in *Scot-^{Aug 1392}
land*; and reminding the *French* King of the ancient Alliances
 ' betwixt the two Realms, and what a necessary Support they have
 ' been to each other when press'd with the common Enemy. In
 ' the Conclusion of his Work, we have a List of both *French* and
 ' *Scottish* Authors that have treated on the ancient League between
 ' the two Kingdoms; many whereof are now hardly to be met with.
 ' The Author's Original Manuscript is said to be in the *French* King's
 ' Library at *Paris*'. And speaking of his remarkable Inquiries con-
 ' cerning the Government of *Scotland* (*a*), he says, ' When he comes
 ' to speak of the Original of the Sovereignty, he expressly fetches it
 ' from the People; who, he says, were under a necessary Constraint,
 ' *a cause des Guerres commences par les Britons, de transferrer leur*
 ' *Souverain Pouvoir, & creer Fergus, Fils de Ferquhardus Roy de*
 ' *Ireland, leur premier Roy*: That is to say, *Because of the Wars be-*
 ' *gun by the Britons, to transfer their Sovereign Power, and to create*
 ' *Fergus. the Son of Ferquhard King of Ireland, their First King*.

Dempster says, that he was a Man of great Reading, and of a pleasant Temper: David Chalmer, says he, *sive Camerarius Abredonensis, in Gallia celebri admodum nomine vixit; vir multa & varia lectionis, nec in amoeni ingenii*. And he says, that he is highly commended by Richardus Vitus, in his History of Britain, Lib. & Not. 33. Lib. 34. Not. 1. Lib. 6. Not. 27. And it appears from his Work, that he was a Man of great Reading, a good Divine, an eminent Lawyer, a judicious Historian, a loyal Subject, and well seen in the Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian and Spanish Languages; but especially, it is much to be admired, that he attained to such Perfection in the *French* Language, that he made Choice of it to write all his Works in: The Catalogue of which is as follows.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. **H**istoire abregee de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre & E-
 scoje, mise en ordre par form d'harmonie; contenant aussi
 un brief discours de l'ancienne alliance & mutuel secours en-
 tre la France & l'Ecosse: Plus, l'Epitome de l'Histoire Romaine des
 Papes & Empereurs y est adjousee; & celle d'iceux Roys augmentee,
 selon la mesme methode: Dedice au Tres-chrestien Roy de France &
 de Pologne, Henry III. A Paris, chez Jean Fourier, pres la Col-
 lege de Reims, in 8vo.

 II. *La Recherche des Singularitez plus remarquables concernant le estat d'Escoffe: Vovée à Tres-auguste & Tres-clemente Prince, Marie Reyne d'Escoffe, & Donairiere de France. A Paris, 1579. in 8vo.*

III. *Discours de la Legitime Succession des Femmes aux possessions de leurs parens; & du Gouvernement des Princesses, aux Empires & Royaumes: A Tres-haute & Tres-sage Princess, Catharine de Medici, Reyne-mere du Roy Tres-chrestien. Par David Chambre, Escoffois, Conseillier en la Cour de Parlement a Edinbourg, ville capitale d'Escoje. A Paris, chez Jean Fleurier, pres le College de Reimes, 1579. in 8vo.*

T H E LIFE of THOMAS OGSTON, Professor of the *Belles Lettres* at Touraine.

His Birth
and Educa-
tion.

He goes o-
ver to France,
and is made
Professor of
the Belles
Lettres at
Touraine.

An Account
of his Works.

THIS Gentleman was born in the Southern Parts of *Scotland*; and having finished the Course of his Studies in his own Country, he went over to *France*, where he studied for some Years at the University of *Paris*; and by the Procurement of that great Patron of Learning *Archbishop Beaton*, he was made Professor of the *Belles Lettres* at *Touraine*, where he taught them with great Applause near to 40 Years. This Gentleman has published a short History of the *Septuagint Translation*, or rather, a Panegyrical Encomium upon that wonderful Performance: And since that History is call'd in question by the Criticks of this Age, I shall, from our Author, give an Account, first of the Matter of Fact, as it is related by several Authors; 2dly, of the Probability of the Truth of this History; and lastly, the Objections that are brought by the Criticks against it.

And first, as to the Matter of Fact: We are told by the *Jewish Talmudists*, That *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, King of *Ægypt*, having erected a noble Library at *Alexandria*, under the Inspection of *Demetrius Phalereus* an *Athenian*, and a Man of great Learning; he resolved to have the *Jewish Law* amongst the rest of his Books: And upon this Design, he brought 70 of the Elders or Seniors from *Jerusalem* to the Island of *Pharos*, and commanded them to translate the Law out of the *Hebrew* into *Greek*, for his Library. And that he might prove their Fidelity, he caused each of them to be confined to a Cell, and when all their Translations were compared together, they did not so much as differ in one Word or Syllable

lable from one another: So that it was acknowledged by all, that this could not be without the special Inspiration of God: Therefor this Translation has been always lookt upon as of Divine Authority: And this is the Matter of Fact; the Truth of which is entorced from the following Authorities.



Aristeas, Captain of the Guard to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, wrote two Books concerning the Affairs of the *Jews*, from the Information that he had from the *Jews* of *Alexandria*: After which, he wrote a Letter to his Brother *Philocrates*, giving him an Account of this Affair of the 70 Interpreters, to which he was an Eye-witness; and says exprefly, ‘ That after three Days had passed, *Demetrius* took the Seniors along with him; and having gotten over the *Hippastadium* and the Bridge, he brought them to the North-parts of the Isle, where he placed the Assembly, in a House fitted for them, standing upon the Shore, free from all Inquietude, with all the Conveniences of Situation.

By which 'tis highly probable, that he means that famous Tower which *Sosratus* of *Cnidus* set up in the Island of *Pharos*, to direct the Mariners in the dangerous Seas about *Alexandria*. And many of the *Jewish* and *Arabick* Writers confirm this, tho' with some differing Circumstances: Thus Rabbi *Jehudah* in the *Gemara*, says, ‘ We receive it by Tradition, That King *Ptolemy* assembled together the 72 Seniors, and plac'd them in 72 several Conclaves, not making them acquainted with his Purpose: After that, going in to each of them, he said unto them, Write me now down the Law of *Moses* the Master. The blessed and glorious God put Understanding into every Man's Heart, and they all accorded in one and the same Sense.

The very same Circumstances of the Story are set down in their *Missida Sopherim*, in *Joseph Ben Gorion*, and the Book *Inchassim* amongst the *Arabian* Historians: *Aben Batta* relates it thus (a), ‘ And in the Twentieth Year of the Reign of *Ptolemy*, the King went up to the City *Jerusalem*, and brought with him from thence 70 Men of the *Jews* unto *Alexandria*, and commanded them, saying, Interpret unto me your Book of the Law and the Prophets, out of the *Hebrew* into *Greek*: And he put every one of them into a several Cell by himself, that he might see how each of them would interpret a Part. And when they had finisht their Work, the King saw what every Man had done; and their Writings all agreed, nothing was contrary in any one of them: So the Book of the Interpretation was seal'd up, and put into the House of their God *Serapis*'. But an *Arabick* Commentator upon the *Pentateuch* says, That this Translation was twice performed, and that the Seniors disagreed at the first Time. His Words are (b), ‘ *Arminus* the Chronologer, in the 19 Year of the Reign of *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Ptolemy*, the King commanded that they should gather together the Seniors of the Children of *Israel*, and that they should

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‘ bring

(a) In *Hab. Ezechiel*. (b) MS. In *Bibl. Bodleiana*.

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‘ bring with them the Book of the Law in their Hands ; and that
 ‘ each of them in several should translate it, according as it should
 ‘ be revealed to his Understanding. And the Seniors came and pre-
 ‘ sented themselves together with their most Divine Book of the
 ‘ Law : And the King’s Command was, That every Man should
 ‘ translate the whole Book. And it came to pass, that the Seniors
 ‘ disagreed in their Interpretation, and the King commanded to put
 ‘ them in Prison and in Chains’. *Philo Judæus*, speaking of this
 Affair, says, ‘ That they sat down privately by themselves ; and ha-
 ‘ ving no other Company but the Parts of Nature, the Earth, the
 ‘ Waters, the Air and the Heavens, (the Mystery of whose Crea-
 ‘ tion their first Work was to discover this Beginning of *Moses* his
 ‘ Law) they prophesied as if they had been divinely inspir’d ; not
 ‘ one, one Thing, and another, another ; but all in the same Sense
 ‘ and Words, as if they had been prompt by some invisible Director.

All this was not only firmly believed by the *Jews*, but likewise by the Fathers of the Primitive Church : Thus *Justin Martyr*, in his *Parænesis* to the Gentiles, speaking of this Translation, says, ‘ That the King appointed to each of the Interpreters a small seve-
 ‘ ral Cell, that every Man might perform the Interpretation by him-
 ‘ self. This, O ye Gentiles ! we report to you, not in the Guise of
 ‘ a Fable or feigned Story, but as a receiv’d Tradition, delivered
 ‘ unto us by the Inhabitants of the Place ; for, we ourselves also be-
 ‘ ing at *Alexandria*, saw the Remainder of these Cells, and they
 ‘ are yet to be seen in the Isle *Pharos* at this present Day’. And in
 another Place of the same Book he says, ‘ That the King perceiving
 ‘ that these 70 Men had all agreed, not only in the Matter, but
 ‘ also in the Manner of the Interpretation, in so much that no Man
 ‘ differ’d from another in a Word, but every Man expressed the same
 ‘ Conceit, and by the same Phrase ; he stood amazed, and nothing
 ‘ doubting but that the Interpretation was wrought by Divine Pow-
 ‘ er, he acknowledged that the Interpreters were worthy of all Ho-
 ‘ nour, as being Men to whom God did bear a peculiar Respect :
 ‘ And having first given them condign Reward, he took Order for
 ‘ their Departure into their own Country.

Irenæus, who lived likewise in the 2d. Century, says, ‘ That *Pto-*
lomy considering with himself, that if they should be suffered to
 ‘ confer one with another, they might perchance conceal something
 ‘ of the Verity of their Scripture, by Ways of Interpretation ; he
 ‘ separated them each from other, and commanded them, that e-
 ‘ very Man should translate the same Part ; and this Order was ob-
 ‘ served in all the Book’. And concerning their Agreement, he
 sayeth, ‘ That they all set down the same Things, in the same Sense,
 ‘ and in the same Words ; in so much, that all People who were
 ‘ then present, acknowledged that the Translation was made by the
 ‘ Inspiration of God’. And we have the less Cause to marvel that
 God should thus do, seeing he wrought as great a Miracle for his
 Scripture by the Hand of *Ezra*, in the Restitution of the Law.

And

And to the same Purposes speaks S. Clement of Alexandria, S. Cyril and Epiphanius; only Epiphanius says, That the Translation was performed in 36 Cells: Which the Criticks endeavour to reconcile with the former Testimonies, by telling us, that each of these Cells were double, and so every two of these Translators were separate, the one from the other, by a Partition.

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But notwithstanding of all these Authorities, and that this Story, for many Ages, has been receiv'd as a Truth; yet we have Reason, from the following Considerations, to call the Truth of it in question (a): For all that the Jews and Primitive Fathers have said of this Translation, is taken from the Testimony of Aristæas, whom we have good Reason to suspect as a supposititious Author, because his History no ways agrees with the Chronology of these Times. 'Tis said, That Demetrius Phalerens Prince of Athens, was the Person who brought the Jews to perform this Translation, under the Reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus: Now 'tis certain, that Demetrius could not be in Credit under Ptolomy Philadelphus; nor alive in the Time when this Version is supposed to be made; for Demetrius came into Egypt in the Reign of Ptolomy the Son of Lagus; and having counselled that Prince to nominate for his Successors the Children that he had by Euridice, he fell into Disgrace with Ptolomy Philadelphus, who banish'd him his Court after the Death of his Father, and confined him to a Province, where he died shortly after, as we are informed by Hermippus in Diogenes Laertius. By which 'tis plain, first, That Demetrius was not in Credit with Ptolomy Philadelphus, and consequently could not be his Bibliothecar, or commissioned by him for inviting the Jews to perform this Translation. 2dly. This Version of the Septuagint being made, as it is said, some Years after the Beginning of Ptolomy Philadelphus's Reign, Demetrius could not have the Care of it, being dead before that. But 'tis commonly answer'd to this, That Ptolomy Philadelphus reigned some considerable Time, as Eusebius observes in his Chronicle; and 'twas at this Time that Demetrius had the Care of the Bibliothec and the Septuagint Translation: And this is the Reason why some say, that this was done under the Reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus, and others, under the Reign of Ptolomy the Son of Lagus. But Aristæas says expressly, that this was done under the Reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus, and to him only he makes Demetrius address himself for Letters to the Jews, and 'tis only he that writes to them. Moreover Vitruvius, in the Preface to his 7th Book, says, That Ptolomy Philadelphus made a Bibliothec, in Imitation of the Kings of Pergamus, and that Aristophanes the Grammian of Athens, was his Bibliothecar. From whence it follows, That Demetrius was not his Bibliothecar, and that the Library was begun after his Death; for the King of Pergamus, in Imitation of whom Ptolomy erected this Library, was Eumenes, and he could not do it till after the Death of Demetrius: For which Reason Suidas

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says, That the Version of the Septuagint was not made till the 33d Year of the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and that *Zenodatus* was the Bibliothecar. And this makes another Contradiction in the Chronology of *Aristeas's Narration*; for he says, that the 70 came into *Egypt*, when *Ptolemy* was making a solemn Feast upon the Account of the naval Battle that he had obtained over *Antigonus*: Now, this Battle must have been that which *Diodorus* speaks of in his Twentieth Book, and which happened in the 3d Yeat of the 18th Olympiad; but at that Time *Demetrius* was not yet come unto *Egypt*; for he arrived not there till after the Death of *Cassander*, which happened in the 2d Year of the 220 Olympiad: And granting that he had come at that Time, 'tis certain that *Eleazar* was not then the High Priest of the *Jews*, as *Aristeas* makes him; for according to *Eusebius*, he did not begin his Priesthood till the 123d Olympiad. And Lastly, The whole Narration seems to be nothing but a Heap of Fables and Contradictions: For 'tis said, That *Demetrius* going along with the Seniors to the Isle *Pharos*, they went over the *Heptastadium* and the Bridge: Which is a notorious *Anchronism*; for *Homer* says, That of old the Island of *Pharos* lay a whole Day and a Night's Sailing from *Alexandria*. But whatever Truth is in this, it is certain, that the true Distance between it and the City was about 7 Furlongs: This Space was, in After-times, wrought into an *Isthmus*, by the Industry and Expences of *Cleopatra* (a), who, as we are told by *Ammianus Marcellinus* speaking of this Queen, says, ' The same *Cleopatra* raised the *Heptastadium*, ' not more wonderful for its Magnitude than for the Expedition of ' the Business; and she did it for a Reason very necessary and very ' well known: The Island *Pharos*, which was about a Mile distant ' from the City, paid Tribute to the *Rhodians*; which being by them ' too intolerably exacted, the politick Princess, always exquisitely ' able to deceive, upon a Time withdraws the Publicans unto the ' Suburbs, as it there had been some great Holy-day to be kept: In ' the mean time, she had set a-work to cast mighty Heaps into the ' Sea; which being followed with indefatigable Pains, 7 Furlongs ' of Sea were made into Earth within the Space of 7 Days, and the ' City continued with the Isle. This done, the Queen rode over ' in her Chariot, and told the Publicans, That they were much de- ' ceived to come and require Impost for the Isle, for that it was ' now become a Continent'. So that *Aristeas* making mention of the *Heptastadium*, he ought to live either in or after the Days of *Cleopatra*; whereas the true *Aristeas* was dead long before.

'Tis said, That *Eleazar* the High Priest made choice of 72 Persons out of the 12 Tribes, taking 6 out of each Tribe: Now, it is certain, that the 12 Tribes were not then subsisting, nor had not been since the Taking of *Samaria* by *Salmanazar*. And if it be said, That there might be Remains of each Tribe amongst them, 'tis ver-
y incredible, that he should get 6 precisely of each Tribe who
were

were qualified for this great Enterprize. *Thopomus* is said to have gone distracted for offering to insert some of the Law in his History; and *Theodectus*, a Tragick Poet, to be struck blind, for offering likewise to put some Passages of Scripture in his Poems. And, in one Word, the Whole of the Narration has so much of the Fable in it, that it plainly discovers it to have been written by an Helenistical Jew, and not by *Aristeas*. But, upon the whole, 'tis certain, that long before our Saviour's Time there was a Greek Version of the Old Testament, that was received as authentick amongst the Jews, and which our Saviour and his Apostles often appeal to, and which is called *The Septuagint Translation*.



Besides this Book, which Mr. Dempster calls his *Observationes in Septuaginta*, he says he translated several Greek Authors into Latin, several Greek Poems compos'd by himself; several Greek and Latin Orations, and a Prelude to Rhetorick.

This Gentleman, whom Dempster calls *Thomas Augustinus*, died at *Touraine*, in 1592. and was (says he) one of the most eminent Persons of his Age; well seen in the Greek, Hebrew and Latin Languages, and an incomparable Antiquary: *Vir inter eminentissimos sui seculi homines jure numerandus; Graecæ, Latine & Hebraice doctissimus, antiquariis incomparabilis:*

His Death
& Character

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *O*ratio Historica de LXX Interpretibus Rom. in 4to. 1590.
- II. *Quorundam auctorum versiones e Graeco in Latinum.*
- III. *Poemata Graeca.*
- IV. *Orationes Graecæ Latineque.*
- V. *Præludia Rhetorica.*

H h h h h

THE

A.D. 1595.

T H E

LIFE of JOHN MAITLAND, Lord Thyrlstan^e, and Lord High Chancellour of Scotland.

His Birth,
Parentage &
Education.

He is made
Secretary of
State.

His Behav-
iour in a Con-
spiracy a-
gainst the
King:

THIS Nobleman was Son to Sir Richard Maitland of Lithington, and Brother to Secretary Lithington. After that he had finished the Course of his Studies in Grammar and Philosophy, his Parents sent him over to France to study the Laws (a): And upon his Return, he entred Advocate, and in a short Time became so famous for his Learning and Prudence, that in the Year 1584 he was made Secretary of State, and the next Year was made Chancellour, upon James Stuart Earl of Arran's being put out of that Office. Whilst he was Secretary of State, a treasonable Enterprize was made against the King's Person at Stirling, in the Year 1595, which happened thus.

The King being informed of a Design, of some of his rebellious Subjects, against his Sacred Person, he went to Stirling, where he emitted a Proclamation; Commanding all his loyal Subjects to meet him at the Castle of Crawford, upon the 22d of October (b), for Resisting the Attempts of the Rebels. But all Things were so prepared by the Court of England, who still fomented the Divisions in Scotland, that the Rebels did prevent the King in the Expedition; for they had appointed their Rendezvous at Lintoun in Tweeddale: And meeting there, did solemnly swear, not to separate, or give over the Prosecution of their Enterprize, till the King should receive them into his Favour, and put the Earl of Arran, Captain James Stuart, then Chancellour, (and who had obtained the Secretary-office for our Author) out of his Office. My Lord Maxwell brought with him about 300 Soldiers and about 700 Horsemen; all the rest did hardly equal what he had with him, altho' Bothwel, Hume, Teaster, Cessford and Drumlanrig had joined with them. And to justify their Proceedings, they gave out a Proclamation; Declaring the Causes of their Enterprize to be, *The Defence of the true Reformed Religion, The Deliverance of the King from corrupt Counsellors, and the Preserving of Amity with England, which the Earl of Arran endeavoured to break.* And nothing was left unsaid in this Proclamation, to render him odious to the People; and particularly, amongst other Things, they laid to his Charge, That he had claimed to the Crown, as being descended from Duke Murdoch, who was beheaded in the Reign of King James I. and that he had assumed to himself the Title of King James VII. Our Historians tell

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(a) Vide Scott's Tarvet's Stat. State of the Scots Statesmen. (b) Spottiswood, Lib. 6. P. 341.

us, That the Year before this, he took Protestation in open Court of Parliament, That he renounced any Title which he had to the Crown : *Which (Spotiswood says) he did to purge himself of that Asperion; but the Protestation was laugh'd at in the Time by the wiser Sort, and gave them to think, that such a Folly had once posseſſed his Mind.* In this Proclamation they likewise blamed Colonel *Stuart*, as another who gave bad Counsel to the King ; but they blame none of his other Counsellors, which highly increased the Chancellor's Fears of being deserted by them.

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The English Ambassador no sooner heard of their being in Arms, but without taking his Leave, he retired in all Haste from *Stirling* to *Berwick* : Upon which a Post was sent after him, with a Letter from the King, wherein he desired to know, If he was directed by the Queen his Sovereign to depart after that Manner ? The Express having overtaken him at *Anwick*, he returned an Answer ; wherein he told the King, ' That he had received no such Direction from his Queen, when he was first employ'd ; but that of late he had received a Command to retire, because he saw no Hope of delivering up of the Laird of *Farnherſt*, who was imm'd for the Killing of Sir *Francis Ruyel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford* ; ' tho' he knew at the same Time, that *Farnherſt* was confin'd at *Aberdeen*, and no Lite expected for him. And in the Conclusion of his Letter he said, ' That it could not be granted that he had departed *infalut. to hospite*, since he performed that Office both with his Heart and Hand ; and that he should by all possible Means endeavour, that his Departure should rather help to maintain than dissolve the Amity betwixt his Sovereign and him.

In this last Paragraph, his Meaning by *his Heart and his Hand*, was a Letter that he left, to be given to the King the Day after he was gone ; in which he blamed *Arran's* Credit with the King, as the sole Cause of all these Troubles. And *Arran* having seen this Letter, it increased his Fears of the under-hand Practices of his Enemies against him, and openly accused the Master of *Gray*, as being privy to the Ambassador's Departure ; which he denied : Yet, (lays Spotiswood) *all that Time nothing was done that was fitting, either for the King's Safety or Reputation, and not so much as the Castle furnished with Victuals; which might have been easily provided.* Nor were the Rebels ignorant of this ; which made them use the greater Haste, marching directly to *Falkirk*, and from thence to *St. Ninian's*, which is about Half a Mile from *Stirling* : And here they put themselves in Order of Battle, and stood so till Night : At which Time, Warning being given them by their Friends within the Town, they advanced ; and knowing all the Passages, they entered into the Town without any Opposition. The Earl of *Arran* the Chancellour had taken upon him to watch that Night, and was keeping the Town-gate, when a Cry was raised that the Town was taken : The Earl of *Crawford*, who watched with him, fled to the Castle ; but the Chancellour escaped by the Bridge, of which he

An. 1593.

kept the Keys. Some weak Resistance was made by Colonel *Stuart* at the Head of the Market-street; but he was soon defeat, with the killing only of some few of his Followers. The Borderers, according to their Custom, fell upon the Stables, and seiz'd upon all the Gentlemen's Horses; a good Number of which were then in Town: and the *Armstrongs* fell a-plundring the Houses, which they did with so much Severity (a), that they took the very Barrs of Iron from their Windows. The next Morning they laid Siege to the Castle, which they knew could not long hold out against them; for there was not above one Day's Provision in it. In this Extremity, the King was advised to send two of the Lords of his Council to them, to enquire what they designed to do; and the Secretary (our Author), and the Lord Justice-Clerk were ordered to confer with them: At their first Meeting the Secretary told them, That such violent Measures were not to be approven of, and that they would find it dangerous to deal after this Manner with their King; for, whatever they extorted from him, either by Force or Fear, he would soon find Means to undo, and never want loyal Subjects to serve him in what he had an Inclination for: And therefore he advised them to act like loving and dutiful Subjects, with Petitions in their Hands, and submitting themselves, upon their Knees, to the King's Mercy. To this the Rebelling Lords replied, That it grieved them very much to be reduc'd to that Necessity, nothing being more dear and sacred to them than the King's Honour and Safety: But what could they have done, for, by the Influence of the Earl of Arran over the King, they had been banished from their Country, put from their Livings, their Friends us'd with Cruelty, the King not permitted to hear them in their just Defence, and always debarred from presenting their Petitions: That their Coming in a hostile Manner, was not to dishonour or force the King, to whom they would be most humble Supplicants, and upon their Knees, if they could obtain Access, beg Mercy at his Hands; all they did, was to save themselves from Ruin, and to be secured from their Adversaries, who had wronged them and the whole Estates of the Kingdom: Wherefore they besought them, as their Countrymen and Friends, to intercede with His Majesty. That they might be accepted in Favour, and all Things composed in the most quiet and honourable Manner, for the King and Country, that could be devised.

This being reported to the King, it did mitigate his Passion: Then he said to the Secretary, That he was never pleased with *Arran's* violent Measures of Proceeding against severals of the Nobility; yet I cannot but be offend with them, for their Coming against me in an hostile Manner: Yet my Love for my Country, and People's Ease and Quiet, makes me willing to pardon them: But there is one Thing which I would have you to look to, and that is, That none in my Company receive any Harm; for I know there are Quarrels betwixt the Earl of *Crawford* and the Master of *Glamis*, that the Earl of *Angus* doth not like *Montrof*; and I believe that

Co-

Colonel *Stuart* is not well beloved, for Things done in my Service: These I cannot see, with mine Honour, any ways harmed; so, provide for that, and tell them, that I shall willingly admit them.

The Sécrétary having reported this to them; they only begged, That His Majesty would for some Time cause these Noblemen be put in Custody, and the Place of Colonel of the Guards taken from *Stuart*, and conferred upon whom He pleased: Which the King having agreed to, they were brought before His Majesty; and falling down upon their Knees, the Lord *Hamilton*, in Name of all the rest, said, *'That they were come, in that most humble Manner, to beg Mercy of His Majesty, and that he would be pleased to pardon them, and to be reconciled to them.* To this the King answered,

My Lord;

I Did never see you before, and must confess, that of all this Company you have been most wronged: You were a faithful Servant to the Queen my Mother in my Minority; and when I understood not, as I do now, the State of Things, you were hardly us'd. The rest of you, that since that Time have been exiled and put from your Livings, I cannot but say, that it was your own Faults, and that your undutiful Behaviour procured the same. Then turning himself to the Earl of Bothwel, he said, *But, Francis! what moved you to take this Course, and to come in Arms against me? Did I ever any Wrong to you? Or what Cause have you to be offended at me? I wish you a quieter Spirit, and that you may learn to live as a dutiful Subject; otherwise, you may expect to be punished according to your Deservings.* But I say to all of you in general, *That since I am persuaded that you did not mean really any Harm to my Person, I am pleased to give both my Hand and my Heart, and will remember nothing that is past; providing that you carry yourselves from henceforth as becometh dutiful and loyal Subjects.* After which they arose one by one, and kissed His Majesty's Hands: But it was observed, that he shewed more Kindness to *Hamilton*, than to all of them.

Two Days after the King, in Council, did renew his Promise, and by a publick Act, did confirm the Pardon granted to them, which was proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet; and the Chancellour was obliged to lurk privately amongst his Friends, till at length, as he was riding thro' Crawford-moor, he was murdered by the Lord *Forthorale*, natural Son to *Morton* the Regent. This Nobleman was Son and Heir to the Lord *Ochiltree*, who had a great Hand in the Reformation; and about the 17th Year of his Age, was made Captain of the King's Guard, and afterwards, Constable of the Castle of Edinburgh, one of His Majesty's Privy Council, and Earl of *Arran*, and was in such Favour with the King, that nothing was done without his Advice; which, as it rendred him the Object of the Nobility's Hatred, so it made him intolerably insolent; which at length obliged the King to abandon him to the Discretion of his Enemies, who pursued him from Place to Place, till he was killed; as we

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have said, by the Lord *Fortheral*, for his having accus'd his Father the Regent of being accessory to the Murdering of the King's Father... And our Author succeeded to him, being made Chancellour of Scotland in his Place, for the Good he had done in reconciling the King to the banished Lords: But he had a more difficult Task in reconciling Him with the Clergy.

*...e is made
Chancellour,
and ende-
voured, but
in vain, to re-
concile the
Clergy to the
King.*

For such of them as were for the *Geneva Discipline*, press'd the King to establish it, thinking that the Chancellour was the only Obstacle to their Design; but when they found that the King was not of their Mind, Warning was given to them by the Moderator of the last Assembly, to meet at *Dumfermling* upon the 23 of November (a): But when they came there, the Laird of *Pitfirren*, Provost of the Town, denied them Access, telling them, that he had the King's Command for what he did. Upon which they met in the Fields; and it was resolved amongst them, That they should meet in the Town of *Linlithgow* before the Meeting of the Parliament, which was appointed to meet in that Town in the Month of December: But in the mean time, they were exhorted by their Moderator, to preach to their People the Danger that *the Cause of God* was in. Upon which, there were a great many seditious Sermons preached; and one Mr. *William Watson*, one of the Preachers of *Edinburgh*, had the Impudence to reprove the King to his own Face from the Pulpit; for which he was committed to the Castle of *Blackness*; and Mr. *James Gibson*, Minister of *Pancaitland*, in another Preachment at *Edinburgh*, said, *That Captain James* (meaning the late Chancellour) *with his Lady Isobel, and William Stuart the Colonel, were taken to be the Persecutors of the Church; but that now it was seen to be the King himself:* Against whom he denounced the Curse that fell on *Jeroboam*, *That he should die childless, and be the last of his Race:* And being brought before the Council, he adhered to what he said; for which he was likewise committed to Prison. And the more the King noticed them, and the more Respect that he paid them, the more insolent they turned: For which Reason the Chancellour advised the King, *To leave them to themselves, for they would render themselves ridiculous, by their Actings, to the People; whereas His Majesty, by imprisoning of them for their undutiful Speeches and Behaviour, rendred them the Object of their Compassion.* And here I cannot but take notice of a very severe and unjust Reflection of Bishop *Spotiswood* (b), upon this Advice of our Author to the King. 'The Chancellour (*says he*) perceiving the King so vexed with the Affairs of the Church, and the Ministers so refractory and unwilling to be ruled, did advise him to leave them to their own Courses; saying, That in a short time they would become so intolerable, as the People would chase them out of the Country. True, (*answered the King*) if I were purposed to undo the Church and Religion, I should think your Counsel not ill; but my Mind is to maintain both, therefor I cannot suffer them

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(a) Vide *Spotiswood*, Lib. 6. Page 343. *Calderwood*, Page 187. (b) Lib. 6. Page 347.

‘ to run into such Disorders, that will make Religion to be despis’d : As if the Curbing of their insolent and rebellious Behaviour were the Undoing of the Church and Religion. But this is one Argument, amongst many others, which I shall bring in that Prelate’s Life, that his History has been interpolate. And it had been good for the King that he had followed our Author’s Advice ; for his Lenity towards them turn’d them so insolent and impious, that when His Majesty desired them to pray for his Mother, when her Death was determined by the Queen of *England*; altho’ they were only desired to pray to God, *That it might please him to illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the apparent Danger wherein she was cast*; they refused to do it: A Petition, which no Sect of Christians in the World but themselves would have refused to comply with. But our Author’s Behaviour in this Case was much more Christian and dutiful.

Fot he made use of all the Rhetoric and Reason he was Master of, to perswade Secretary *Walsingham* of the Iniquity and bad Consequences that would follow upon the Murdering of the Queen; and when he had dung him from all the Arguments he could make use of, he was at length obliged to send him a Letter, wherein he asserted, ‘ That it was Matter of Wonder to all wise and religious Men in *England*, that the King should be so earnest in the Cause of his Mother ; seeing all the *Papists* in *Europe*, that affected the Change of Religion in both the Realms, did build their Hopes altogether upon her, and that she had shewed herself so passionate in point of Religion, as she had transferred her pretended Right to both the Crowns, unto the King of *Spain*, in case the King her Son should persist in his Profession ; as he would see by the inclosed Letter.

He opposeth
the Murder
of Q. Mary
by his Influ-
ence with
Walsingham.

Spotswood, speaking of this Letter, says, ‘ That it was true, that such Informations were given out amongst the *Papists*, to divert the King from Constancy in his Profession; but that any such Translation should be made by her, it is not probable, and a Thing not to be believed ; her Declaration at the Time of her Death being far other, as we shall hear : Albeit a Popish Abbot, describing the Life of *Laurence the Cardinal*, who was at that Time Protector of the Scots Nation, affirmeth the aforesaid Translation to have been in his Hands, and to have been delivered to him by Count *Olivarez*, the Spanish Ambassador at *Rome*.

Now, I have seen this very Letter in the *Cotton Library* at *London*, and have now by me the Copy of it, subscribed by Three of the Counsellors of *England* : I found it amongst the Right Honourable the Earl of *Balcarres*’s Papers ; and by his Lordship’s Order have, with several other Papers of that Nature, delivered it in to the Lawyers Library at *Edinburgh*. And for the Reader’s Satisfaction shall here transcribe it.

AD 1586.

JE me trouve fort en peine, quelle coirſe reprendront les affaires de deca: Charles Paget a charge de moy, de vous communiquer quelques ouvertures de ma part; sur lesquelles, je vous prie lui impartir librement ce que vous pensez, qu'il pourra obtenir du Roy vostre Maistre. Il y a uneaultre point dependant de cela, que j'ay reserve d'escrire a vous seul, pour le mander de ma part au dit Sieur Roy, sans qu'autre que lui seul, si il est possible, en ait cognoissance: C'est que, considerant l'obſtination ſi grande de mon Filz en l'Heresie, & prevoyant ſur ce le Damage eminent qui eſt pour reuſir a l'Egliſe Catholique; lui venant a la Succession de ce Royaulme; j'ay pris de libération, en cas mon dit Filz ne ſe reduiſe avant ma mort a la Religion Catholique, (comme, il fault que je vous die, que j'en ay peu d'esperance tant qu'il reſtera en Escoſe) de ceder & donner mon droit par Testament en la dite Succession de cete Couronne, au dit Sieur Roy vostre Maistre, le priant maintenant me prendre en ſa protection: Paraillement, l'eftat & affaires de l'Egliſe, lesquelles, pour la deſcharge de ma Conscience, je ne pense pouvoiſt mettre es mains de Prince plus zealous de noſtre Religion, & capable, en tous respects, de la reſtablir par deca, & comme il importe a toute la reſte de la Chreſtiente; me ſentant plus oblige de reſpecter en cela le bien univerſel de l'Egliſe. Que ce que ſoit tenu ſecret, d'autant que ſ'il venoit a eſtre revele, ce ſeroit en France la perte de mon Douaire, & en Escoſe, entiererupture avec mon Filz, & en ce pais, ma totale ruine & deſtruction.

Which in English runs thus:

A Copy of a Letter, ſaid to be writ by Queen Mary, May 20.
1586. to the Spanish Ambassador Don Bernardino de Mendoza.

I Am very much perplex'd to know what Course the Affairs will take on this Side: Charles Paget is commiſſioned by me, to make ſome Overtures to you on my Behalf; upon which, I intreat you to impart to him freely what you think he may obtain from the King your Master. There's another Point depending upon them, which I haue reſerved to be writ only to you, and to be communicated by you, from me, to the King your Master, without the Knowledge of any other Person, if it be poſſible; which is, That conſidering the Obſtinacy of my Son in Heresy; and foreſeeing, upon this, the great Loſſ that will enſue upoñ his Succession to the Kingdom, if he ſhould not be reconciled to the Catholick Church; I am reſolved, that in case that my Son does not, before my Death, be brought in to the Catholick Religion, (of which, I muſt tell you, I haue little Hopes as long as he remains in Scotland) to leave, and give by my Testament, my Right of Succession to that Crown; to the King your Master; for the future putting my ſelf and the ſaid Kingdom under his ſole Protection. And this I do for the Discharge of my Conscience; being firmly perſwaded, that I could not put it in the Hand of any Prince more zealous for our Religion, and more capable, in all Respects, of Re-eftablifhing it on this Side, and I think my

my self obliged to, being of greatest Import to Christianity, and the universal Good of the Church. Let this be kept secret; for it should be known, it would be the Loss of my Domarie in France, make an entire Rupture in Scotland betwixt me and my Son, and my utter Ruin and Destruction in this Country.

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This Letter is attested by *Burley, Hatton and Walsingham*: But any impartial Reader will plainly discern in it all the Marks of Forgery; for, not to insist upon the Difference betwixt the Stile of this and her other genuine Letters, and her dying Words to the Contrary: is it to be thought, that a Princess of such known Endowments of Mind as she was bless'd with, would reason so weakly and foolishly, that she should suppose that her Kingdom could be transferred by her to another? Did she not know, that her Kingdom was hereditary, and that her Son could not come at the Possession of it but after her Death? when she herself and all the World knew, that he was then in the full and entire Possession of it. And supposing that she had been such a Fool, and so unnatural as to have thought that she could have transferred her Kingdom from her own Son to another; were not her Uncles the *Guises* (her constant Friends and Supporters) nearer to her than the King of *Spain*, and as zealous Papists as he was? Many other Arguments could be brought; but these are sufficient to show, that this Letter was forged out of the black and hellish Mint of their Contrivances against that unfortunate Princess: Whom they had no sooner murdered, but *Walsingham* wrote the following Letter to our noble Author.

MY LORD,

Being absent from Court when the late Execution of the Queen your Sovereign's Mother happened, I did furthwith, upon my Return, impart to Mr. *Douglaff* some Things concerning the Course which was conceived here, by your said Sovereign's best Friends, fit to be holden in this remediless Accident, for Continuance of Peace and Amity between the two Crowns, as a Thing for the Well of both Nations to be desired; but finding him unwilling to meddle therewith, I have thought good to write, to the same effect, unto yourself, the rather, for that I presently understand by some Advertisements out of that Country, that the Death of the Queen is like to breed so strange an Alienation of His Majesty's Mind towards this Realm, tending, as it is reported, wholly to Violence, and to Revenge of that which hath been so necessarily done by the whole Body of the same; whereof, as for mine own Part, I should be right sorry: So 'tis generally hoped that His Majesty, being of that singular Judgment himself, by the good Help and Advice of such as you are in Credit and Authority about him, Men of Wisdom and Experience whom he will hear, this Mischief will notwithstanding be carefully and prudently prevented; considering how every Way, all Things being rightly weighed, this Course will

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be found prejudicial, as well to your said Sovereign's Estate, as to his Reputation, if he resolve to persist therein.

For first, The Enterprize will be undoubtedly condemned in the Sight of all such as shall not be transported with some particular Passion, for that they shall see, that he takes Arms for Revenge of an Action, besides the Necessity wherein it is grounded, full of so honourable and just Proceedings, as, howsoever the Effect thereof was contrary to their Liking, the Manner thereof, by the Queen's great Favours, could not but be approved of and allowed. And as on the one Side, the King your Sovereign oppugning the Course of Justice, of so unlawful, unjust and desperate a Quarrel, cannot be expected any other thing than a most unhappy and miserable Issue: So we being assured that, in Defence of Justice, the Assistance of *His Mighty Arm* will not fail us, whose Judgment this was, need not to fear whatsoever Man shall attempt to the Contrary against this Realm.

But, not to stand upon the Justness of the Quarrel, which every Man will not perhaps so much regard, 'twould be considered, what Means your Sovereign shall have to go thorow with such an Enterprise, if he take it in hand; for the Forces of his own Realm being so far inferior to those of *England*, no Man is so simple but feeleth, it were no ways safe for His Majesty, trusting only thereto, to make head against the Power of this Land; neither is it thought, that any Man will be found so unadvised as to wish him so to do.

But, as it may be that a great many, for lack of Understanding, are carried away with such vain Discourses, as some, without solid Ground, imagine of that might be done in this Case by a King of *Scotland*, back'd and assisted (as they conceive in the Air) with the *French* and *Spanish* Aid: So it is likely enough, there shall not want those, that either Satisfaction of their private Passions, or Supply of their Necessities, or better affectionating some other private Designs; would be content to serve themselves of this present publick Occasion and Opportunity, who will propound and promise also more to His Majesty of such foreign Assistance, than they know in their Consciences can be performed, if he would declare himself Enemy to this Realm; which that he should (tho' to his own Ruin) the Enemies of both Realms will do what they can to promote.

But Men of Wisdom and Understanding, laying before their Eyes, as well as the accustomed Delaies, and after long Solicitation and Pursuit the simple Supplies, and Support, commonly found at these foreign Potentates Hands; as also how doubtful and uncertain the Success of War may prove; *England* (God be thanked) being so prepared, and in case to defend it self both otherwise, and by the Conjunction of *Holland*, and *Zeland*'s Forces by Sea, in Respect, this Realm need not fear what all the Potentates of *Europe* being bended against us, can do for to annoy the same; due Consideration, I say, being taken hereof, you will easily judge, and find how vain it were for your Sovereign, upon so uncertain Hopes to embark

embark himself and Estate in an unnecessary War; but much ^{Anno 1593} more if you shall consider, what a Sequel and Train of Dangers and Hazards this War draweth therewith, the Consequences whereof reacheth to whatsoever your Sovereign possesseth, or hopeth for in this Life. For Escaping to be slain in Field, if he should happen to be taken Prisoner, or be constrained to retire himself out of the Realm (Things that have fallen out often in Experience) and then having incensed this whole Realm against him, he should be disabled from any Right in the Succession of this Crown (as Authority is given by the same Statute, whereby they proceed against the Mother) for Attempting the Invasion of this Land, what Extremity should he be reduced unto.

And, truely it could not otherwile be; the ancient Enmity betwixt the Two Nations now forgotten, being by drawing Blood of one another again, likely to be in such Sort revived, as it would be impossible to make them like of a Prince of that Nation; and him who had been in so unjust a Ground the Author of that unfortunate Breach. Besides, that the greatest Part of the ancient Nobility, by whose Judgement the late Queen was condemned, and the Rest of the principal Gentlemen of the Realm, who confirmed the same in Parliament, should have just Cause to adventure any Thing, even to their marching over their Bellies, rather than yeild to his Government, who carrying such a vindictive Mind, they might doubt would one Day call their Lives and Honours in Question.

And as for the Remedy which he might attend (standing in these Terms) of foreign Princes; there are many Examples of the former Ages, and within fresh Memory: As the King of Navarr's Grand-Father, by the Mother Side, and Christiern King of Denmark, both were allied to Francis the I. and Charles the V. Two of the mighliest Potenates that reign'd in long Time, and that this present *Don Antonio* may suffice for Examples to teach all Princes if they can avoid it, to beware how they fall into that State, whereby they shall be enforced to seek their own by other Potentates Means, Princes are not so ready in those Days, to embrace Mens Quarrels, but where they are exttaordinarily interested in their own Fortunes.

Wherefore I doubt not, but it will be seen by Men of Judgment, not transported with Passion, or led away with private Respects, that it should be every Way the best Course for your Sovereign, by a good and kind Usage of her Majesty, and by shewing that princely Moderation, as well in this grievous Accident of his Mother's Death, as his whole Proceeding against this Realm (which the Excellency of his Highness Education, seemeth to promise) to seek to win the hearty good Wills of this Realm, as the chief and principal Assurance he can in any sort obtain,

For to trust, or depend, either upon the French King; or the King of Spain, as if by their Assistance he might attain to the pre-



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tent Possession of this Crown, which be indeed the only Two Potentates whom he must have Recourse unto; if he reject the Amity of *England*, whosoever shall so counsel your Sovereign, as Things presently stand, shall, in the Judgement of Men of best Understanding, bewray great Want either of Fidelity or Judgement, drawing his Majesty unto so untoward and desperate a Course.

For, 'tis no way safe for any Prince to repose his Trust and Strength upon their Favour and Assistance, to whose Desires and Designs his Greatness may yield any Impeachment or Hindrance; so were it clearly against common Reason, to expect any other Support or Assistance from them, than might stand with their own Commodity and Pretensions: In respect whereof, neither of the two foresaid Kings can simply and roundly join with your King for his Good.

First, His Religion being odious to them both, and likely to prove most Prejudical to the Catholick Cause, he growing so great as he should be made by the Union of the Two Crowns; the Consideration whereof, caus'd his Mother's Affairs to stick a long Time, and made now, in end, leave him quite out of Reckoning, ordaining the King of *Spain* her Heir, if her Son became not Catholick;

Next, it is merely Repugnant to the Policie of *France*, were it but in respect of the ancient Claim *England* maketh to that Crown, to suffer the Uniting of this Island under one Prince.

They have been content in former Times, when *England* had a Footing in *France*, to serve themselves of your Nation therewith to annoy this Realm, by the Means of diverting or dividing the Forces thereof; and so perhaips the Politicks of *France*, can be content to wish at this Day, by your Sovereign's Quarrel, or any other such like, to be eased of the Burden, and the Miseries of the present War, wherewith they are plagued by Transporting the same into this Island; but as this Realm hath good Means to prevent that Mischief, if it were intended, so were your Sovereign to look, when all were done, but to be made an Instrument, as his Predecessors have been, of the Effusion of much *Scottish* Blood for *French* Quarrels, and the Desolation of that Realm.

And as Things stand presently in *France*, it is not thought, that you should find the King ready to hearken to any Enterprize against this Land. The said King, being most desirous to live in Peace, both with his Neighbours abroad, and his Subjects at home; but, that he hath been forced, full sore against his Will, by the Practice of them of the House of *Guise*, to countenance with his Authority, the Civil War raised in that Realm, which maketh him, whatsoever shew he maketh to the Contrary, to hate them in his Heart.

Neither would it be sound Counsel to be given him, by any that depends upon his Fortune, to further the Advancement of a King of *Scots*, so nearly allied to that Family, which he hath discovered and greatly feareth to level at his own Crown, with any Intention

to

to depose him, which by the Greatnes of a King of *Scots*, they should be so much the sooner and abler to effect.

The King of *Spain's* Assistance, being now in War with this Realm, were more likely to be obtained, but far more dangerous to be us'd, in respect of his insatiable Ambition, deep Practices and Power, accompanied in this Case with a Colour of Right; wherein how far he would seek to prevail, any Opportunity or Advantage being offered, it may justly be doubted, by the Experience that sundry States have had, which, upon slender Grounds of Title, have been wrung from the true Inheritors, and annexed to his own Kingdom; as *Navarre*, *Portugal*, and all that he possesseith in *Italy* has been.

'Tis believed that the King of *Spain*, considering his Years and unsettled Estate every way, would willingly incline to Peace, if it were offered with reasonable Conditions; and not over readily, at present, embark himself in any new Enterprize.

But otherwise, 'tis well known, that as he had fancied to himself an Empire of all this Part of *Europe*, so he had an Eye to this Realm, ever since he was King in Right of his Wife: The Conquest was intended, under Colour of Religion, as was discovered by some that were of his own Privy Council at that Time. His Pretension to be Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and since the late Queen's Death, the First Catholick Prince of the Blood Royal of *England*, as also, the Donation of this Crown made him by the Queen of *Scots* in her Letters, with a Promise to confirm it by Testament, (Things blazed abroad by the said King's Ambassador at *Paris*) ought to breed Jealousy and Suspicion in your Sovereign's Head, and give him to think, how he should be us'd at such an Assistant's Hand. Auxiliary Forces have ever been reputed dangerous, if they, either in Policy or Number, were superior to them that called them in. The Assistance therefor of *Spain* and *France* being of this Nature; as your Sovereign hath Need of neither, so he shall do well to forbear them both, and so shall it be most for his Ease.

It may be that some will pretend, That by Change of his Religion, your Sovereign shall better his Condition in regard of those foreign Princes; besides, within this Realm, that thereby many shall be drawn wholly to depend upon his Fortune: But the poor distressed Estate of *Don Antonio*, being a Catholick Prince, spoilt by a Catholick, and receiving so little Succour at Catholick Princes Hands, shall be sufficient Barr to all that can be alledged in that Behalf.

As for the Catholick Party in *England*; in his Mother's Life it was never so united as they drew all in one Line, much less will they be brought suddenly to rely upon him, if he should alter his Religion, (as God defend) which would be his utter Discredit and Overthrow both with the one and the other Party, neither having Cause to repose any Confidence in him; the *Protestants*, because he had renounccd the Religion wherein he was with great Care brought

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up; the *Papists*, because they could not be assured in short Space, that he was truly turned to their Faith: Yea, all Men shoulde have Reason to forsake him, who had thus dissembled and forsaken his G O D.

And where it was given out, that divers do insinuate to your Sovereign, That his Honour and Reputation is so deeply intercsted therein, as it must necessarily turn to his perpetual Ignominy and Reproach, if he give not some notable Testimony to the World, of the Affection and dutiful Love he bears to his Mother: Your King being of that singular Judgment that he is thought to have, cannot be ignorant how far true Honour ought to possesse a Christian Prince; that is not, whither Passion or Fury useth to carry Men, where Reason and Wisdom have laid the Bounds, that is, within the Compas of Possibility, Decency and Justice: If the late Queen had been innocent, Revenge had been necessarily just and honourable; but being culpable, contrary! in all reasonable Mens Judgments, he hath sufficiently discharged the Duty of a Son in mediating for his Mother so long as she was alive, and so far as he was able to prevail: They who desire more at his Highness's Hands, may be presumed not to regard what becometh his Place and Dignity, but to seek the Satisfaction of their own particular Passions and Desires.

And whosoever persuadeth his Highness, That the Mediation us'd by him for his Mother, contrary to the humble Pursuit of the whole Parliament, hath already given that Offence to the Nobility and People of this Land, as it behoveth him of force to have Recourse to foreign Supports, doth greatly abuse both his Highness and this Realm; for, as they were not ignorant, what Nature might and ought to move his Highness unto, so long as there was any Hope of her Life; so they doubt not but that Reason will induce him to leave Sorrowing, and Thinking of her in due Time.

Thus I have troubled you with a long Discourse, whereunto the Desire I have of the Continuance of Amity betwixt the two Crowns, hath carried me unawares, further than I proposed: All which I refer to your good Consideration, not doubting but you'll afford most readily and willingly all good Offices that shall lie in your Power, to the End, that a happy Conclusion may ensue hereof, which shall tend to the common Good of the whole Island. And so I commit you to G O D.

*From the Court
of Greenwich,
the 4th of March,
1586.*

*Your Lordship's
affured Friend,*

FRA. WALSHAM

OUR Author having shewn this *Letter* to the King, it had such Influence over his timorous Temper, that it put a Stop to his Design of Revenging his Mother's Death:

Yet this *Letter* being writ with such a Warmness in Defence of that Murder, the Chancellour's Enemies took occasion from it to accuse him of being accessory to it: And Sir *William Stuart* (Brother to the late Chancellour) entered into a Conspiracy with the Lord *Maxwel* and the Master of *Gray* against him; and the Master, to make him the more forward, told Sir *William*, That it was *Thirlstane*, the Justice-Clerk, *Blantyre* and himself that brought in the Lords at *Stirling*, and put his Brother from Court, which he repented, and would help, so far as he could, to recall him. Our Author being informed of this, at the first Meeting of the Privy Council he complained of the Injustice that had been done him, and desired that he might be legally tried. The Master of *Gray*, upon this, denied that ever he had said any such Thing: Whereupon Sir *William* was called before the Council; and standing to what he had said, the Master of *Gray* and he fell a contesting, and after some warm Expressions upon both Sides, Sir *William* told him roundly, *That he deserved no Credit, as having abused his Ambassage to England, and treacherously consented to the Murder of the King's Mother.* This was founded upon a Report of a Letter, written by the Master to the Queen of *England* at his Leaving that Court; wherein he advised her to put Queen *Mary* to death, making use of these Words; *Mortui non mordent, Dead People bite not.* Upon this the Council desired the King to put the Master of *Gray* to a Trial, and to commit both him and Sir *William* to Prison, in order to their Trial; which was accordingly done, and both of them were sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. In the mean time our Author urged, that he might be cleared as to what was laid to his Charge: And the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Mar* and *Bothwel* upon Oath declared, *That they had no Assurance from any about the King, at the Time of their Coming, till they were received by His Majesty in Favour.* And there was no more of that Matter.

But this did not put a Stop to the Malice of the Chancellour's Enemies; for the late Chancellour, who had been ever since the Enterprize at *Stirling* lurking amongst his Friends, wrote a Letter to the King; wherein, amongst other Things, he accused our Author of being accessory to his Mother's Death, and of having a Design of delivering the King himself to the Queen of *England*. This Letter was delivered to the King by *Henry Stuart of Craighall*, and immediately communicated to the Council; who charged him to enter his Person within the Palace of *Linlithgow*, and to remain there till the Truth of what he wrote was examined; with Certification, that if he did not obey, that he should be forfeited, and held and esteem'd as a Sower of Sedition betwixt the King and his Nobility; and, upon his not Delivering himself up at the Time pre-

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*He is accus-
ed of having
a hand in the
Insurrection
at Stirling &
in the Q.^r's
Murder; but
frees himself
of both.*

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His Proceed-
ings with
the Assembly

xed, the Office of Chancery, which was as yet void, was bestowed, as we have said, upon our Author.

The King having satisfied the Murmurings of the General Assembly against the Papists, 1587. the Chancellour was sent by the King to acquaint them, That he expected they would give Him some Satisfaction for the undutiful Expressions of some of their Brethren, and particularly of Mr. *James Gibson*, who had obtained his Liberty, upon Promise that he should give Satisfaction at the Assembly's Desire. Upon this he was called before the Assembly, and acknowledging his Offence, he was enjoined by them, the next Sermon-day to preach and make a publick Acknowledgment of the Offence he had given: This he promised to do, but when he came to the Place, he made no Mention of it; and being challenged for not doing what he had promised, he answered, *Out of Infirmitie and Weakness he had confessed a Fault, albeit his Conscience did tell him he had not spoken any Thing that might give just Offence.* Upon this the Chancellor required the Judgment of the Assembly, Whether or no they thought it an Offence to call the King a *Persecuter of the Church*, and to affirm in Pulpit, *That he should be the last of that Race?* For some Time they declined to give an Answer, by shifting the Question; but the Chancellor having press'd them to give a direct Answer to it, it was put to the Vote, and by a Majority 'twas found, That the Speeches were slanderous and offensive, and therefor, that he ought to be censured; but it being about 12 of the Clock when the Vote passed; the Determining the Censure that ought to be inflicted upon him, was deferred to the Afternoon, and he was warned to attend at such an Hour: The Hour being come, and he not appearing, there arose greater Heats amongst them than before; some alledging, that Citation must be us'd before a Censure be inflicted; others excus'd his Absence, because he had just Reason to be fear'd, being pursued by so great a Man as the Chancellor was. To this the Chancellor replied, *That there was no Fear of any indirect or violent Course to be taken; the King, who by his own Authority might have punished him, having, for the Regard he carried to the Church, choos'd to complain to the Assembly, and remit the Offender to be censured by themselves: And as for that of the Citation, the Warning given in the Face of the Assembly was sufficient; and that, by his not appearing, he had added Contumacy to his Offence.* These Answers of the Chancellor's being sustained as sufficient, 'twas put to the Vote, What his Censure should be; and by the Majority, he was ordained to be suspended from the Ministry during the Pleasure of the Assembly.

But this did not put an End to the Matter; for, at an Assembly which was called the next Year, in the Month of August 1588, he compeared before them, and declared, *That the Reason why he withdrew in the former Assembly, was not any Contempt or Stubbornness on his Part, but the Care he had of the Church's Peace; the Affairs whereof, as he was informed, had been cast off, if he had compeared and*

and not been punished. Upon this Declaration, without once acquainting the King, he was purged of Contumacy; and thereby, a Way made for his being reponed: Which so incensed the King against him, that He resolved to take another Method with him; which Mr. *Gibson* being informed of, fled into *England*, where he was entertained by the factious Brethren, who were labouring at that Time to bring in the holy Discipline (as they called it) into the Church.

The News of the *Spanish Armado* being divulg'd, and the King, being advertised of their putting to Sea, called a Meeting of the Estates at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *August 1588*; wherein the King delivered his Mind to them concerning that Project, in a most wise and elaborate Discourse, which was seconded by the Chancellour; who, from his vast Reading, did illustrate what the King had said, from various Histories, shewing, *That 'twas no ways expedient to side with the Spaniards in that Invasion, or to suffer them to possess themselves of England*; yet since the Queen of England had required no Aid from the King, his Opinion was, *That the King, for the Security of his own Dominions, shd cause a general Muster to be made of the whole Realm, and some Noblemen named, unto whom, upon Occasion, the Subjects might resort; and that Watches should be appointed at all the Sea ports, and Beacons should be erected in the highest Places, for advertising the Country if any Fleet was seen at Sea; and that the King and Council should stay at Edinburgh, to attend the Success of Things, and direct the Subjects accordingly.*

This Speech of our Chancellour's was applauded by the whole Parliament excepting the Earl of *Bothwel*, who was pressing to have that Occasion embrac'd for the Invading of *England*; and was so forward in it, that upon his own Expences he had levied Soldiers to serve under him.

A little after the Convention of Estates dissolved, Colonel *Semple* arrived at *Leith*, with a Commission from the Prince of *Parma* to King *James*; but the Affair was of so trifling a Nature, that the King suspected he had some other Design in his View, and therefore commanded Sir *John Carmichael* (Captain of the Guard) to have a particular Eye over him till he returned from *Falkland*; and if any Letters came to him from Abroad, that he should seize them and deliver them to the Council, Sir *John* having got notice, that a Pinnace was arrived in the Firth and a Passenger landed, went straight to the Colonel's Lodging at *Leith*; and finding him unsealing the Letters, he told him what the King had commanded him to do: Upon which the Colonel told him, That he would go alongst with him, and deliver his Letters himself; but in their Way they were met by the Earl of *Hunstly*, who forced Sir *John* to quit his Prisoner, telling him, That he would present him to the Council. Sir *John* having acquainted the Chancellour of this, who was at Evening-service at St. *Giles's* Church at the Time, (for it was a



*His Be-
vious in the
Affair of the
Spaniard Ar-
mado.*

An. 1595.

Day of Humiliation) he came to the Street, followed by a Multitude of People; and he had certainly retaken the Colonel from *Hunly*, had he not met with the King, as he was going down the Street, newly returned from *Falkland*, who took him alongst with him to his Lodgings within the City, where at that Time and the most of the Winter he kept his Residence.

The King had no sooner come to his Lodgings, but he told him all that had happened: Upon which *Hunly* was call'd, and having made a frivolous Excuse for himself, he promised to present the Colonel the next Morning; but that very Night he made his Escape: Which so incensed the King against *Hunly*, that he discharged him his Presence, and never would see him, till such time as he got the News of the Disappointment of the *Spaniards*; and then, as in a Time of publick Joy, that Fault was overseen and pardoned.

Severals of the Nobility endeavour to take away his Life, but he defeats their Project.

The Chancellour daily gaining more and more Respect from the King, for his wise and prudent Management, severals of the Nobility, as 'tis ordinary in such Cases, envied his too great Power with the King, and resolved to take the King out of his Hands, at the Expences of his Life: And to bring this about, 'twas agreed, That they should meet all at the *Quarrel-holes* betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and go from thence to *Holy-rood-house*, and place themselves about the King, and immediately to commit to Prison the Chancellour and the Treasurer, or if they found them with the King, presently to kill them: But they were disappointed in their Project, by the King's Remaining in *Edinburgh*; for he suspected that they had some Plot against the Chancellour's Life, and therefor he staid in the same Lodging with him. But this failing them, they laid another Plot, for taking him by open Force out of the King's Arms; and an Appointment was made for their Meeting upon such a Day. At this Time *Bothwel* was at his House of *Crichton*, and kept about him the Soldiers that he had levied, pretending a Journey to the *Isles*; for he was Lord High Admiral: *Crawford* and *Errol* came with their Followers to the *North Ferry*; *Montross* feigned a Visit to his Cousin Mr. *John Graham* at *Halyards*, about six Miles from *Edinburgh*: And being apprized of the King's keeping still his old Lodgings in the Town, they came no farther; but *Hunly*, who resided at *Dumfermling* with his Lady, presuming much upon the King's Affection, in the Evening on which they had appointed to meet, came unexpected to the King's Lodging, when the King had a Conference with the Chancellour: But the King no sooner saw him but he asked him whence he came from; and why he was so late? And then falling upon some other Discourse with him, the Chancellour stept aside to the Window, seeing a Crowd of armed Men coming in to the Room; for *Hunly* had brought with him the Laird of *Kinfarns*, Brother to the Earl of *Crawford*, and some of *Errol's* Men; these having fill'd the Room, the Chancellor's Friends began to suspect some bad Design: Upon which the Laird of *Ormiston*,

miston, Carmichael, and the Provost of *Linclowden* drew nigh to him, with a Design to stand by him, in case there should be any Attempt made upon his Person. After the King had talked some Time with the Earl, he retired to his Closet; and staying somewhat longer than was expected, the Chancellour having asked the Usher, if it was Time to sup? And being answered, That it was, he went thro' the Throng guarded by the Three Persons above mentioned, to his own Lodgings, which were just above the King's. Then he sent word to the King of the Danger that they were both in; upon which *Hunly* and all his Followers were desired to remove, which was immediately done: And the next Morning, the King having sent for the Earl, and having examined him upon his Design of coming to the Town; and the Earl not giving satisfactory Answers, he was committed Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. *Crawford* and *Errol's Men*, who were at the *North Ferry*, having got notice of this, immediately dispersed, and the whole Plot was discovered: And the Earls of *Errol* and *Bothwel* were cited to appear before the Council, and for their Non-appearance, were denounced Rebels: *Montross* and *Crawford* were not called, having begged His Majesty's Pardon, and promised not to meddle any more in that Affair: *Hunly*, after a few Days, obtain'd his Liberty upon the same Terms; but as he went to the North, he met with the Earl of *Crawford* at *Perth*; where they renewed their Designs against the Chancellour and Treasurer, and resolved to fortifie the Town of *Perth*, as a Place most convenient for drawing Forces together from all Quarters; but doubting how they should make good their Enterprize, they gave over that Design: But being informed that the Treasurer (the Master of *Clamis*) was come to *Angus*, and that he had appointed a Meeting of some of his Friends at the Church of *Meigle*, they way-laid him, and pursued him to the House of *Kirkhill*, which they set fire to, and forc'd him to yield himself Prisoner to his Cousin the Laird of *Auchindown*. After which they broke out into open Rebellion, and came, with a considerable Following, to the Town of *Aberdeen*, in the Beginning of April 1589. where they emitted a Proclamation in the King's Name, declaring, *That he was kept Prisoner by the Chancellour, and by him advised to use his ancient Nobility with that Rigour which he was naturally averse to: Requiring all the Lieges to concur with and assist them to set His Person at Liberty*. Their Hopes were, that the Earl of *Bothwel*, with his Followers in the South, would create the King such Trouble, that they needed not to fear any Disturbance from him: But they were mistaken, as we shall shew in the *Life* of that Prince; and they were obliged to submit themselves to his Mercy.

This Design against our Author's Life was no sooner over, but there was another form'd against him, as being an Obstructer of the King's Marriage with the Princess of *Denmark*; for Sir *James Melvil* tells us, 'That upon the Queen of *England's* Opposing the Mar-

An. 1595.


*He goes over
to Denmark
with the K.*

' riage; our Council was conveen'd (a), and enticed to vote against the Marriage of *Denmark*, whereat His Majesty took such a Des-
 pight, that he caus'd one of his familiar Servants to deal secretly with some of the Deacons of the Craftsmen of *Edinburgh*, to make a Mu-
 tiny against the Chancellour and the Council, threatening to slay him, in case the Marriage with the King of *Denmark's* Daughter were hindred or longer delayed'. But notwithstanding of all this, several other Stops being put to it, the King turned so extreamly dissatisfied, that he could neither sleep nor rest: And the Chancellour's Enemies taking this Opportunity, did all they could to perswade His Majesty, that 'twas all owing to the Chancellour; which he being inform'd of, acquainted His Majesty, that he was so far from opposing his Design, that he would go himself in Person and bring home the Queen: 'And by little and little (*says Sir James Melvil*) he in-
 form'd him so well of the said Voyage, and the great Charge (b)
 he had bestowed upon a fair and swift-sailing Ship, that His Ma-
 jesty was moved to take the Voyage himself, and to sail in the same Ship with the Chancellour, with great Secrecy and short Pre-
 paration; making no Man privy thereto but such as the Chancel-
 lour pleas'd, and such as formerly had all been upon his Faction'; But whatever Truth may be in this Account of *Sir James Melvil's* who was no Friend to the Chancellour, 'tis certain that it was a ver-
 ry bold and dangerous Attempt in him to carry the King amongst with him; for 'twas upon the 22 of *October* that they put to sea, and the Weather was rough and stormy; and the last Day was so tempestuous, that they were all like to perish: But it pleased God that the King arrived the same Night at an Harbour in *Norway*, (not far from *Upflo*, where the King remained) and the next Sun-
 day the Marriage was solemnized.

The same *Sir James Melvil* tells us (c), That whilst our Author was in *Denmark*, great Contentions arose betwixt the Earl of *Mariischal* and him; for the Earl of *Mariischal*, by virtue of his Office, claim'd the next Place to His Majesty as long as he was there; and on the other hand, the Chancellour claim'd it as due to his Office. He tells us likewise, That he advised His Majesty, upon his Return, ' To have no Privy Council, but the Exchequer, and the Nobility to be debarred from it: Sundry of the Lords of Session to be put out, who he judged had no Dependence upon him, and others his Creatures put in their Room. He caus'd a Proclamation to be penn'd, which was sent home, to be proclaim'd before His Majesty's Return, That none of the Nobility should come to Court not being sent for; and then, to bring with them six Persons and no more; likewise, every Baron to bring but four: Likewise, he resolved to cause ward such as had been unruly and disobedient during His Majesty's Absence, as the Earl of *Bothwel*, the Lord *Hume*, and divers Borderers and Highlandmen.

But

But that which mostly concerns our Design is, That whilſt our Author was in Denmark he became intimately acquainted with the famous *Tycho Brahe*, with whom he contracted an intimate Friendship: And amongst our Author's Poems, we find two Epigrams upon *Tycho's Picture*, one upon his Observatory, and one upon himself. All which we shall here insert, to let the Reader know what an excellent Turn of Wit, what a happy Genius, and what a Politeness of Stile he had.

Anno 1595

In Effigiem *Tychonis Braha*, ad Pictorem.

FAC tibi dent Superi, pictas animare figuras,
Hunc tamen effigie aut arte referre nequis;
Majestasque oris nulla est imitabilis arte;
Nec tantum Heroem parva tabella capit.

Ad Eundem.

Docta quidem, sed manca tamen, nam plurima defun
Digna coli; virtus, mens, decor, ingenium:
Humana hac non arte queunt nec mente referri.
Vis veram effigiem pingere, pinge Deum.

In Uraniam.

Quod Jovis alta domus, quicquid natura vel orbis,
Alter & orbis habet, mirum opus Urania.
Est merito divisa orbi, quam non capit orbis:
Æmula naturæ hac, amulus ipse Jovis.

Ad Tychonem ipsum.

TYCHO, naturæ tot mira atque abdita pandis,
Ut sis naturæ filius atque parens.

Upon the King's Return from Denmark, the Earl of Bothwel was accus'd by the Chancellour, of consulting Witches for the Killing of the King; and amongst these, there was one *Agnes Simson*, commonly called the wise Wife of Keith (a), who in her Examination declared, 'That she had a familiar Spirit, who, upon her Call, did appear in a visible Form, and resolve her of any doubtful Matter, especially concerning the Life and Death of any Persons lying sick.' And being ask'd, what Words she us'd when she called the Spirit? She said her Words were, *Holla, Master;* and that he had learned her so to do. She further confessed, That the Earl of Bothwel had moved her to enquire what would become of the King? How long he should reign? And what should happen after his Death? And that the Spirit, having undertaken to make

He accused
Bothwel of
consulting
Witches for
killing the
King.

N n n n n

away

An. 1595.


For which
the Earl is
imprisoned.

' away the King, after, had failed in performing: And being challenged by her, confessed it was not in his Power, speaking Words she understood not, but as she did mind, the Words were, ' *Il est homme de Dieu*, that is in French, *He is the Man of God*. At the same Time another accus'd of Sorcery, called *Richard Graham*, being examined, confessed that *Bothwel* likewise had consulted him about the King's Death: For which he was committed to Prison, in the Month of *April 1591*.

But he had not been above a Month in Prison when he made his Escape, by bribing his Keeper; upon which the King ordered a Proclamation to be issued out against him, declaring him Traitor, and discharging all his Subjects to keep any manner of Intelligence or Correspondence with him. On the other hand, *Bothwel* laid the whole Blame upon the Chancellour, and drew together some Companies of Men; declaring, That he had no Design against the King, but against the Chancellour: But 'twas not long before the most of his Men deserted him, submitting themselves to the King's Mercy; and he himself was obliged to flee into *England*.

A Faction is
formed ag-
ainst him
by the Q.
upon which
he with-
draws.

Towards the End of the Year 1592, the Queen laid a Claim to the Lordship of *Musselburgh*, as being a Part of *Dumfermling*, and desired the Chancellour to resign it in her Favours; for he had acquired an heritable Right to it, at the making the Act of Annexation: The Chancellour refusing to do this, the Queen, to be revenged, raised a Faction against him in the Council; the principal Persons of which were, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Angus*, *Errol* and *Morton*, the Lord *Hume* and the Master of *Glanis*: The Chancellour finding this, he withdrew from the Court, and lived retiredly in *Niddale* for the remaining Part of the Year: But upon his Return to the Court, the most part of the Counsellors made their Application to the King against him; but he vindicated himself so well of all that was laid to his Charge, that he became as much in the King's Favour as ever. But the Queen still retain'd a Grudge at him for refusing her the Lordship of *Musselburgh*; but at length, by the Means of *Robert Ker* of *Cessford*, who had married his Niece, the Queen was also reconciled to him; and to ingratiate himself the more in her Favours, he concurred with her in her Design of taking the young Prince from the Earl of *Mar*: For which he received a severe Reprimand from the King, which he took so much to heart, that he fell into a lingring Sickness, of which he died at his House of *Lawder*, as *Spotiswood* says: But *Johnston* says that he died Epileptic. But *Spotiswood's* Account of his Death seems more probable; for he says (a), ' That during his Sickness he sent his Cousin the Secretary to the King, who remained then at *Hamilton*, and by him excused his Dealing in that Matter, with a solemn Protestation of his Fidelity in all His Majesty's Services; seriously commended his Lady, Children and Friends, now that he was to end his Life, to His Majesty's Protection. The King

His Death
& Character.

' was

' was much troubled with the News, and wrote unto him, with his
' own Hand, the following Letter.

Ad. 1595.

CHANCELLOR,

HOW sorry I am of these News, I leave it to your self to judge. I was never a Dissembler of my Affections, and yet I trust that God will not spoil me of you so untimely; therefore will pray so far, as you may with a valiant Heart resist the Assaults of your Sicknes; hoping in the Goodness of my Fortune, that God will reserve you yet to me, as Hezekiah was to his People; for the Necessity between Prince and Subject is reciprocal: Nor can any Sicknes, how heavy soever it be, take away the Life, if God cut not the Threads thereof. As to your Suits; if God calls you, I need no Remembrance; for since I made you a Pattern of my constant Favour during your Life, (as yourself hath oft-times said) I am much more bound, of Princely Duty, to make your Wife and Posterity, that bears your Image, a vive Representation of my thankful Memory; and to comfort you in this, remember what I have done to the Duke and the Lady Huntly, for their Father's Sake. This may assure you, in case of the worst (which God forbid) your Thoughts shall be prevented herein by my thank'ul Behaviour to them. And for your Cousin the Secretary, he shall be the better at my Hand in losing you. But I green to hear better News; and if Time and Distance of Place could have permitted me in any way, I should not have spar'd to have carried my own Message my self. God send you your Health, and keep you to me and to your native Country.

This shewed (continues Spotiswood) in what Account the King held him: And in truth he deserved no less; for he was a Man of rare Parts and of a deep Wit, learned, full of Courage, and most faithful to his King and Master; in that last Busines which the Queen went about, of taking the Prince from the Earl of Mar, he was consenting, (for the two Noblemen had their private Emulations) but it was ever with a Reservation of His Majesty's Pleasure. No Man did ever carry himself in his Place more wisely, nor sustain it more courageously against his Enemies than he did. Being visited in his Sicknes by Mr. Robert Bruce and the Ministers of Edinburgh, he expressed a great Contempt of the World and of the Vanities of it; lamenting that he had not done the Good which he would and might have done in his Place, being impeded, as he said, by the Malice of his Adversaries, who were ever plotting his Death and Ruin. Two Months he continued under that languishing Sicknes, and ended his Days most happily the 3d of October 1595. The King did greatly lament his Death, and honoured him with an Epitaph.

Others, for all this, spared not to express their Malice in Libels and Rythms after his Death; some whereof were cast in the King's

Chamber at Linlithgow and other Places : But as the Authors were
 not known, so were the Rythms despised and contemned by all
 good Men. [Thus far Spotiswood]

Dr. Johnston, in his History, speaking of our Author's Death; says (a), That he was a Person of great Learning, well seen in the Laws, of great Dexterity in the Management of publick Affairs, of a pleasant and facetious Humour, but a little too satirical ; by which means he procured to himself a great many Enemies, who were constantly plotting his Ruin : But notwithstanding of all their Malice, he still behaved himself with such Prudence and Magnanimity of Mind, that he defeated all their Projects against him : And in a Word, That he was a most accomplish'd Gentleman ; but slandered by his Enemies, for being Contriver of the Murder of the Earl of Murray : His Words are, *Inter hac Metellanuſ Praefectus
juris (incertum, ſtudiis humanioribus & Juris Civilis ſcientia, an
rebus querendis clarior) hoc tempore, vi morbi ſontici interceptus eſt;
haud equabili gratia apud Principem, & vita curſu. modo aspero,
modo tranquillo, tum devum, intellecta mani & operosa ſedulitate,
in ſupervacuis laboribus cogitare cœpit, quoſ fluctus ſubjecit quoſ tem-
peſtates privatas & publicas ſuſtinuerit, in tranquilliere... perutum
navigare concupiit, & Lawderi interiit. Is meritus, aequitate in re-
bus judicandis, ſolertia ingenii, peritia uſque rerum, ut ad posterita-
tis memoriam fama celebris eſſet. In prima juventa multis diſrimi-
nibus obnoxius, poſt calamitatem Ledingtoni fratriſ aliquandiu la-
tuit: proiecta etate, gradatim hoноres & publica Reipub. munera a-
deptus, non ſine magna invidia Procerum adminiſtravit, quam im-
modicis jocis provocavit: ſupervacaneum eſt ſingula maledicta refer-
re, per que in Proceres inimicosque ſuos contumeliosus fuit. Ad ſpe-
cimen excelsi animi ſemper edidit: inter adverſas factio-nes magnam
laudem prudentia industriaque tulit: reliquit clarissima monumenta
doctrina ſue, Epigrammata Latino ſermone conſcripta, ſeneca-ſente in-
vidia, quam dies mitigavit; fama ejus vario ſermone vulgi celebra-
ta, quibusdam natura dicacior viſus, & ne inter tempora curarum
verbis aut facetiis ſatis temperans; aliis, ubi officio ſatisfecit, lenis, re-
miſſus, urbanus; procul a triftitia aut ſeveritate, jocos temperatos ſe-
riis permifcens. Die funeris, quam ampliſſime pio conjugalique amore
elatus, meditata ad memoriam virtutum carmina, multi lugubri ca-
mena ejus ſuprema deflebant. Cunctis haud late memoria; alii, ut
memoravi, diſcordiarum inter Proceres & Murravia eadis authorem
arguebant.*

As our Author was one of the best Latin Poets of his Age, as his *Epigrams*, which are ſtill exſtant, teſtifie; ſo the best Poets in the Kingdom took care to celebrate his Praifes after his Death, by many exceilent *Epitaphs*; but I ſhall only take notice of three of them: The First is by Mr. Andrew Melvil; the Second is by the famous Sir Thomas Craig; and the Last is what is upon his Tomb at Haddington: Where he lies interred with ſeverals of his Predeceſſors.

Tu-

Tumulus Joannis Metellani Scotiæ Cancellarii.

An. 1595.

ILLE Metellanus, cui Regni inclaruit ingens
Annulus, & Regis mensque manusque sui:
Cui Rex incubuit, Regni dum versat habenas;
Quo duce tanta fuit pax foras atque domi :
Qui, claris prognatus avis, & sanguine prisco,
Laude nova veteres nobilitavit avos.
Hic urna situs in parva, tibi surdior aula
Intonat hoc, Si vis vivere, disce mori.

Epitaphium Joannis Metellani, Magni Scotiæ Cancellarii.

Humida quod terræ facies, tot mensibus aether
Imbris in'eflus, fluctibus aquor erat :
Quodque Ceres mentita fidem, sat amerserat undis,
Aetheris & terra hac signa gementis erant.
Quippe Metellano (cujus frendente profana
Invidia, ad mundi mania fama volat)
Justa piis lachrymis, & pulla veste parabant,
Nec lucem in luctu sustinuere suo.
Sed si mens illa est hominis præsaga futuri,
Nec semper vates vana referre solent.
Si Nioben slet adhuc marmor, si candida vatum
Miter, adhuc multo Memnona rore gemit;
Multa diuque tibi lachrymarum flumina fundet
Scotia, consiliis sola relicta suis.

Aliud.

Nemo Metellano est sufficiens, cur ita? Quod par
Nemo Metellano, nemo secundus erat.

Upon his Tomb in the Church of Haddington is this Inscription.

JOANNIⁱ Metellano, Baroni de Thirlstane, magno Scotiæ Cancellario; qui, a nobili Metellana stirpe oriundus, vetustissima familie decus celebriore titulo auxit: Cujus sincera pietas, heroicæ mens, eruditio singularis, gnatæ fortitudi, posteris amulanda, invidenda antiquis, parem vix habuerunt: Liberalitas exprompta, latu lepidusque ingenii vigor, devixerit sibi publice omnes, privatim, singulos: Quem post varia in Rep. præclare gesta munia, Jacobus, ejus nominis Sextus, Scotorum Rex, omnium quos Europa unquam vidit (sapientissimus) ad summum Cancellariatus fastigium, acclamantibus tribus Regni Ordinibus, in Comitiis publicis evexit. Sed munus illud annos vix novem sustinuit, cum ea tamen prudentia, integritate ac laude, ut merito affirmari possit, Brevis dignitatis ingenem suisse gloriam. Tandem, annos natus quinquaginta, in medio se-

OOOO

re

An. 1595.

re honorum & virtutum curriculo creptus, acerbum sui desiderium reliquit omnibus, praeipue Regi optimo; qui versibus Vernaculis, supremo huic marmori incisis, demortuo parentavit. Obiit Anno 1595. 5 Non. Octobris, in arce sua de Thyrlstane, a se recens exstructa.

Ioannes Metellanus Lauderdale Comes, Filius unigena, parenti optimo, majore pietate quam impensa, poni curavit.

In English thus.

TO John Maitland, Baron of Thyrlstane, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland; who, being descended of the noble Stock of the Maitlands, by a more glorious Title, augmented the Honour of that most noble Family: Whose sincere Piety, heroick Mind, singular Learning, undaunted Courage, to be imitated by Posterity, to be envied by Antiquity, scarce had a parallel: His ready Liberality, chearful and facetious Strength of Wit, gain'd to him the Affections of all, both in publick and in private: Whom, after several honourable Offices in the Commonwealth faithfully discharged, King James, the Sixth of that Name, King of Scotland, (the wisest of all the Kings ever Europe saw) advanced to the High Dignity of Chancellour, with the Consent and Acclamations of the Three Estates of the Kingdom, in publick Parliament: But he hardly enjoyed that Post nine Years; but with such Prudence, Integrity and universal Approbation, that it may be said of him, Great was the Glory of his short-liv'd Dignity. At length, having attained to the Fiftieth Year of his Age, almost in the Midst of his Race of Honours and Virtues, being snatch'd away, he left with all Persons a most afflicting Sense of the Want of him, especially to our most excellent King, who composed the English Verses engraven upon the Top of his Marble, in the Praise of the Defunct. He died the 3d of October 1595, in his own Castle of Thyrlstane, lately built by himself.

John Maitland Earl of Lauderdale, his only Son; to his most deserving Father caused erect this Monument, more out of Piety than vain Glory.

The Verses composed by the King, mentioned in this Inscription, are as follows.

THU Passenger, who spyst with gazing Eyes
This sad Trophie of Death's triumphing Dart,
Consider, when this outward Tomb thou sees,
How fair a Man leaves here his earthly paire;
His Witdome and his Uprightnes of Heart,
His Piety, his Practice in our State,
His pregnant Wit, well vers'd in every paire,
As equally not all were in Debate.

Then

Then justly hath his Death brought forth of late
A heavy Grief to Prince and Subjects all,
Who Virtue love, and Vice do truly hate,
Tho vicious Men be joyful at his Fall :
But for himself, most happy doth he die,
Tho for his Prince it most unhappy be.



The Catalogue of his Works.

JOANNIS Metellani, *Thirlstoni Domini, Scotia quondam Cancellarii, Epigrammata Latina, Del. Poet. Scot. Vol. II. Pag. 138. Amst. 1637. in 12mo.*

Ooooo 2

THE



THE

LIFE of JAMES TAYRE of the Society of the Jesuites.

His Birth
and Educa-
tion.

He enters
into the Or-
der of the
Jesuites.

THIS Gentleman was born in the Year 1543, of an ancient Family in the Northern Parts of Scotland; when he arrived to a competent Age, he was sent to France by his Parents, where he was brought up amongst the Jesuites, and entered into that Order in the Year 1563, being then in the 20 Year of his Age, (a).

The first Founder of this Order was *Innigo or Ignatius Loyola*, who was born in the Year 1491, in the Province of *Guipisca* in *Spain*, (b): His Father *Bartram Innigo* Lord of *Ognez* and *Loyola*; and his Mother *Maria Sona*, had five Daughters and eight Sons, *Ignatius* was the youngest of all the Sons, he was brought up at the Court of *Ferdinand King of Spain*, with *Antonia Marinquezan* of the Grandees of *Spain*, in his Youth he had a very martial Inclination; and went to the Army where he behaved very valiantly at the Siege of *Pampelona*, for that City being besieged by the *French* in the Year 1521: Our Saint was one of those who signaliz'd himself most in Defence of the Place; and had his right Thigh broke with a Cannon Bullet, and being taken Prisoner by the *French*, they sent him to the Lordship of *Loyola*, where he suffered very much under the ignorant Treatment of his Chirurgeons, who having not set his Thigh Bone right, caused them break it again: which they did by sawing the Bone, and setting it worse than ever it was, during the Time that he was lying in his Wounds, he read several Books of Piety and Devotion, which made him form a Resolution of dedicating himself intirely to the Service of God; and upon his Recovery, he made a Vow of a Pilgrimage to *Monserrat* in *Catalonia*, in his Journey to *Monserrat* he met with a *Moor*, and falling in converse with him; the *Moor* maintained, that the Blest Virgin had carnal Dealing with her Husband *Joseph*, after our Saviour's Birth: This Dishonour done to the Blest Virgin highly incensed *Ignatius*, who endeavoured to convince him of his Error, but the *Moor* continuing still obstinate in his Opinion, they parted; but S. *Ignatius* beginning to reflect on the Horridness of the Proposition, that the *Moor* had defended, he resolved to kill him for the Honour of the Blest Virgin; and certainly S. *Ignatius* had kill'd him, had it not been,

been that at the Parting of a Road, St. Ignatius's Mule took one Way, and the Moor, another.

Coming near to *Montserrat*, he put himself in Disguise, cloathing himself with a long woollen Robe like a Sack, a Cord about his Middle, a long Pole in his Hand, and an earthen Pitcher at his Side. Thus accoutré he came to *Nostre Dame de Montserrat*, and after Confession and Receiving of the Sacrament, he contrived a new Ceremony for consecrating himself to the Service of the Virgin Mary, by imitating the Severities of some ancient Fathers of the Desert: He gave all his own Cloaths to a poor Man, and clothing himself with his Sackcloth, girding his Loins with a Cord, a Staff in his Hand, his Pitcher by his Side, one of his Feet bare, and the other covered with a Sandel of Osier; he presented himself in this Equipage before the Altar of the Blessed Virgin upon the 24th of March, in the Year 1522, and continued in Prayer all that Night, without Sleeping, sometimes standing, sometimes kneeling: And thus he enrolled himself in the sacred Militia of the Blessed Virgin. After this, early in the Morning, he went on his Foot from *Montserrat* to *Manresa*, where he remained for a whole Year amongst the Poor of the Hospital, begging his Bread from Door to Door, eating and drinking nothing but Bread and Water, chastising his Body three times in the Day, lying on the Ground, and practising all manner of Severities. During this Time he was likewise attack'd with several Temptations, all which he happily overcame; as likewise, a lingring Sickness of which he was cured: And 'tis believed, that 'twas then that he composed his Book of *Spiritual Exercises*, which he afterwards reviewed and published at *Rome*, in the Year 1548. After this he resolved to make a Voyage to *Jerusalem*, but he would not undertake it till once he had received a Benediction from the Pope; so he went straight from *Manresa* to *Rome*, where he received the Benediction of Pope *Adrian VI*. And then embarked at *Venice* for *Jerusalem*, upon the 14th of July 1523, and arrived in the *Holy Land* upon the 4th of September the same Year. After he had visited all the holy Places, and performed the ordinary Devotions of Pilgrims, he returned to *Venice*, and from thence he went to *Barcelona*; and 'twas in this City and at this Time, he began first to study the *Latin Grammar*, being then in the 33d Year of his Age. 'Tis no hard Matter to conceive how disagreeable it must be to a Person arrived at that Age, to study the Elements of a Language; yet he overcame it, and in the Space of two Years he learned it to such Perfection, that he was sufficiently qualified for learning the Sciences: So he went to the University of *Alcala*, in the Year 1526, where he performed his Course of Philosophy and Theology, but with little Success; because (say the Writers of his Life ^(a)) he was too earnest in his Pursuit of Knowledge, applying himself at the same time, without any Order, to the Reading of the Terms, as they call them, in Logic; the Writing of *Albertus Magnus*;

P P P P P

gnus;

^(a) Vide Vie de St. Ignatius par P. Bobart.

gnus, for Philosophy; and the Master of the Sentences, for Theology; and hearing at the same time a great Number of Professors: A.D. 1597. He was likewise hindred in his Studies, not only by his Spiritual Exercises, by his Offices of Charity which he performed in the Hospital that he lived in; but likewise, because he was obliged to beg for his Bread, and was much employed in instructing others.

Ignatius all this Time had but four Companions; *Arriaga*, *Calistus*, *Cazera*, and a young Frenchman; who were all clothed as he, in a brown woollen Habit, and all employed in the same spiritual Exercises. The Noise of their extraordinary Way of Living and of their Preaching, coming to *Toledo*, and the Inquisition having transported themselves from that City to *Alcala*, they caused Informations to be drawn up and given in to them, concerning the Conduct of *Ignatius* and his Companions; but not finding any thing of great Import against them, they left a Commission with *Joahn Figheroa*, Vicar to the Archbishop of *Toledo*, to finish that Affair. *Figheroa* went to the Domicil where *Ignatius* and his Companions lived; and having questioned them strictly upon their Method and Manner of Living, discharged them from wearing a different Habit from the rest of the Scholats. In the mean time, the Number of those who came to hear St. *Ignatius*'s Instructions augmented daily: and the Vicar was informed, that a Widow and her Daughter, that were under his Direction, had undertaken a long Pilgrimage barefooted; and altho' twas not undertaken by St. *Ignatius*'s Command, yet it being informed that it was by his Advice, the Vicar caused imprison our Saint. He was no sooner imprisoned, than a great Concourse of People came to hear him: After seven Days Imprisonment, the Vicar having examined him, and told him the Reason why he had imprisoned him, St. *Ignatius* declared solemnly before God, That he had neither commanded nor counselled them to that Pilgrimage: And the Women, upon their Return, having declared the same, the Vicar passed Sentence; by which he enjoined him and his Companions, to cloath themselves with the same Habit with the other Scholars of the University, and to abstain from speaking to the People concerning Matters of Religion, till our Saint had studied four Years longer Theology. *Ignatius* could not submit willingly to this last Part of the Sentence, and therefor he retired from *Alcala* to *Salamanca*; where, for a long Time, he taught and instructed the People in divers Points of Morality.

The *Dominicans* being highly offended that Persons, as they said; without Letters, without Learning, or any Character, should take upon them the Office of Apostles; they invited *Ignatius* and his Companion *Calistus* to a Conference in one of their Convents, where they detained them Prisoners, and delivered them over to the Hands of some Officers; and by an Order from the Vicar of the Bishop of *Salamanca*, they were put in distinct Prisons, and kept close Prisoners, till the Vicar General examined *Ignatius*'s Book of *Spiritual Exercises*; which being approven of, and several Questions ask-

asked at himself concerning the Mysteries of our Faith: To all which he having given solid and orthodox Answers, the Sentence pronounced against him at *Alcala* was renewed; and he was further enjoined, for four Years, to decide nothing concerning the different Qualities of Sins.

A.D. 1591.

Finding such Opposition in *Spain*, *Ignatius* resolved to leave it and go to *France*, and accordingly he went all alone, upon Foot, from *Salamanca* to *Paris*, where he arrived in the Month of *February* 1528, with a firm Resolution to finish his Studies there: And to make sure Work of it, he was not ashamed to enter himself, now being in the 37th Year of his Age, amongst the Boys in the College of *Montague*, where he again revised his Grammar; but being extremely poor, he was obliged to have recourse to the Charity of Strangers for his Subsistence: At length, after having studied his Humanity for 18 Months in the College of *Montague*, he went and finished the Course of his Philosophy at the College of *St. Barbe*. But whilst he was studying his Philosophy, the Zeal that he had for instructing others, and prescribing Practices of Devotion to them, involved him in new Difficulties; for he was brought before the Inquisitor General of *France*, *Matthew Ory*, and accus'd of preaching, and of diverting the Scholars from their ordinary Studies, by the extraordinary and unusual Practices of Devotion which he taught them: By his dexterous and cunning Management, he got himself free of all his Encumbrances, and spoke to the Principal of the College, *Anthony Govea*, with such Wisdom and Humility, that the Principal, in stead of punishing him severely, as was expected, he fell down upon his Knees and begged him Pardon.

Notwithstanding of all these Difficulties that our Saint was involved in, he finished the Course of his Philosophy, and afterwards that of his Theology, and formed a Society of Ten Persons, who engaged themselves to one another by a solemn Vow, which they made in the Church of *Montmatre*, the 15th of *August* 1534. These first Companions of *St. Ignatius* were, *Peter Faur*, of the Diocese of *Geneva*; *Francis Xavier*, of *Navarre*; *James Laincz*, of *Sagunta*; *Alphonsus Salmeron*, of *Toledo*; *Nicolas Bobadilla*, of *Palenza*; *Simon Roderick*, a *Portuguese*: And some Time after them, *Claud Fay*, *John Codurio* and *Pasquier Broet*, of *Embrun*. The Vow that they made in the Church of *Montmatre*, after Confession and Communion, was, That after they had accomplished their Course of Theology, they should renounce the World, to live in Poverty, and for labouring to the Glory of God and the Good of Souls: And Lastly, That they should go and preach the Gospel to the Infidels; and that in case they could not put their Resolution in Execution, they should present themselves to the Pope, and offer their Service to him, without any Restriction, in every Thing he should be pleased to employ them in. They renewed this Vow twice after, in the same Place, and on the same Day of the Year.

Anno 1537. *Ignatius* having accomplished his Theology, was received Master of Arts in the Year 1532. After this, having fallen sick, by the Advice of his Physicians he went to his native Country for the Benefit of the Air, in the Month of November 1535. Not long after, he found that Four of his Companions had taken a quite different Course of Life from what they had vowed: For *Calistus* had become a rich Merchant by his Trading to the Indies; *Cazera*, in stead of Renouncing, was living in the Affluence and Abundance of the World; *Artiaga* was become a Bishop, and the young *Frenchman*, a Monk: Yet this was no Discouragement to St. *Ignatius*, who summoned all of them to meet him at *Venice*; which they accordingly did in the Beginning of the Year 1537.

They came in the Habits of Pilgrims, each of them having a Knapsack upon his Back, in which was their Bible and their Breviairy, and their Rosary about their Necks; being arrived at *Venice*, and having conferred together, they made a Vow to go all of them to *Jerusalem* in Pilgrimage; but it was thought expedient, first to obtain the Pope's Permission and Benediction, so away to *Rome* they trooped next, all of them, excepting S. *Ignatius* who remained at *Venice*, to prepaire Necessaries for the Voyage, having easily obtained their Desire from the Pope, they returned to *Venice*, in order to imbark there; but the War breaking out betwixt the *Turks* and the *Venetians*, they could not find any Occasion of going for the *Levant*; whereupon they went thro' all the *Venetian* Territories, preaching wherever they came: And having by Appointment met at *Vicenza*, *Ignatius*, *Larces* and *Salmeron*, were sent Deputies from the rest to the Pope, with the Offer of their Service, all of them being then entred into the Priesthood. As they were on their Journey to *Rome*, St. *Ignatius* had a Vision; in which he thought he saw GOD the Father recommending him to his Son; and *JESUS*, who had his Cross carrying over his Shoulder, upon this Recommendation, turned towards St. *Ignatius*, and said to him, *I will be favourable to you when you come to Rome*. The rest of them followed not long after; and the Whole of them were present at *Rome* in the Year 1538. During their Stay at *Rome*, they were accused of several Enormities to the Governour; but upon a strict Examination, he found them all Calumnies, and acquit them by a legal Sentence. Upon this *Ignatius*'s Followers increated dailly, which encouraged him in his Design of forming his Society; and after several Meetings and Consultations, they thought it proper to add to the three ordinary Vows, of Chastity, Poverty and Obedience, a Vow of Going to preach the Gospel to the Infidels, or to any Country where the Pope should command them to go. The Pope, to try them, demanded some of their Society; and the King of *Portugal* required, that some of them might be sent to the *Indies* to preach the Gospel there: And St. *Ignatius* made choice of *Roderick* and *Xaverius*; who were sent to the *Indies*, where they converted many Thousands of Souls. At length *Ignatius* proposed

to Pope *Paul III.* then residing at *Trivoli*, the Approbation of his new Society; and the Pope recommended it to a College of Cardinals: At first it met with great Opposition, especially from Cardinal *Gindici*, who urged, That the Numbers of Religious Orders were too much increased already; but at last they approved of it. And Pope *Paul III.* caused expedite a Bull, upon the 27th of September 1540, by which he approved of the Institution of that Society, under the Name of *The Society of JESUS*; providing always, that their Number should not exceed Sixty: But by a second Bull, of the 14th of March 1543, he gave them Liberty to admit as many as they pleased, with a Liberty of adding to their former Constitutions, what particular Constitutions they pleased, and to change them as they pleased.

An. 1591.

St. Ignatius was created General of this new Order, in the Time of Lent, in the Year 1541: And he obtained from Pope *Paul III.* many Privileges, and amongst the rest, that of having Spiritual and Temporal Coadjutors, that should be only bound to the three simple Vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. Pope *Julius III.* confirmed their Constitution, by a Bull dated the 21 of July 1550; and their Privileges by another, dated the 22 of October 1552.

This Society was no sooner established by the Pope, but they spread through the whole World: *Roderick* and *Xaverius*, as we have said, had the *Indies* for their Province; *Fiber* had *Germany* for his Share; *Araoez* went to *Spain*; *Laniez*, *Pasquier* and *Bobadilla*, had *Italy* for their Province: *Æquia* was sent, with some young Companions, for *France*, *Salmeron* and *Pasquier* had *Britain* and *Ireland*; and not long after *Ignatius* Death, which happened upon the last Day of July 1555, there were severals of them sent to *America*: And it is a most surprising Thing to consider in how short a Time they multiplied, for in the Year 1543, they were but in all 88; in 1545 they had 10 Religious Houses; in 1549, they had 2 Provinces, one in *Spain*, and another in *Portugal*, and 22 Houses; in 1556, after the Death of *Ignatius*, they had 12 great Provinces; in the Year 1688, they had 29 Provinces, 2 Vice-Provinces, 21 Houses of Profession, 293 Colleges, 33 Houses of Probation, 93 Houses of Residence, in other Parts, and 10581 *Jesuites*: And in the Catalogue of their Society printed at *Rome* in 1679, they had 35 Provinces, 2 Vice-Provinces, 33 Houses of Profession, 578 Colleges, 48 Houses of Probation, 88 Seminaries, 160 Houses of Residence, 106 Missions, and 17655 *Jesuites*, of which 7870 were Priests.

Our Author was no sooner entered into this Order, but he was first appointed to teach Philosophy, and afterwards Theology; which he did for several Years with great Applause, amongst them. His Brother being one of those w^oo embraced the Reformation in *Scotland*, our Author thought himself bound in Duty to endeavour his Reduction to the *Romish Church*; and for that End wrote a Letter to him, which he caused print at *Paris* in the Year 1568, in this Letter he endeavours, from all the common Topicks, made

He is made
Professor of
Philosophy
and Theolo-
gy,

An 1595.
An Account
of his Works.

use of by the Writers of that Church, to vindicate the Church of *Rome*, and to expose the Reformation; and it had such Success, that many, upon the Reading of it, returned again to the *Romish* Church, which made Mr. *Knox* write an Answer to him; and in the Year 1573, our Author wrote a Reply to Mr. *Knox*. Besides these Books, *Dempster* tells us, that our Author wrote a Book upon the Antiquity of the *Scots* Church, which *Anthony Possevin* has inserted in his Bibliothek. In this Book our Author gives an Account of our King *DONALD's* Conversion to the Christian Religion and of the first Settlement of the Christian Religion amongst Us. *Dempster* likewise makes mention of a Commentary of his upon all *Aristotle's* Works, extant in *Mss.* in some Library at *Paris*, and another Commentary, which he heard was published upon the Scholastick Writings of *S. Thomas*.

Claudius Aquaviva being chosen General of the Order in the Year 1581, our Author was chosen his Coadjutor-Assister for *Germany* and *France*; and since the Society was blamed for their interesting themselves too much in State Affairs, and upon that Account accused as the Fomenters of Rebellion and Sedition wherever they came; our Author advised the General to call an universal Convocation of the Order, and to discharge them from meddling in State-affairs; which was accordingly done: And they having met at *Rome* in the Year 1593, the following Decree was made upon the 4th of November (a).

His wife and
prudent Ad-
vice to them.

Ut ab omni specie mali abstineatur, & querelis etiam ex falsis suspcionibus provenientibus, præcipitur nostris omnibus, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, & sub pena inhabilitatis ad quævis officia & dignitates, seu prelationes, vocisque tam actiue quam passiue privationes; ne quispiam publicis & secularium Principum negotiis, ulla ratione se immiscere; nec etiam, quantumvis per quoscunque requisitus aut rogatus, ejusmodi res tractandi curam suscipere, audeat vel presumat. Idque serio commendatur Superioribus, ne permittant nostros iis rebus ullo modo implicari; & si quos ad ea propensos animadventent, eos loco mutandos quamprimum commutent, si alicubi sit occasio, vel periculum se ejusmodi implicationibus irretiendi.

That is to say,

To the end that we may abstain from all that may appear evil, and that we may obviate, as much as is possible, all Complaints or false Suspicionis that may arise against us; We commend to all our Society, by virtue of their holy Obedience, and under the Penalty of their being declar'd incapable of all Offices, Dignities or Superiorities, or of losing their Votes or Suffrages, either active or passive, That none presume, in any manner whatsoever, or at the Desire or Request of others, to medle with the publick Negotiations of Secular Princes. And we strictly enjoin and recommend to all Superiors, that they permit none of the Society to involve themselves, any manner of Way, in such Affairs; and

and if they find any of them inclined that way, that they immediately transport them to some other Country, if they see that there is Reason, or Danger of their being entangled in such Difficulties.

Anno 1597.

And it had been happy for their Society and all Christendom; that they had strictly observed this Decree: But as for our Author, I find nothing laid to his Charge, having behaved himself wisely and prudently during all the Time of his Management; and died, ^{His Death & Character.} with the Reputation of Sanctity amongst them, upon the 20th Day of March, 1597. in the 53d Year of his Age.

Ribadeneira, in his Catalogue of the Writers of the Society of the Jesuites, says, (a) That our Author was a Person of great Wisdom and Prudence, and well seen in Philosophy and Theology. Jacobus Tyrius (says he) *natione Scotus, ingressus in Societatem circa annum 1563, cum ageret 20 atatis, præstantem in virum, & sapientia ac prudentia clarum evasit; Philosophiam ac Theologiam cum laude docuit, nostrorumque studia moderatus est. Praefuit sociis non semel, ac demum Claudio preposito Generali, post Paulum Hossacum Assistens pro Germania & Gallia fuit, donec obiit Romæ, die vicesimo Martii, Anno 1579.*

Dempster says (b), That he was well seen in the Greek and Latin; a most acute Philosopher, and a most solid Divine; and that no Man contributed more to the augmenting of true Piety and the opposing of the Reformation, than he did. Jacobus Tyrius (says he) *Græce Latineque doctissimus, Philosophus acutissimus, Theologus gravissimus; in societatem Jesu assupptus, docendo & scribendo plurimum contulit; incrementi vera pietatis, & hæresis extirpationi adeo indefesso labore incubuit, ut nulli plus Ecclesia Scotica quam ei debuit. Obiit Phœnix ille religiosorum sanctissima vita Romæ, ordinis sui Assistens (ut loquuntur) Anno 1592. [He should have said 1597.]*

George Con, in his Book, *Of the two-fold State of Religion amongst the Scots*, says (c), That he was well skill'd in all the Sciences; That he gave a deadly Blow to the Protestant Religion in his Book to his Brother; That he lived and died in the Reputation of great Holiness; and that he left behind him, in the Roman College, several Monuments of his Engine worthy of Eternity, which were never published. His Words are,

Jacobus Tyrius, omnium divinarum atque humanarum scientia peritus, scripto ad fratrem libello, grave heresi bellum indixit; a suis etiam electus, ut generali ordinis preposito, in Societatis moderatione adfisteret. Quo in munere ita vixit, ut non sine maxima sanctitatis opinione Romæ sit mortuus; relictis in Romano Collegio, dignis aeternitate ingenii monumentis, qua nimis diu publica utilitati debentur.

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The

(a) Ribaden. Cat. Script. Soc. Jes. Lugdun. 1609. in Bro. (b) Lib. 19. P. 616. George Con. de Dupl. Stat. Relig. apud Scotos, Lib. 2. P. 168.



1597.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **A** Letter from *James Tayre* to his Brother in *Scotland*, *Parisii*, 1568. *in 8vo.*
- II. The Refutation of an Answer made be Schir *John Knox*, to an Letter sent be *James Tayre* to his umquahile Brother : Set forth be *James Tayre*, *Parisiis*, *apud Thomam Brumenium*, *in clauso Brunello, sub signo Olivæ. 1573. in 8vo.*
- III. *De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Scoticæ, quod Anthonius Possevinus sua Bibliothec, Lib. 16. Cap 5. inseruit.*
- IV. *In omnia Aristotelis opera Commentar. Mss. Parisii.*
- V. *In omnia D. Thomæ Scholastica.*

THE

T H E



An. 1593

LIFE of Mr. ROBERT ROLLOCK Principal of the College of Edinburgh.

HIS Gentleman was Son to *David Rollock* of *Poo-House*, hard by *Stirling*; he was born in 1555, and taught his Grammar under one Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, who was at that Time one of the most famous Grammarians in *Scotland*, and he was taught his Philosophy at the University of St. *Andrews* (*a*); where lie made such a wonderful Progress in his Studies, that he no sooner received the Degree of Master of Arts, than he was chosen to be Professor of Philosophy in S. *Salvators* College, where he himself had studied, he taught Philosophy at St. *Andrews*, till the Year 1583. Not long before this, to wit, in the Year 1588; the Magistrats of the City of *Edinburgh*, having addressed King *James the VI.* for the Liberty of Erecting an University, he granted them a Charter, under the Great Seal, allowing them the full Liberty, and Privilege of an University within their Town; and the Foundation being perfected in the Year 1582, they made choice of our Author, to be their Principal and Professor of Divinity; but, when he entred into Orders, and by whom he was ordain'd, neither the Author of his Life, nor any of our Historians give an Account of: But he became very Famous for his Lectures in Divinity, and for the great Talent he had in preaching; and *Calderwood* tells us (*b*), That he and Mr. *Robert Bruce*, in the 1589, made the Earl of *Bothwel* so sensible of his sinful and vicious Life, that upon the 9th of November, he humbled himself upon his Knees, in the Forenoon, in the East Church, and in the High Church, in the Afternoon; and with Tears in his Eyes, confessed before the People his dissolute and licentious Life; and promised to prove another Man in time to come. And in the Year 1593, he was one of those that was nominat by the States of Parliament, for conferring with the *Popish Lords*; for he was remarkable for his Zeal against Popery; and the next Year, he was one of those who were appointed by the Assembly met at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of May, to present a Paper to his Majesty, intituled, *The Dangers, which through the Impunity of the excommunicated Papists, Traffickers with the Spaniards and other Enemies of the Religion and Estate, are imminent to the true Religion professed within this Realm, his Majesty's Person, Crown and Liberty of this our native Country.* In the Year 1595, he was nominated one of the Commissioners for the Visitation of Colleges, being impowered to meet on the first Day of January 1590, and to try and consider the Doctrine, Life and

An 1598.
Wavy line

and Diligence of the Masters of the Colleges, the Discipline and Order used by them, the Estate of their Rents and Living, and to make their Report to the next Assembly. In the Year 1596, a Controversy arising betwixt the Ministers and the King, upon the Account of the factious Behaviour of Mr. *David Black* Minister of St. Andrews; our Author was chosen, upon the Account of his Moderation, with some others, to soften the King's Resentments of their Behaviour towards him, and to endeavour to turn his Wrath against the *Papists*; yet notwithstanding of his being esteemed one of the most moderate Men amongst them, yet he dipt too much in the Case of Mr. *Black*; and in Concurring with the Rest of the factious Ministers, till it pleased God to open his Eyes, and let him see the Wickedness and Folly of these Ways; and notwithstanding, that he preach'd and taught Divinity all this Time, yet *Spectiswood* assures us (a), That he was not as yet in Holy Orders, tho' they made choice of him to be the Moderator of an Assembly that met at *Dundee* in the Month of *May* 1597.

*He is made
Moderator
to the Gen-
eral Assembly.*

In this Assembly, the first Thing done was an Exhortation or Sermon, made by Mr. *Robert Pont*, the Moderator to the last Assembly: Then Mr. *Thomas Nicolson* was chosen Clerk; and an Order pass'd, That at the Penning of every Act there should be some Brethren present with the Clerk. Then they made choice of our Author for their Moderator. And these were the Proceedings of the first three Sessions. The 4th and 5th Sessions were taken up in Conferences about some former Assemblies. In the 6th Session, the Ministers that were appointed to confer with the Earls of *Huntly*, *Angus* and *Errol*, who had been excommunicated, made a Report of their Diligence to the Assembly; and produc'd a humble Supplication to the Assembly, subscribed by them, under their own Hands, requesting that they would receive them again into the Bosom of the Church, upon their giving Satisfaction; which was accepted of: And the same Commissioners were appointed to meet at a certain Time, to absolve them from the Sentence of Excommunication, they giving due Satisfaction according to their Promise. In the 7th Session, there were several Questions proponed; and the following Answers given to them: First, They approved of the General Assembly at *Perth*, held in the Month of *February* 1596. And Mr. *Petrie* says, That one of the Reasons moving the Brethren to acknowledge the Lawfulness of that Assembly, was founded upon this, That the Commissioners of the Church had agreed with his Majesty therein. 2dly. His Majesty having craved, that before the Conclusion of any weighty Matter his Highness's Advice and Approbation should be had thereto; the Assembly finding that his Majesty was a most religious Prince, and that his declar'd Will and Intention was, to frame his Laws and whole Government according to the establish'd Religion of the Land and the Word of God, they agreed to his Majesty's Desire. 3dly. It being re-

required, that no Man's Name should be expressed in the Pulpit, unless it be for notorious Crimes; the Assembly agreed to it, but they explained these Things to be notorious, which could not be concealed by any Tergiversation. 4thly. It being required, that no Convention of Ministers should be without his Majesty's Consent; 'twas declared to be extended to all and to whatsoever Form of General Assemblies, or lesser Assemblies, permitted and authorized by his Law, and as they have Warrant in the Word of God; as being the most authentick Form of Consent that any King can give. 5thly. It being required, that Pastors should be provided to Burghs; they declare, That whereas his Majesty was content, and promised, that where the General Assembly findeth it necessary to place any Person or Persons in any of the laid Towns, his Majesty and the Flock shall either give their Consent thereunto, or a sufficient Reason of their Refusal, to be proponed either to the whole Assembly, or to a competent Number of the Commissioners thereof, as his Majesty shall think expedient. 6thly. As to the Ordination of Ministers, the Assembly ordained, That there should be an Uniformity in the Ordination of Ministers throughout the Country, by Imposition of Hands; and that they be admitted to certain Flocks, upon the which they shall be astricited to attend, according to Acts of Assemblies made before: And ordains, That none who is not admitted to the Ministry, be permitted to teach in publick or great Places, except, upon very urgent Necessity, in defect of actual Ministers, they be ordained to supply such Wants by the Presbyteries, Provincial or General Assemblies, who shall take diligent Order to keep themselves within the Bounds of his Gift, especially in Application. 7thly, They order, that no Pastor exerce any Jurisdiction, either in making Constitutions or leading Processes, without Advice and Concurrence of Session, Presbytery, Provincial or General Assembly. 8thly, That all Sessions be elected with Consent of their own Congregation. 9thly, That all Sessions, Presbyteries, and Provincials use such Form in all their Processes as may be found Lawful and Formal, and able to abide Trial, the which shall be registered in Matters of Importance; and for that Effect, they ordained the Proceedings of private Sessions, to be viewed by the Presbyteries; the Presbyteries, by the Synods; and the Synods, by the General Assemblies. 10thly, That in the Exercise, when the Ministers are conveened at their Presbyteries, no Application shall be used. 11thly, That in the Determination of Matters of Importance, where the Votes shall be different by 2 or 3 only, nothing shall be concluded till they come to a better Resolution; and that in this Case, they who sustain the Negative must give *rationem negandi*; the Reason for their dissenting. 12thly, The Presbyteries shall meddle with nothing in their Judicatory, which shall not be found, without Controversy, proper to the Ecclesiastical Judgment, and that in this, an Uniformity is to be kept thro' all the Nation. 13thly, That all Processes and Acts be extracted unto all Parties,

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having Interest, where there is a written Process. 14thly, They being required to give their Judgement concerning summary Excommunication, they delayed it to the next Assembly; but in the Mean-time they suspended all summary Excommunication; but they ordered, that in great Crimes, a publick Intimation should be made, and that those that were guilty of them should be suspended *a sacris*, and prohibited *a privato convictu*. And, Lastly, If any Presbytery shall be desired by a missive Letter from his Majesty, to put a Stop to their Proceeding in any Thing that may seem prejudicial to the Civil Jurisdiction, or private Mens Right, they ordered, that in that Case the Presbytery should desist, until they satisfied his Majesty. In the 9th Session, the King being present, and having in a Speech represented to them the many Things, that he earnestly wished might be redressed in the Church, which could, not at this Time be conveniently done, wherefore he moved, that a general Commission should be given to some of the Brethren, to confer with him about these Matters, which they agreed to: And 14 Ministers were named to concur with his Majesty, or any 7 of them in making such Overtures, as they should think most proper for the Good of the Church. The Presbytery of St. Andrews, having excommunicated one *John Rutherford*, and his Case being brought before the Assembly, it was referred to the above-named Commissioners; as likewise the Petition of *James Wood* of Bonnington, requiring a Conference in Matter of Religion, betwixt him and his Father, that he might be absolved from the Sentence of Excommunication: After this they rose, and the next Assembly was appointed to meet at *Stirling*, upon the first *Tuesday of May* 1598. In the 8 Session of this Assembly, it was ordained, That no Reader minister the Sacrament of Baptism, or presume to celebrat the Banns of Marriage, without special Command of the Minister of the Kirk, and if there be no Minister, of the Presbytery of the Bounds. And that this Act should be intimated at every Parish Kirk, that none might pretend Ignorance.

He is appointed one of the Commissioners for regulating the Affairs of the Church.

Our Author was one of the 14 Ministers, that was appointed by this Assembly to take Care of the Affairs of the Church; and the first Thing that they did, was to procure an Act of Parliament for Prelates voting in Parliament. The Tenor whereof, is as follows (a).

‘ **O**ur Sovereign Lord, and his Highness’s Estates in Parliament, having special Consideration, and Regard of the great Privileges and Immunities, granted by his Highness’s Predecessors, of most worthy Memory, to the Holy Kirk within this Realm, and to the special Persons exercising the Offices, Titles and Dignities of Prelacies within the same, which Persons have ever represented one of the Estates of this Realm in all Conventions of the said Estates, and that the said Privileges, and Freedoms have been from Time to Time renewed, and conferred in the same Integrity

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ty and Condition, wherein they were at any Time before; so that his Majesty acknowledging the same now to be fallen, and come under his Majesty's most favourable Protection; therefore his Majesty, of his great Zeal and singular Affection, which he always hath to the Advancement of the true Religion, presently professed within this Realm, with Advice and Consent of his Highness's Estates, statutes, decerns and declares, That the Kirk within this Realm, wherein the same Religion is professed, is the True and Holy Kirk; and that such Pastors and Ministers within the same, as at any Time his Majesty shall please to provide to the Office, Place, Title, and Dignity of a Bishop, Abbot or other Prelate, shall at any Time hereafter have Vote in Parliament, sicklike and as freely as any other Ecclesiastical Prelate had any Time bygone. And also declares, That all and whatsoever Bishopricks, presently vaking in his Majesty's Hands, which are yet undisponed to any Person, or which shall happen at any time hereafter to vake, shall be only disposed by his Majesty, to actual Preachers and Ministers in the Kirk, or to such other Persons, as shall be found apt, and qualified to exercise the Office and Function of a Minister and Preacher; and who, in their Provisions to the said Bishopricks, shall accept in and upon them to be actual Pastors and Ministers, and according thereto, shall practise and exerce the same thereafter.

Item, As concerning the Office of the said Persons to be provided to the said Bishopricks, in their Spiritual Policy and Government in the Kirk; the Estates of Parliament have remitted, and remit the same to the King's Majesty, to be advised, consulted and agreed upon by his Highness, with the General Assembly of the Ministers, at such Times as his Majesty shall think expedient to treat with them thereupon; without Prejudice always, in the mean time, of the Jurisdiction and Discipline of the Kirk, established by Acts of Parliament made in any Time preceeding, and permitted by the said Acts to all General and Provincial Assemblies, and others whatsoever, Presbyteries and Sessions of the Kirk.

After the Commissioners of the General Assembly had obtained this Act to pass in the Church's Favours, they prevailed with the King to appoint an Assembly to be held in March; and our Author was appointed to acquaint all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom of it, which he did by the following *Circular Letter*.

**Grace and Peace from GOD, the Father
of our Lord Jesus Christ.**

Beloved Brethren, As we have found Continuance of Mercy, in staying the Desolation which was already begun, according to many Threatnings, against the Contempt of this Land; so we see, thro' Lack of due Consideration and Foresight in such as principally

*His Circular
Letter to
the Presby-
teries of Scot-
land.*



pally should have the most tender Care of this Work, and partly thro' the subtle Ways of dissembling Friends, good Occasions are likely to be turned to our Hurt, unless Remedy be wisely provided in Time: For this Cause, we have thought it needful, and by Consent of his Majesty, concluded, That the General Assembly which was ordained to be in May, should hold the first Tuesday of March next at Dundee; for preventing of Inconveniences that Delay of Time might draw to further Evil, and for taking solid Resolutions in such Things as are necessary to be deliberated upon concerning the Kirk's Vote in Parliament, and some other necessary Points: Whereanent, for your better Information, we have thought expedient to acquaint you with the Effect of our Travails here at this Time, according as it has been the continual Custom of the Kirk, at Parliaments, to crave such Things as were found necessary to pass in Law for their Well and Privileges; so, with the Advice of divers Commissioners of Presbyteries, we find it requisite to insist in such Articles as have been craved by the Kirk at Parliaments in Times past; and namely, we urged the Article anent the Kirk's Vote in Parliament, and the Article anent the universal Provision of the whole Kirks with Stipends: In both we find great Opposition by the far greatest Part of the Lords; but the King's Majesty convey'd our Suit with such Wisdom and Dexterity in our Favours, that in end, after many hard Reasonings, his Majesty procured, that he might dispone the whole great Benefices to Ministers, and that such Ministers as should be admitted thereto, should have Vote; without Prejudice always to the present Discipline and Jurisdiction of Kirk in any Part; as ye will understand by the Act it self, whereof we have sent you here a Copy; which his Majesty thinks shall be a Mean, in short time, to vindicate the Ministry from their present Contempt and Poverty: And this is already perceived, to their Grief, by many who fear their Hurt in our Credit. For this Cause, we have been earnestly requested by sundry of the wisest of all Estates, who most favour the good Cause, that without Scruple we should accept this good Occasion: The which Point of present Acceptation was urged by the Lords so straitly, that unless we would presently give our Consent thereto, in name of the Kirk, they would not suffer the foresaid Act to pass in our Favours; yet his Majesty was so favourable towards us, and so careful to save our Credit and eschew Offence, that by his Moyen all is reserv'd free to this Assembly for our Part. Therefore we beseech you, Brethren, to have regard hereof with such Wisdom and Care as is necessary in a Matter of so great Importance, and send, in Commission to the said Assembly, the most wise, grave, and of best Credit and Experience among you, so far as Infirmitie and Age may suffer, that good Occasion may be used at this Time, as that the Good may be taken without any Hurt, so far as it is possible. Anent the Plate, and Provisions of Stipends, at every Kirk Commission is given to a Number of Lords and Ministers, who are to essay that Work with all Diligence, and to crave your further Help in the Information anent the Estate of the Kirks; which therefore you shall take

take pains to have in Readiness, as ye shall be required, upon the next Advertisement. The Lord direct you in all Sincerity and Wisdom, ^{Anno 1597.} that you may find a Blessing upon your Labours always. From Edinburgh, the 22d Day of December, 1597.

Your Brethren and Fellow-labourers, the Commissioners of the General Assembly, and in their Name and Command,

MR. ROBERT ROLLOCK

Moderator of the General Assembly.

Not long after this, the King finding the Affairs of the New College at St. Andrew's in great Disorder; for the better husbanding of the Rents, as well in that as in the other Colleges, 'twas ordained, That there should be a Council chosen to the University, which should have Power to elect an *OEconomus* in every College, for uplifting the Rents, and taking care to see all Things rightly administered. And our Author was appointed to be one of the Counsellors: And without the Consent and Subscriptions of these Counsellors, it was not lawful for them to set any Lease, or make other Disposition whatsoever of any Part of the Rents.

And lest they should be impeded by any other Employment; it was concluded, That all the Doctors, Professors and Regents, not being Pastors in the Church, should be exempt from the keeping of Sessions, Presbyteries, Synodical or General Assemblies, and from all Teaching in Churches and Congregations, Exercises excepted; with a Discharge to all and every one of them, to accept of any Commission, prejudicial to the said Execution, not prejudging the other: Yet, that they should not be thought excluded from the General Assembly, it was appointed, That the Masters and Regents of the University should meet, when any such Occasion should offer, and condescend upon three Persons, of whom one should be elected by the foresaid Council, to be present at the General Assembly for that Year; which Person so chosen should not, for the Space of three Years thereafter, be employed in that Commission. And these Articles being publickly and openly read, in Presence of the King and the whole University, they were accepted by the Masters and Regents with solemn Promise of Obedience.

By the Assembly which met at Dundee the next Year, our Author was appointed as one of their Commissioners that were to meet with the King, to confer upon the Affairs of the Church; and by his wise and prudent Conduct, he reconciled the King to the factious Ministers of Edinburgh, who had been discharg'd from Preaching upon the account of their rebellious Sermons. And Archbishop Spotswood inform us (a), That he was one of Four that was added to these Ministers of Edinburgh; and was appointed likewise one

He is made
one of the
Counsellors
for inspect-
ing the Uni-
versity of St.
Andrew's.

S I S S I Z

He recon-
ciles the K.
to the Minis-
ters of Edin-
burgh.

of the Commissioners for planting the rest of the Churches in the Kingdom.

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An Account
of his Works

This learned Gentleman published, during his own Life, a Commentary upon the first Book of *Theodore Beza's Questions*; a Commentary upon the Epistle of *Paul to the Ephesians*, printed at *Edinburgh*, in 4to, 1590. A Commentary upon the Prophet *Daniel*, printed at *Edinburgh*, in 4to, 1591. A Logical Analysis upon the Epistle of *St. Paul to the Romans*, in 8vo, at *Edinburgh*, 1594. Some Questions and Answers, concerning the Covenant of Grace and the Sacraments, in 8vo, at *Edinburgh*, 1596. A Treatise of Effectual Calling, in 8vo, at *Edinburgh*, 1597. A Commentary upon the Epistles of *St. Paul to the Thessalonians and Philemon*, in 8vo, at *Geneva*, 1597. A Commentary upon 15 select Psalms, in 8vo, at *Geneva*, 1598. A Commentary upon the Gospel of *St. John*, with a Harmony of the Four Evangelists upon the Death, Resurrection and Ascension of *Jesus Christ*, in 8vo, at *Geneva*, 1599. Certain Sermons on several Places of *St. Paul's Epistles*, in 8vo, at *Edinburgh*, 1598.

Besides these, which, as we have said, were all, or most of them, published in our Author's Life-time; there were published, after his Death, his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Colossians*, in 8vo, at *Geneva*, 1602. A Logical Analysis upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, in 8vo, at *Edinburgh*, 1605. A Logical Analysis upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, in 8vo, *London*, 1602. A Commentary upon the 1st and 2d of the *Corinthians*, in 8vo, 1600. A Commentary upon the 2 first Chapters of the first Epistle of *St. Peter*, in 8vo, *London*, 1603. A Treatise of Justification, and another of Excommunication, both in 8vo, *London*, 1604. All these are writ in *Latin*, excepting the Sermons.

Of all the Subjects that our Author has writ upon, I shall make choice to give some of his Thoughts upon Excommunication, because it is a Subject that concerns all Christians, of what Communion soever they be: And I shall give the Reader a brief Account of the ancient Discipline of the Church in this Case; which our Author knew little or nothing of.

Our Author wrote his Book of Excommunication, upon the account of the great Abuses that had crept into the Church of *Rome*, and the little Regard that was had to it amongst the Protestants in his Time: And indeed it was no Wonder that it was little regarded; for our first Reformers did excommunicate People upon very frivolous Grounds. But, to place this Affair in a clear Light,

We are told by the Apostle *S. Paul*, That all Christians make but one Body, of which *Jesus Christ* is the Head, and the Faithful, the Members. Our blessed Saviour, as the Head of the Faithful, influences them after two different Manners; the one is interiorly, by communicating to each of them his Merits, and influencing them with his Graces; the other is, exteriorly, by a visible Government, under the Conduct of his Providence and Protection, under the

the Observarion of his Precepts and Laws, and under the Direction of those to whom he has committed the Authority of governing his Church in his Name ; giving them a full Power for that Effect, with the Assistance of his holy Spirit : So all Christians being thus united in one Catholick Church, and making up but one Body, there is a Communication of Rights and spiritual Goods, to which each Christian, as Members of the same Body, may claim a Right, unless they be debarred therefrom by the Sentence of the Church. And this is founded upon that Sentence of the Gospel, *Matth. Chap. xviii. V. 17. If he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; and if he neglect to hear the church, let him be to thee a heathen man and a publican:* And this Precept of St. Paul's, *1 Cor. Chap. v. V. 11. But now I have written unto you, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one not to eat.* Which St. Augustine explains (a) If they be judged or denounced as such ; otherwise, if each one were at liberty to separate themselves from these whose Conduct they condemn, 'twould afford ground to perpetual Disputes and Schisms: S. Paul says likewise, *2 Thessalonians, Chap. iii. V. 14. And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed; yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.* But our Saviour's Rule must be observed in all this, who ordains us, *Matth. Chap. xviii. V. 15. If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established; and if he neglect to hear them, then tell it to the church.* These are the Rules of Excommunication ; so that we see the Design of it is, to shame Men out of their Wickedness by shunning all Commercc with them, but without bearing any Hatred to them. And therefore the primitive Christians seldom made use of this last Remedy of reclaiming Sinners ; and when they did it, they performed it thus, as we learn from the Apostolical Constitutions : (b) When any one was accused, they enquired narrowly into his Life and Conversation ; and if they found that the Accusation was well founded, then the Bishop call'd him, and reproved him privately in Meekness and Moderation ; if that did not reclaim him, he took two Witnesses, and reproved him before them ; if he still remained obstinat, then he was reproved in the Church before the Congregation ; by comforting them upon their Repentance, with the gracious Promises of the Gospel ; by tetrifying them, with the Threatnings and Denunciation against Sinners ; by exhorting both the Party and People to fast and pray for them: And if none of these Methods prevailed with them, then the Bishop consulted with the oldest, and most reputed of his Brethren for Sanctity and Holiness;

T E T T

and



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and after long Expectations, they proceeded to the Sentence with Sorrow and Lamentation; for after this they had no Commerce with the excommunicated Person (*a*); and treated them as Pagans and Infidels: Yet they did not exclude them from hearing the Scriptures read in the Churches (*b*), and from hearing of their Sermons; for the Infidels themselves were not debarr'd from that, that they might be reclaimed; for whenever they repented, they were received again into the Church with Joy. And if any Person complained of the rigorous Procedure of his Bishop against him; or that the Sentence was upon slight or malicious Grounds, it was brought and examined before the Provincial Synod (*c*): And this was the Discipline of the Primitive Church. But in After-ages, amongst the many Corruptions that crept into the Church, that of Excommunicating upon frivolous Grounds was none of the least: And after the 9th Century, the Churchmen made use of this spiritual Weapon to defend themselves against the Incroachments that were made upon them by Princes: So that at length they came to excommunicate Families and Provinces; yea, whole Kingdoms, at least, were interdicted or discharged from having Divine Service amongst them, and that without any previous Admonition or Exhortation: Others were reserved to the Pope, so that they were obliged to go to *Rome* for Absolution. And these Excommunications were attended with superstitious Ceremonies; such as the Lighting and Extinguishing of Candles, Throwing them to the Ground, with the Ringing of Bells and horrible Curses. Likewise they interpreted the Precept of not having Commerce with them, with such Rigour, that one Excommunication produc'd an infinite Number of others, and extended the Precept to the Seizing upon their Temporal Goods and Effects: So that Servants were excommunicated for obeying their Masters; Children, for obeying their Parents; and Wives, for conversing with their Husbands. And the excommunicated Person was declar'd incapable of any Place or Trust, degraded from all his Honours (*d*), and their Subjects and Vassals discharged from yielding any Obedience to them: So that when a King or Emperor was excommunicated, he was reduc'd to the State of a private Man, and all his Subjects discharged from their Allegiance; by which means the Excommunications of the Church became ridiculous and contemptible. And this was the Motive that moved our learned Author to write his Book against these horrible Abuses. And now I shall conclude with the Account of his Death, and the Judgment of the Learned concerning him.

*His Death
and Charac-
ter.*

He died upon the 28th of *February* at *Edinburgh*, 1598, in the 43 Year of his Age. He was certainly a Man of great Learning, and well seen in the Writings of the Commentators upon the Bible; but he was not so well seen in the Writings of the ancient Fathers of the Church, which was the general Fault of all our first Reformers; but that which he is most to be blamed for is, That he took

(*a*) C. 38. (*b*) C. 39. (*c*) C. 15, Q. 6. C. 48, Lox Greg. vi.



took upon him, as a great many, others did at that Time, to preach the Gospel, and administrate the Sacraments without being ordained, or having Imposition of Hands, as his Neighbour Mr. *Robert Bruce* had done, upon the Enthusiastical Pretence of an extraordinary Call from the Holy Ghost. Archbishop *Spotswood* speaking of his Death says, (a) ‘ This Man was born not far from ‘ *Stirling*, and train’d up in Letters under Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, ‘ who did then keep a famous School: At that Time he passed ‘ his Course in Philosophy at St. *Andrews*, and no sooner receiv’d ‘ the Degree of a Master in Arts, than he was chosen Regent of ‘ the College of St. *Salvator*, where he had studied. In the Year ‘ 1583 he was removed to *Edinburgh*, and made Principal of a ‘ College which the Town had there erected, where by his Lectures ‘ of Divinity in the Schools, and his Sermons to the People, (in ‘ both which he was assiduous) he came to be greatly esteemed; ‘ but the 17 Days Trouble and Tumult that followed thereupon, ‘ withdrawing him against his Mind to the Keeping of Assemblies, ‘ and other Commissions of the Church, he was thereby much ‘ weakened, for he was of an unfirm Body, and grievously pain’d ‘ with the Stone, whereof at last he died. In his Sickness, being ‘ visited by his Bretheren of the Ministry, amongst other pious Ex- ‘hortations, he did earnestly beseech them to carry themselves ‘ more dutifully towards the King, lamenting he should be so ill ‘ used by some of their Number, and gave them a most comfor- ‘table Farewell. His Torments were extreme, yet was he not heard ‘ to use an impatient Word, but was still calling on GOD, with ‘ these and the like Sayings, *Haste Lord Jesus, and tarry not, put* ‘ *in thy Hand, and take this Soul away to thy self*, and at other ‘ Times, *Go out, silly Life, that the better Life of GOD may enter* ‘ *in*: Drawing near his End he repeited a Part of the 6 Psalms, ‘ and framing a most pithy Prayer out of the same, as one exulting ‘ after Victory, he cried aloud, *Christ hath taken my Yoke to bear,* ‘ *and now, strengthened by his Grace, I will follow*; with which ‘ Words he yielded up his Spirit. A rare Example of Holiness he ‘ was in his Life and his Death, albeit now dead, yet still preach- ‘ eth by his learned Works, which it is Pity should not be collect- ‘ ed in one Volume and preserved to Posterity. He deceased ‘ the last of February, and had his Corps honourably interr’d in ‘ the Burial Place, an innumerable Multitude accompanying the ‘ the same to the Grave.’ But the Presbyterian Historians have ‘ not so good an Opinion of our Author; for altho’ Mr. *Petrie* con- ‘fesses (b) that he was a godly and learned Man, yet he says ‘ he was credulous, and not so fit for Government and Disci- ‘ pline as for the Pulpit and Schools, nor was made privy to all ‘ the Mysteries of Iniquity that were then in working, but only so ‘ far as the Plotters thought needful. His old Master Mr. *Tho-* ‘ *mas Buchanan* was now wone to the King’s Side, and turned

T t t t 2

‘ and

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" and tutored him as he saw fitting ; they thought the Estimation
 Men had of him would induce many to their Course. And then
 he falls a railing at Bishop *Spotiswood*, for saying that he was
 not in Orders when he was made Moderator of the Assembly
 at *Dundee*, and endeavours to prove the contrary, from his cal-
 ling himself one of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, in his Commen-
 tary upon the *Ephesians*, first published 1590, and from his be-
 ing often a Member of the General Assembly. But the Case
 of Mr. *Robert Bruce* overthrows both these Arguments, as we
 shall make appear in his Life : Besides Multitudes of other Instances,
 that might be produced of those who were Members of As-
 semblies, and called themselves Ministers, but were never or-
 dained.

Calderwood transcribes (a) Mr. *Petrie's* Character of him ; but
 those who are desirous of further Characters of him, but most to
 the same Purpose, will find them in our Author's Life wrote in La-
 tine by *George Robertson*, and published at *Edinburgh* 1599, in
 12mo. where there are likewise several Epitaphs, composed upon
 him by Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Andrew Ruthven*, *Hadrian Damiana Bestervels*, Mr. *Thomas Craig*, Mr. *Henry Charters*, in
 Greek and Latin, Mr. *William Craig*, Mr. *John Adamson*, *Wil- liam Barclay*, M. D. Mr. *John Ray*, M. D. Mr. *George Griar*,
 Mr. *William Arthur*, Mr. *Thomas Ballanden*, Mr. *Nathaniel Ud-
 vart*, *George Douglas*, Mr. *David Hume*, Mr. *Alexander Hume*,
 Mr. *Andrew Melvin*, and Mr. *Hertules Rollock*; some of which I
 shall insert for the Reader's Satisfaction.

Epitaphium Roberti Rolloci, per Andream Melvinum.

DUX, Rolloce, gregis tener tenelli,
 Doctarum decus elegantiarum,
 Et morum specimen modestiorum.
 Dux, Rolloce, gregis sacer sacrati,
 Sal Terre, sine fraude, luxque Mundi,
 Et vita speculum laboriosa,
 Quo diversus abis ? Tios relinquis ?
 Invidit tibi nemo sanus inquam,
 Aut cari emeritum gregis favorem,
 Aut clari aureolum gregis decorum.
 Invidit tibi nemo publicata
 Castarum intima cogitationum,
 Sanctarum abdita lucubrationum.
 Invidit tibi nemo gratiam Aule,
 Gratam gratiam, eam & redintegratam;
 Grata ut gratia sit redintegrata.

Invidit

*Invidit tibi nemo propagatum,
Sape a Principe pene Principatum.
Nil horum tibi ego, tibi nec ullus
Unquam sane: At invidemus omnes
(Tantillum, aut si invidere fas,
Quanquam non magis invidemus omnes
Quam lugemus item & dolemus omnes)
Islam praproperam festinationem,
A nobis procul hinc abitionem.*


Anno 1598.

In Robertum Rollocum, Edini Pastorem, & Academiæ Edinburgensem Rectorem, David Humius.

DVM vires ostentat, & in Terrestria vastum
Terrorem vult mors ingerere atra sui,
Rollocum invadit, vita mortisque Magistrum;
Et pia, lugubri sub pede, colla premit.
*Nil agis, O truculentus! paris pro funere vitam:
Non moritur quem mors ad meliora rapit.*

Aliud.

Delicie humani generis Rollocus, imago
Maxima mansueti, quem docet ipse Dei,
Quem doctum mirantur, amant mitemque bonumque,
Cum populo, Proceres, Rexque Patresque pio.
*Ante diem primo cedit immaturus in ævo,
Frustratus patriæ, vitaque spemque sua.
Heu! quis non timeat mortem, tetricamque trucemque,
Parcere si doctis, si negat illa bonis.
At quis jam timeat mortem, vel serva minantem,
Perdere si doctos, si nequit illa bonos?*

Epitaphium Roberti Rolloci, per Thomam Balandinum.

TE, Rolloce, extincto, Urbs mæsta, Academia mæsta est;
Et tota exequis Scotia mæsta tuis.
Uno in te nobis dederat Deus omnia, in uno
Te Deus eripuit omnia qua dederat.

Per Joannem Scotum.

*Sæcla priora viderunt luce cadentem
Solem unum; binos hac videt una dies.*

The Catalogue of his Works.

Anno 1595.

- I. **P**rolegomena, in Primum Librum *Quaestionum* Theodori Bezae.
- II. **C**ommentarius in Pauli Epistolam ad Ephesios, 4to, Edin. 1590. & Geneva, in 8vo, 1593.
- III. **C**omment. in Pauli Epistolam ad Ephesios, cum notis brevibus, in 8vo, Geneva, 1606.
- IV. **C**omment. in utramque Pauli Epistolam ad Thessalon. & Philem. cum notis Joannis Piscatoris, in 8vo, Herberniæ Nasaviorum, 1601. & Geneva, 1602.
- V. **C**omment. in Danielem, in 4to, Edinburgi, 1561, 1564, 1598 & 1610.
- VI. Certain Sermons on several Places of St. Paul's Epistles, in 8vo, Edinburgh, 1597.
- VII. *Tractatus de vocatione efficaci*, in 8vo. Edinburgi, 1597.
- VIII. *Quaestiones & Responsiones aliquot, de fædere Dei & de Sacramentis*, in 8vo, Edinburgi, 1596.
- IX. *Analysis Logica in Epistolam ad Hebreos, una cum Tractatu de Justificatione*, in 8vo, Edin. 1605.
- X. *Analysis Logica in Epistolam ad Galatas*, in 8vo, Lond. 1602, & Geneva, 1603.
- XI. *Analysis Logica in Pauli Epistolam ad Romanos*, in 8vo, Edinburgi, 1594.
- XII. *Comment. in quatuor priora Capita Epistola ad Coloss.* Geneva, in 8vo, 1602.
- XIII. *Comment. in primam & secundam Epist. ad Corinth.* cum notis Piscatoris, Herberniæ, in 8vo, 1600, Gen. 1602, 1607.
- XIV. *Comment. in Evangelium secundum Joannem, cum ejus Harmonia Evangelica, in Passionem, Resurrectionem & Ascensionem Jesu Christi*, Geneva, in 8vo, 1595, 1600.
- XV. *Comment. in quindecim selectos Psalmos Gen. 8vo, 1599 & 1610.*
- XVI. *Tractatus de Excommunicatione*, Lond. 1604, Gen. 1602, 8vo.
- XVII. *Comment. in duo Capita prioris Epistola Petri*, Gen. 1599 8vo.
- XVIII. *Tractatus brevis de Providentia Dei*.

T H E

LIFE of *James Chyne*, Doctor of the ^{Anno 1600.}
Laws, and Professor of Philosophy at
Doway.

THIS Gentleman was a Son (a) of the Laird of *Arnagies*, an ancient Family in the Shire of *Aberdeen*; having learned his Grammar and Philosophy at that University, he applied himself to Theology, under Mr. *John Henderson*, a famous Theologue in those Days, and who, upon the Reformation, went over to *France*, and died at *Paris*. Having finished his Studies in Theology, he entred into Holy Orders, but upon the Reformation, was obliged to fly with his Master to *France*, where he taught Philosophy for some Time at *Paris*, in the College of *St. Barbe*; and from thence he went to *Doway* in *Flanders*, where he taught Philosophy for several Years, and was made Rector of the *Scots College* there, and great Penitentiar and Chanon of the Cathedral Church of *Tournay*.

We have several Writings of this learned Gentleman's still extant, of which I shall give the Reader an Account, according to the Years in which they were published. In the Year 1573, he published at *Doway*, a Compound of *Aristotle's Philosophy* in 12mo, which was reprinted at the same Place in the Year 1595, in 8vo. In the Year 1575, he published at *Doway* two Books, upon the Terrestrial and Celestial Globes in 8vo. In the year 1576, he published at *Doway* a Geographical Description of the Earth, in 8vo. In the Year 1577, he published at *Doway* two Orations, the one concerning the Qualities that are requisite for making a perfect Philosopher, and the other, upon the Predictions of Astrologers, both in 8vo. In the Year 1578, he published at *Doway* a Commentary upon the 14 Books of *Aristotle's Metaphysicks*, and some Letters mention'd by *Dempster*, who was his Scholar at *Doway*; but I know not if ever they were published.

We have already given a History of *Aristotle's Philosophy*, in the first Volume of this Work, in the Life of Mr. *Michael Scot* of *Balwiry*, and the History of Astronomy in this Volume, in the Life of *James Baffantine*: And since all our Author's Works are upon Philosophy, Astronomy and Geography; and that without the Knowledge of Geography, no Man can understand either Sacred or Prophane History. I shall give the Reader here an Account of the first Rise, Progress, and Discoveries, or Improvements, that have been made in Geography till our Author's Time.

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*His Parentage and Education.**He entered into Holy Orders, goes over to France, and from thence to Doway, where he is made Rector of the Scots College.**An Account of his Works*(a) *Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 3. Pag. 194. Census de duplicitate, Relig. apud Scotos, Pag. 161.*



An Histori-
cal Account
of the Im-
provements
that have
been made
in Geogra-
phy.

Moses the Sacred Historian, having informed us how the World was dispeopled by the Flood, proceeds next to inform us how it was repeopled by the posterity of *Noah*; which he does, by acquainting us, after what Method the three Branches of *Noah's* Posterity did distinctly plant or settle themselves at first, in three distinct Tracts of the Earth. And this is the largest and best Account that we have of the several Inhabitants of the Earth: *Strabo* tells us, (a) That the first among the *Grecians* that wrote in Geography were *Homer*, *Anaximander the Milesian*, *Hecataeus*, *Democritus*, *Eudoxus*, *Dicearchus*, *Ephorus*, *Eratosthenes*, *Polybius* and *Pollidoniuss*; and I shall give the Reader an Account what their Performances were.

A Stranger to Geography, as we have elsewhere observed, (b) that should read the Voyages of *Ulysses*, as they are described by *Homer*, and should observe the Time that was spent, the Removes that they made, and Dangers they underwent in being tossed from Shore to Shore, would be apt to imagine, that they had visited the most Part of the habitable World; and that its plain, that he knew no further than the *Aegean* Sea.

Anaximander the Milesian, the Disciple of *Thales*, was, in the 64th Year of his Age, in the 2d Year of the 58th Olympiad; and *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, That he was the First who gave us the Meastrue of the Earth, of which I have given an Account in the second Volume of this Work. (c) *Hecataeus*, who was likewise a *Milesian*, acquired great Fame, by his Description of *Asia*, *Europe* and *Lybia*. In the Reigns of *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*, *Longimanus*, *Democritus* was famous for his Cosmography. 'Tis observed in the Second Book of *Pliny*, that there was one *Eudoxus*, who taking Ship in the *Arabian Gulph*, to avoid the Displeasure of *Ptolomy Lathurus*, arrived in the Port of *Cadix*; and that before him another, who had sail'd from a Port of *Spain*, went into *Aethiopia*, to traffique there; and its reported in the same Place, that in the Time of *Quintus Metellus Celer*, the King of the *Swevi*, bordering on the *Baltick* Sea, presented to the *Romans* some *Indians*, who departing from their own Country for Commerce, were cast by Tempests on the Coasts of *Germany*; from all which *Cluverius* concludes, That if these Relations be true, the Parts of the Earth known, and inhabited by the Antients, were discovered on all Sides, that they passed with their Ships not only under the *Cape of Good Hope*, towards the *Antarctic* Pole, but also under the *Arctick* Pole, on the other Side of *Muscovy* and *Tartary*; and that they did more than the *English* and *Dutch*, who have not been able to find a Passage that Way to *Japan* and *China*; but the *Eudoxus* that *Strabo* speaks of, was the famous Astronomer, of whom we have given an Account, in the History of that Science, and different from the *Eudoxus* mentioned by *Pliny*. *Ephorus* was the Disciple of *Isoocrates*, and flourished in the Reign of *Artaxerxes*

erxes. *Ocho*, he wrote a History of the Wars betwixt the *Grecians* and their Enemies, whom he calls the *Barbarians*, in 30 Books; wherein a great Number of Things are to be learned, as to the Situation of the Places that he speaks of in these Times. But *Diodorus Siculus* blames him for his Ignorance in the Geography of *Egypt*: And *Josephus*, for his Ignorance of *Iberia*. *Dicaearchus* wrote the State of *Greece* in his Time, partly in Verse, and partly in Prose, and a Description of Mount *Pelius*. The Fragments of this Author were brought from *Italy*, by *Matthew Budaeus*, and after they had lien dormant for near 40 Years, *Henry Stephens* published them in the Year 1589, with a *Latin Version*: But the most complete Edition, is that in the 2d Volume of Doctor *Hudson's* Collection of the *Gracian Geographers*, published at *Oxford* in 1703, with Mr. *Dodwel's* Dissertation, wherein he fixes the Age of this Author; for he dedicates his Work to *Theophrastus*, who succeeded *Aristotle* in his School, which was in Olympiad 114 3; wherein he continued to Olympiad 123: And the Time wherein he wrote, is found out by his mentioning the Rebuilding of *Thebes*, which was performed by *Cassander*, in the 116 Olympiad; which was before the Time in which *Demetrius Poliorcetes* took it for the 2d Time. And from this and several other Passages in it, the learned Mr. *Dodwel* makes it appear, that the Metric Work was wrote at the End of the 116 Olympiad, and the Prose, in the End of the 117 Olympiad. The Design of the Metrical Work was, to make his Maps better understood, and Names, easily remembred. The Maps he drew were, first, of the *Peloponessus*, then, of all *Greece*, afterwards, of the whole Earth, so far as his Knowledge extended. But in these general Maps, these Geographers had a Regard to *Greece*, as the Centre of the Earth, computing the Distance of other Places from thence. The Fragment concerning Mount *Pelius*, tho' it be not inscribed by his Name, yet all the Critics are agreed that it is his, since he wrote not only of the *Mauritains* of *Peloponessus*, but of those who belonged to the whole *Macedonian Monarchy*; severals of which he measured, as *Pliny* says, *cira Regum*, by the Direction and Help of Kings: So that the Time must be immediately after *Alexander the Great's* Death, that is, after the Birth of *Alexander the Son of Roxane*, who, with *Aridaeus*, were Kings together, which was between the 114 2d and the 115 4th Olympiad; this being a peaceful Time, for *Alexander the Great's* Captains had not as yet shared his Dominions amongst themselves: And this Measuring was not only of the Hills, but of the Bounds of the Countries, and considerably after, viz. in the 121 2d Olympiad, after *Demetrius* had got the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and built *Demetrius*; which is taken notice of by *Dicaearchus*. He wrote likewise a *Tripoliticum*, which was an Account of some *Tripolis*, of which Name there were divers: But the learned Mr. *Dodwel* is of opinion, that this was the *Tripolis of the Dorians in Peloponessus*, not far from *Sparta*, and its Metropolis.

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Eratosthenes lived about 200 Years before *Christ*, and wrote, amongst other Things, a Book of Geography, and translated *Themistocles's* Book of the most notable Sea-ports of the World; who flourished not long before him.

Polybius, who flourished, and was in great Reputation about 145 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, was of *Megalopolis*, a City of *Arcadia*, the Son of *Lycertas*, General of the *Acheans*: Tho' he wrote nothing of a Body of Geography, yet in his History, which comprehends the most considerable Transactions of the World, from the Beginning of the Second *Punic War*, to the End of that which terminated the Differences of the *Romans* with the *Macedonian Kings*, by the Ruin of their Monarchy, there are several remarkable Descriptions of the Situation of Places, for, that he might be exact in what he was to write, he passed into *Asia* and *Africa*; he set Sail on the *Atlantic Ocean*, by the Means of *Scipio*, who loved him entirely, and procur'd him Vessels for this Purpose; he crossed Part of the *Gauls* and the *Alpes*, with a Design to represent *Hannibal's Passage* into *Italy*; he travelled over all *Spain*, and made a considerable Stay at New *Carthage*, to observe, at his own Leisure, the Situation of that Place, and that he might omit nothing that concerned the Actions of his noble and faithful Friend *Scipio*.

Gerardus Vossius (a) thinks, That the *Possidonius* mentioned here by *Strabo*, was he of *Apomea*, the *Stoic Philosopher*, whom *Cicero* heard at *Rhodes*, and who continued *Polybius's History* in 52 Books: And this he grounds, upon his being mentioned amongst the Philosophers, and immediately after *Polybius*. But it is much more probable, that it was the *Possidonius* of *Olbiopolita*, who, as we learn from *Suidas*, wrote several Geographical and Historical Treatises; the History of *Attica* and *Lybia* in xi Books, with the Description of *Tyrus*, and the adjacent Seas about it. Besides these mentioned by *Strabo*, the learned Dr. *Hudson*, in his Collection of the *Greek Geographers*, published with Mr. *Dodwel's* Dissertations, in the Years 1698, 1703 & 1712, has several other; the principal of which are, *Hanno the Carthaginian General* his *Periplus* or *Coasting*: This Book the famous *Isaac Vossius* esteemed, as one of the most ancient Remains of the *Gracian Geography*, making the Author as ancient as *Persius*, who killed the *Gorgons*: But the most learned Mr. *Dodwel* has refuted this Conjecture, and has shown it to be written by some *Gracian* who had personated him, and yet betrays himself, by giving not *Punic*, but *Greek Names* to the Places he mentions; and that the *Periplus* we have now, is quite different from that mentioned by the Ancients, as appears from the Citations taken out of it by *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Solinus*, &c. Besides, the *Coasting* performed by the *Carthaginians*, must have been done in their most flourishing Condition; which these that treat of the most early Affairs of the *Carthaginians*, shew to have been before the first *Punic War*, in which the *Romans* deprived them of some of their

their Territories, which was after they acquired much in *Sicily*, between the 92 94, and the 129 Olympiads. Now *Pliny* makes *Himilco* to sail, in the Discovery of the Maritime Parts of *Europe*, Northwards, at the same Time that *Hanno* went towards the South and East: And when both *Hanno* and *Himilco* were employed as Generals, in the War against *Agathocles*, and that the *Carthaginians* thought themselves able to besiege *Syracuse*, 'tis highly probable that this Expedition was made.

The next is *Scylax Caryandensis's Periplus* or Coasting, which Mr. *Dodwel* has proven, beyond Dispute, not to be the Writer of this Name mentioned by *Herodotus*; some of whose Arguments I shall here set down. The *Scylax* mentioned by *Herodotus's Voyages* were from *India* to the Red Sea, of which this *Scylax* writes nothing; nay, this *Scylax* could not be ancienter than *Polybius*, for he describes the Places along adjoining to the Mediterranean Sea, much of which, to wit, from *Carthage* to the Streights of *Gades*, were unknown to the *Greeks*, till the Wars with the *Romans* in the Time of *Polybius*, who made his Business to acquaint himself with those Countries, before his Time, unknown to his Countrymen, as we have already observed. 2dly, This *Scylax* mentions the *Imperia* of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*; which could not be before that *Hamilcar*, the Father of *Hannibal*, had subdued them, which was after the Time of *Alexander the Great*. 3dly, This *Scylax* makes the Bounds of the *Etrurians* to reach to the *Adriatic Sea*; which must happen after that the *Romans* (on the account of the Assistance that they had afforded them against the *Gauls*) enlarged their Territories, which could not be before the *Varronian Year*, ab *U. C.* 532. 4thly, This *Scylax* makes *Leucas* an Island, which was always joined to the Continent by an Isthmus, till the *Romans*, after the Subduing of *Persius*, by drawing a Channel made it an Island, to secure them from the Invasions of the *Arcarrians*, about the *Varronian Year*, 587. 5thly, This *Scylax* mentions *Messina* in *Peloponesus*; which must be after the Time of *Epaminondas*, (in whose Time *Gronovius* suspects this Author to have lived) who recovered it out of its Ruins, so that he could not be elder than that Time; nor after the *Varronian Year*, 608, since he mentions *Corinth* and *Carthage*, in which Year both of these Cities were destroyed. Lastly, This *Scylax* mentions *Cius* under that Name, which receivd a new Name from *Prusias K. of Bythinia*, to whom it was given by *Philip of Macedon*, who died in the *Varronian Year* 575: Yet it cannot be denied, that in this *Periplus* there are some Things that are not consistent with the Age of *Polybius*; which makes Mr. *Dodwel* conjecture, that this *Scylax* did not sail about the Ocean himself, but only collected his Observations from these of others, who had even in part, before his own Time, made such Expeditions; or from such who had at second hand given an Account of them.

The learned *Vossius* is of opinion, That *Agatharcides Cnidus*, who wrote an Epitome of the Red Sea, or rather, of the Eastern

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Countries, wrote it in the Time of *Ptolomy Philometer*, because he was Reader to *Heraclides Lembus*: But Mr. *Dodwel* has shewn, that altho' he was Reader to *Lembus* when he was young, yet he did not write till a considerable Time after, when he was Tutor to one of the *Ptolomies*; who as it could not be *Ptolomy Philometer*, so neither could it be his Brother *Euergetes*, nor *Sotor*, nor *Physon*, as 'tis made appear by the learned Person above mentioned; but *Ptolomy Alexander*, who reigned from the *Varronian Year* 649, to 666. So that *Agatharcides* wrote about the Year 650, and not later; for he only wrote a little before *Artemidorus*, who published his *Periplus* in the Year 651.

Salmasius is of the opinion; That the *Periplus* of the *Erythrean Sea*, which comprehends Part of the *Indian Coast*, the *Persian Gulf* and the *Red Sea*, and commonly attributed to *Arrian*, was not wrote by *Arrian*. And Mr. *Dodwel* agrees with him in this, but differs from him as to the Age in which he lived, in making it appear, that he could not write before *Trajan*, who conquered *Arabia*, and destroyed its Emporium; since this Author makes mention of it, nor very soon after it, since he speaks of it as having happened not long before his own Days, which, in all Probability, were under *Marcus Antoninus* and *Verus*. But 'tis agreed by all the Critics, That the *Periplus* of the *Euxin Sea*, attributed to *Arrian*, is really his, and wrote by him towards the latter End of *Hadrian's Reign*. This *Arrian* was a Native of *Nicomedia*, a City of *Bithynia*, where he made his Studies, and became a Priest of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, as he himself tells us: And having the Province of *Cappadocia* assigned to him, he described that Part of the *Euxin Sea* that joined to *Cappadocia*, and consisted with his own Knowledge. And this was in the 20th Year of the Emperor *Hadrian's Reign*; about which Time he entred upon his Province, and gives the Particulars of his Journey before the War with the *Alani*, or *Albani*, in the Year of our Lord 136. With this is published another Piece of *Arrian's*, taken out of his *Indica*; which contains the Voyage of *Nearchus*, which he undertook by the Command of *Alexander the Great*, and which Mr. *Dodwel* thinks was written by *Arrian*, immediately after he had finished the Life of *Alexander the Great*, and before he had seen what *Ptolomy* had written; and consequently, in the Time of *Puis*, a little before *Ptolomy* had publish'd his Geography.

Marcianus Heracleota, who has given us a Collection of Travels by Sea and Land, begins his Land Travels in the Western Parts, from *Rome*; but that of the Eastern Parts are last: But he is mostly celebrated for the Voyages by Sea, having abridged *Artemidorus*, and made a Supplement to him, as he did likewise to *Menippus*, who lived a little before *Marcian*. From all which Mr. *Dodwel* concludes, That seeing *Menippus* was after *Ptolomy*, and *Agathemerus*, after *Menippus*, and *Marcian*, after *Agathemerus*, *Marcian* must have lived before the End of the 4th Century. The anonymous Author of the *Periplus* of the *Euxin Sea*, is collected out of seve-

several Writers, especially out of *Scimus*, *Scius* and *Arrian*: . And the Author is thought to have lived when *Dioclesian* had made *Numidia* the Seat of the Empire.



Isidorus Characenus Boook of the Mansions of the *Parthians*, is only Part of a larger Work, concerning the several Mansions and Stages of the *Cursus publicus* of the *Persians*, by whom it was begun; they reckoned first by *Parasangae*, after, by the Greek *Schæni* being double thereto, containing 60 *Stadia*. Both of these at first were certain, but after both admitted of Variety in several Countries; yet so as their Measure was certain, tho' altered from the former Standart: And this was done, that it might be accommodated to the *Roman Miles*. *Vossius* thought, That this *Isidore* flourished in the Time of *Artaxerxes Otho*; but from his own Words it appears, that he wrote after *Tiridates* fled for his Life, in the Year of our Lord 36: Others have taken him for the *Isidore* mentioned by *Pliny*, but that *Isidore* wrote only a *Periplus* or Sea Voyages, whereas this *Isidore* wrote a *Periegesis*, or a Description of Countries, and according to the Conjecture of the most learned Mr. *Dodwel*, wrote before the Year of *Christ* 162; for when he wrote his *Periegesis*, the *Parthians* were in Possession of all *Mesopotamia*, whereas in that very Year they were driven thence by *Avidius Cassius*.

We have a Description of the World wrote in Verse by *Scymnus*, of the Island of *Chio* or *Scio*, and dedicated to *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*, at the same Time, when an Attick Author did a like Performance to *Attalus Philadelphus*, King of *Pergamus*; what we have is only of *Europe* and *Asia*, but he designed the Description of *Africa*: The chief Author he made Use of was *Eratosthenes*, but he appeals most to his own Knowledge. He designed an Historical Account of the Cities he wrote of, and of the Time in which they were built, out of Historians. *Dionysius of Chalcis* wrote also upon this Subject; as did also *Ephorus Timaus*, and several others: As for *Scymnus*, the Time in which he flourished is known by the Dedication of his Work: for since it is to a King of *Bithynia*, it must be before the *Varronian Year* 679: For then their last King *Nicomedes* left that Kingdom as a Legacy to the *Romans*; and Mr. *Dodwel* makes it appear, that the *Nicomedes* to whom *Scymnus* made his Dedication was surnamed *Obrestus*. The Treatise of Rivers is attributed to *Plutarch of Cheronea*; by some, to *Parthenius*; by others, and by others, to *Antoninus Liberalis*; but Mr. *Dodwel* has proven, that it was wrote by none of them, but probably by one who assumed the Name of *Plutarch*, and wrote in the Tenth Century; as for the Work it self, the Author not only sets down the Situation of all the Rivers he speaks of, and the Reasons of their Names, but also gives an Account of what is most remarkable in, or near them.

But the most complete Body of Geography that we have yet spoken of, is that of *Agathemerus*, contain'd in two Books, the fifth

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of which is divided into eight Chapters; and the Second, into fourteen. This Author's Age appears, from the Bounds that he assigns to *Dacia*, and the Destruction of *Byzantium*; by which he must have lived after *Septimius Severus*, and before *Gallienus*: For from his making *Babylonia* belong to the *Romans*, he must have lived after *Septimius Severus*, who reduced this into a *Roman Province*, in the Year of our Lord 201, which was lost again to the *Parthians* by *Macrinus*, in the Year 217: In which Time *Agathemerus* wrote. And 'tis observable in this Author, That his Computation of Miles is by 7 Stadia and an Half, and in other Places by 8 Stadia: And he makes the Circuit of the whole Earth 252000 Furlongs; and the Part which is inhabite from East to West, according to his Computation, 70000 Furlongs.

The Critics are strangely divided in their Opinions concerning *Dionysius Periegetes*: Some taking him for the *Dionysius* mentioned by *Pliny*; others, for the *Dionysius Byzantinus*; others, for *Dionysius Mytileneus*; others, for the *Dionysius* the Son of *Musonius*; all mentioned by *Suidas*. But the most learned Mr. *Dodwel* shews how he could be none of these, since most or all of these wrote in Prose, and were in different Ages: Whereas our *Dionysius* wrote in Verse. And from some Verses of this Poet, preserved by *Stephanus*, (and which are not in our printed Copy) concerning the City of *Emisa*, and paraphrased by *Festus Avienus*. In this City was a Temple dedicated to the Sun, which this Poet celebrates, for which the Emperor *Heliodorus* had a peculiar Veneration. From whence Mr. *Dodwel* very rationally conjectures, that he wrote in this Emperor's Time, in whose Favours he endeavoured to insinuate himself by the Encomiums he gives to his Temple; and that he was a *Corinthian*, there being one of that City that wrote a *Periegesis* in Verse, and no Poet is ever named as such but this: And he speaks of himself as a *Roman*. And *Corinth* was made a *Roman Colony* by *Julius Caesar*, of which *Rome* being the Metropolis, the Inhabitants of *Corinth* were called *Romans*. Many have wrote Commentaries upon this Work of *Dionysius*, but none to better Purpose than *Eustathius* Bishop of *Theffalonica*: Yet notwithstanding of all these, and several others of less Note, the Geography of the Ancients continued still so imperfect, that *Strabo*, who flourished under the Reign of *Tiberius*, gives us such a large Catalogue of their Mistakes, in his first three Books, that any that considers them will find, that they made but a very indifferent Progress in their Discoveries. And *Strabo* himself, altho' he has corrected many of these Mistakes, and delivered many Things down to us with great Accuracy; yet he is very far from being exact, by reason of his wanting Tables and Maps, and the Longitudes and Latitudes being Things far beyond his Skill; without which it is scarce possible to fix Places aright; it remained still very imperfect amongst the *Grecians* till *Ptolemy's* Time, who flourished under *Marcus Aurelius*: To him, as we have elsewhere observed, was reserved the Honour of reducing Geography.

ply to Art and System; who, by adding Mathematical Advantages to the Historical Method, in which it had been treated before, has described the World in a much more intelligible Manner; for he has delineated it under more certain Rules, and by fixing the Bounds of Places from Longitude and Latitude, has both discovered others Mistakes, and left us a Method of discovering his own: The most considerable of which may be seen in *Agathidemop's* Map of the World, which is printed with *Ptolomy's* Works, and is the first and best of that Kind. The Abridger of *Strabo* flourished after *Arrian* and *Ptolomy*, since he cites them both: And from several Circumstances in his Writings, Mr. *Dodwel* makes it appear, that he wrote betwixt the Years 976 and 996. And this was written not so much as an Epitomizer, as a Collector of what he judged most useful in *Strabo*. And the first of this Kind mentioned by *Photius*, was *Proclus*, who lived in the latter End of the 5th Century; and *Hellenius Bessantinus*, in the Beginning thereof. *Michael Pselus*, who wrote of the Situation, Figure and Magnitude of the Earth, wrote under *Constantine Ducas*, and his Empress *Eudoxia*. And about the Year 1440, *Georgius Gemistus Pletho*, born at Constantinople, wrote his Geography. And these are the most considerable Geographers amongst the Grecians; And now we shall give an Account of what the Romans, the Eastern Nations and Arabians have done in Geography.

We are very much beholden to the Romans for their Discoveries; for they no sooner subdued any Province, but they caused the Map of the Province to be drawn, and shown in their Triumphs to their Spectators: And a great Number of these Maps were to be seen in *Lucullus's* Porch, exposed to the View of every Body, about 100 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. The Senate of *Rome* sent Geographers to several Parts, that they might measure the whole Earth, but they did not inspect the twentieth Part of it. *Cicero*, as he tells us, undertook to write a Body of Geography (*a*), but the Difficulty of the Undertaking frightened him out of it. And the first of them that did any Thing to Purpose, was *Pomponius Mela*, who flourished under *Claudius Caesar*; and *Pliny*, in his Natural History, who flourished under *Vespasian*. Not long after *Pliny* flourished *Solinus*, who, in his *Polyhistor*, or Collection of memorable Things, has a great many curious Observations in Geography concerning the Names of Rivers, Fountains, Lakes, Woods and Nations, mentioned by the Poets, which was first published by *Mazochias* at *Rome*, then by *Aldus Manutius*; and lastly, by *Josias Simlerus*. And *Joannes Boccatus*, in a Work of the same Nature, published at *Venice*, in 1514, has taken the most valuable Things he has out of him, without so much as ever mentioning his Name. *Martianus Capellus*, *Isidore of Spain*, *Festus*, *Avienus*, *Priscianus Casariensis*, and the other Commentators upon *Dionysius Periegetes*, are likewise commendable for their Performances; but above all, that of the Ro-

An. 1600.

man Provinces, with the *Noritia utriusque Imperii*, wrote in *Theodosius*' the Younger's Time, published first in the Year 1451; by *Antoninus Schonborvius*, and afterwards, with the learned Commentaries of *Guidius Pancirolus*, from our Countryman *Mirianus Scotus*'s Ms. is highly to be valued; neither ought we to omit the Itinerary of *Antoninus Augustus*, which some attribute to *Julius Cesar*, and others, to *Julius the Orator*. The Itinerary published by *Petrus Pithens*, supposed to be wrote in the Time of *Constantine the Great*, the Itinerary of *Rutilius Claudius*, who flourished under *Honorius*: The Itinerary of the Blessed Martyr *Antoninus* wrote before *Bede's* Time, and published by *Menardus*; and the Itinerary of *Benjamin Tudelensis*, wrote in *Hebrew*, and translated into *Latin*, first by *Arias Montanus*, and afterwards, by *Constantine L' Empereur*. Let us next view the Performances of the Eastern Nations, and the *Arabians*. *Neco* King of the *Egyptians*, many Years before *Christ*, caused the Coast of *Africa* to be viewed by the *Phanician* Geographers, for three Years together. *Darius* ordered a Scrutiny to be made into the *Indies*, and the Eastern *Aethiopick* Sea; and *Alexander the Great*, in his *Asiatick* Expedition, took alongst with him *Diogenetas* and *Betonius*, two able Geographers, from whose Observation, the Geographers for several Ages were obliged. *Abul Feda*, by Nation a *Turk*, of the Noble Family of *Zobida*, wrote a general Geography of the World, after the Method of *Ptolomy*, and was one of the *Arabian* Princes, born in the Year of our Lord 1273, and finished his Geography in the Year 1321, twenty Years after he was advanced to the Principality of *Hama* in *Syria*. *Alfraganian*, an Astronomer of *Tragana* in *Persia*, wrote a Book, called *The Elements of Astronomy*, which has been several Times published in *Europe*, and particularly by *Golius*, in *Arabick* and *Latin*, in the 1669, with large Notes, of great Use for the Understanding of the Geography of the East: He flourished in the Time of the *Calif Al Mamen*, who died in the Year of our LORD 833. *Mohammed Eben Jaacuba*, a Person of great Esteem, wrote a Dictionary, called *Alkamus*, or, *The Ocean*, from its being an Ocean of Words, wherein many Things are to be learned for understanding their Geography: He died in the Year of our LORD 1414; being near 90 Years old. *Roger*, the Second of that Name, King of *Sicily*, having caused a Terrestrial Globe to be made all of Silver, and of a very large Size, *Sharif Al Adrisi*, descended from the Noble Family of the *Adriside*, at the Command of King *Roger*, composed a large Volume, explaining the Terrestrial Globe, which he finished in the Year of our LORD 1153, and entitled it *Ketab Roger*, or, *The Book of Roger*. And the famous *Geographia Nubiensis*, published in the Year of our LORD 1619, is nothing but a Compound of this; *Safiodin*, the Author of a Geographical Dictionary in the *Arabick* Tongue, is better known than the Age of the Author is. The Author of *The Geographical Garden*, wrote in *Arabick*, is supposed to have lived in the Year 1000. And these are

are the most considerable of the Arabick Authors. And as for our modern Geographers, whom our Author has mostly followed in his Compend, they are *Antonius Nebrijensis's Cosmography*, who died in Spain, his Native Country, about the 88th Year of his Age, in 1544. *Joannes Stæflerus*, who, besides some Cosmographical Works, composed a Book upon the Method of making Terrestrial Globes, and of drawing of Geographical Carts or Maps: He died at *Tubing* 1531. *Joachimus Vadianus*, who published a Commentary upon *Pomponius Mela de situ orbis*, and an Epitome of the three Parts of the Earth, that is to say, of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*: He flourished in the Year 1548. *Joannes Stobniza*, a *Polaender*, who about the Year 1519, published an Introduction to *Ptolomy's Geography*. *Joannes Vernerus* of *Norimberg*, who published several of the Writings of the antient Geographers, with Notes and Observations upon them; he flourished in the Year 1553. *Petrus Appianus*, who published his Geography about the 1524, with the Use of several Mathematical Instruments; he died in the Year 1552. *Bibliaudus Pirchimerus*, a Nobleman of *Nurenburg*, who translated *Ptolomy*, with most learned Notes and Observations; he died in the Year 1531. *Henry Glarean*, born in *Glaris* in *Switzerland*, an excellent Mathematician, who published his Geography at *Paris*, in the Year 1537: Besides which, we have his Description of *Helvetia*, and the bordering Nations to it, and his Book *de quatuor Helvetiorum Pagis*, is esteem'd a Masterpiece in its Kind; he died in the Year 1563, in the 75 Year of his Age, at *Fribourgh*, where he was Professor. *John Driander*, born at *Watteren* in the Country of *Hejze*, and Professor of Medicin and Mathematiscks at *Marpurg*: He published an Introduction to Cosmography, with the Astronomical and Geometrical Principles requisit in Geography, about the Year 1535: He died at *Marpurg* in the Year 1560. *Brontius Fineus*, born in *Dauphiny*, and Professor of Mathematicks at *Paris*, published in *Latin* and *French* 5 Books of Cosmography, a new and complete Description of the whole World, and several other Geographical Works. He died at *Paris*, a little past the 60 Year of his Age, in the Year 1555. *James Ziglerus*, born at *Landau* in *Bavaria*, and Professor of Mathematics at *Vienna*, wrote a Description of the Holy Land, or *Palestine*; as likewise, a Description of *Scandinavia*, and a Book of the Affairs of the *Indians*, with several other Mathematical Works. He died in the Year 1549. *Francis Maurolyus*, a *Sicilian*, who, in the Judgment of *Frederick Commelin*, was the Prince of the Mathematicians of his Age; and the Writers of his Life tell us, That when his Mother was with child of him, she dreamed that a Flame burst out of her Belly, which went up to the Heavens; which was look'd upon as a certain Presage of the Child's addicting himself to the Contemplation of the Cœlestial Bodies: And at that very Moment that his Soul went out of his Body, a Cypress-tree in his Garden bended it self towards the Earth, and restoring it self again

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to its former Streightness eight Days after. He was Abbot of *Mes-sina*, and wrote three Books of Cosmography, the Topography of *Sicily*, and several other Mathematical Works. He died in the Year 1574. *Gemma Frisius*, so called from his being born in *Friesland*, Professor of Medicine and Mathematics at *Louvain*: He made and dedicated a new Map of the World to *Charles V.* wrote a Book of Cosmography, and several other Mathematical Works. He died in the Year 1555, at *Louvain*, in the 47th Year of his Age. *Gaspar Vopal* a *German*, published his Cosmography, a Description of the Terrestrial and Coelestial Globes; as likewise of the Maritime Parts of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, with a Description of the *Rhine*. He flourished about the Year 1544. *Gerard Mercator*, born at *Rure-mond* in *Flanders*, excelled all the Geographers of his Age, or that went before him; and all his Maps were engraven by himself: And his *Geographical Atlas* has been, and always will be esteemed a Master-piece in its Kind. He died at *Duisburgh*, in the Year 1594, aged 82 Years, 8 Months, and 28 Days. *Sebastian Munster*, born at *Ingelheim*, and Professor of Theology and *Hebrew* at *Basil*, wrote a large Description of the Earth, which he dedicated to the Emperor *Charles V.* He likewise wrote most learned Commentaries upon *Pomponius Mela* and *Solinus*. He died at *Basil*, in 1552, of the Plague, in the 63 Year of his Age. *William Postel*, born at *Branton* in *Normandy*, an excellent Mathematician, and so well seen in Languages, that he used to say, *He could travel over the whole Earth without an Interpreter*; but he was an extravagant Enthusiast and Visionary. He wrote a Map and Description of *Palestine*, a Description of *Gaul*, a Description of *Etruria*, which he thought was the first inhabited Place in the Earth, and a Book of Cosmography. He died in the Year 1581, in the 110th Year of his Age. *Wolfangus Lazius*, born at *Vienna*, and Physician to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, wrote a Description of *Greece*, with a Commentary upon the Affairs of *Greece*. He died 1565. *William Zylander*, Professor of Mathematics at *Heidelberg*, born at *Ausburg*, translated *Strabo's Geography*. He died in the Year 1576, in the 40 Year of his Age. And Lastly, The famous *Abraham Ortelius*, born at *Antwerp*, and Geographer to *Philip King of Spain*, acquired an immente Glory by his *Theatre of the Universe*. He died in the Year 1598. And our Author wrote his Compend, as we have said, in the Year 1576, and died in the Year 1602.

His Death
and Charac-
ter.

This Gentleman was well seen in Philosophy, and all the Parts of Mathematics, and of a most charitable Disposition, having left all that he had acquired, to pious Uses. *Dempster*, who was well acquainted with him, having been his Master for three Years at *Doway*, as we have said before, gives him a large Character, as a Person of singular Learning, great Probity, Candour, and Sweetness of Disposition. *Jacobus Chynæus*, says he, (*a nobili familia Arnagia, prope Aberdoniam, oriundus, Patris suis docuit in Barbarano, tanto applausu,*

ut

ut unicus haberetur qui inter seculares, societatis patribus tum maxime florentibus, componeretur; Duaci postea & Doctoris & Rectoris onus sustinuit; ubi, cœ tutelare numen etiamnum celebratur, ad ultimum, Nerviensæ Ecclesie hodie Pænitentiarius, ingentes & opinione maiores census reliquit, quos testamento, Scotorum Lutetiæ vix bene fundato adsignavit Collegio, sed fraude per Executores facta, parum pio usui accessit. Hic etiam juventutem Thomæ Dempsteri honestis monitis, ad virtutem capessendam accedit Autor, ut Triennio Duaci subsisteret, cum juvenili impetu Parisios cogitaret. Vir erat magna probitate, & jucunda morum, supra quam credi possit, suavitate; nusquam liberalis, nisi cum pia subasset causa.

George Con, in his Book, *Of the Two-fold State of Religion amongst the Scots*, says, That he was a Man of extraordinary Erudition and of great Prudence; and that by his many and subtile Writings in Philosophy and Mathematics, he had acquired a great Reputation (a). His Words ate, *Jacobus Chyneus, Arnagia Baronis Frater, legum authoritati cedens, opem quam Scotis in patria ferre nequirit, in Gallia & Belgio naviter tulit. Mortuus est Tornaci, ubi ejus Ecclesia magnus Pænitentiarius (ut vocant) diu fuerat, bonis ex aſſe legatis Duaceno Scotorum Seminario. Vir fuit rara eruditio- nis, magnaque prudentia, variis, tam in Philosophia quam in Ma- theſi, ſubtiliter eleganterque scriptis & publicatis operibus nobilissimus.*

Our Author lies buried in the Cathedral Church of Tournay, under a Marble Monument, with this Inscription:

D. O. M. S.

M E M. Jacobi Chinæ Scoti, I. U. D. hujus Ecclesie Cano- nici & Pænitent. (discipuli quondam M. Joannis Hendersoni Theologi, Scholæ Aberdonensis Prefecti, Lutetiæ, ad. D. Hilarii se- pultri) qui, hoc ſacello exornato, anniversario fundato, & semina- rio Scoto ex aſſe herede relicto, obiit, M DC II. vi Kalend. No- vembris.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **D**e Sphæra, Lib. 2. in 8vo, Duaci, 1575.
- II. **D**e Sphæra, seu Globi Cœlestis fabrica, Duaci, in 8vo, 1575.
- III. **D**e Geographia, Lib. 2. Duaci, in 8vo, 1576.
- IV. **O**rationes 2. de perfecto Philosopho, & de Predictionibus Astrologorum, Duaci, in 8vo, 1577.
- V. **A**nalysis & Scholia in Aristot. Lib. xiv. de prima sive Divinita Philosophia, Duaci, in 8vo, 1578, & Hanovia, 1607.
- VI. **A**nalysis in Philosophiam Aristot. Duaci, 1595, in 8vo.

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T H E

T H E

**LIFE of The Right Reverend Father in
GOD, JAMES BEATON, Arch-
bishop of Glasgow.**

THIS Reverend Prelate was a Son of the Laird of *Balfour's* in *Fife*; he had for his Grand-Uncle *James Beaton*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, Chancellour, and one of the Governours of *Scotland*, in King *James the V's* Minority; and for his Uncle, *David Beaton*, Cardinal, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and Chancellour of *Scotland*, of whose Life and Actions we have given a particular Account. While he was very young, he was sent over by his Uncle the Cardinal to *France*, where he was taught the *Belles Lettres* and Philosophy, at the University of *Paris*, and at *Poictiers*. Having learned his Philosophy, he applied himself to Theology, and entred into Holy Orders; and in the Year 1545, the Cardinal resigned to him the Abbacy of *Arbroth*, which he kept till the Year 1551; but upon his Promotion to the Archbishoprick of *Glasgow*, he resigned the Abbacy of *Arbroth* to Lord *John Hamilton*, Son to the Duke of *Chatelherault*. From *France* he went to *Italy*, where he was consecrate Archbishop of *Glasgow*, at *Rome*, the 28 of *August* 1552. Having stayed for some Time at *Rome*, he returned to *France*, and from thence to *Scotland*. Upon his Arrival he found all Things in great Disorder, and endeavoured as much as was in his Power to rectify such Abuses as he found in his own Diocese, by frequent Synods called for that End; neither was he defective in concurring with the other Prelates of the Nation, in the Methods that were laid down for the Reforming of the Lives and Manners of the Religious and Clergy.

In the 1558, our learned Prelate was chosen by the Queen Regent, and the three Estates of Parliament, as the chief Person in the Embassy to *France*, for transacting of the Marriage betwixt Queen *Mary* and the Dauphin of *France*, in which Negotiation, he acquit himself with such Prudence, Conduct and Success, that upon his Return he received the publick Thanks of the Estates of Parliament.

In the Year 1559, The Reformers, or the Lords of the Congregation, as they called themselves, having made a League with *England* against *France*, and deposed the Queen Regent; because our Prelate would not join with them in these Rebellious Practices, they seiz'd on his House and Revenues: And in the following Year, upon the Surrendring of the Town of *Leith*, he was forced to fly to *France*, where he remained with Queen *Mary*, till that unfortunate Princess, upon the Death of her Husband the King of *France*, was

He goes over to France, u-

He enters into Holy Or-

*And is made Arch-
bishop of Glasgow, and
returns to Scotland.*

He is sent Ambassado-

The Refor-

*He goes over to France,
where he is left Ambaf-
fader for Q.
Mary, and her Son King
James the VI.*

was obliged to return to *Scotland*; and knowing, that amongst all her Subjects she had none that was so capable to serve her in her Affairs with the foreign Courts abroad, she left our learned Prelate her Ambassador at the Court of *France*, in which Station he continued till her Death; and King *James VI.* her Son, was so much convinced of his Fidelity to his Mother and him, of his Affection and Zeal for his Country, and of his Experience and Dexterity in the Management of publick Affairs, that notwithstanding of his being a *Roman Catholick*, he continued him in the same Character, constituting him his Ambassador at the Court of *France*, by new Credentials, which were sent to him. And to enable him to sustain the Dignity of his Character, he restored him to the Temporalities of his Bishoprick; and he continued in that Station till his Death, to the great Satisfaction of his Royal Master and all his Ministers of State; as appears from many of their Letters, still extant, to him.

Dempster tells us, That our learned Prelat left in Mss. to be printed after his Death, a Commentary upon the Books of the *Kings*, a Lamentation upon the deplorable State of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; a Book of Controversy against the Sectarians; Observations upon *Gratian's Decrees*; and a Collection of the *Scots Proverbs*: But I very much doubt if any of these were ever published, excepting the Collection of the *Scots Proverbs*; of which there have been several Editions, with Mr. *Ferguson's Additions* to them: The oldest of which, that I have seen, is printed at *Edinburgh*, 1610, in 12mo. Besides these, there is in the *Scots College at Paris*, the Letters, Papers and Memoirs of his Negotiations; bound up in 14 Volumes in *Folio*, beginning at the Year 1557, and continued to his Death. In this most valuable Collection, we find an Account of all the Affairs and Transactions in *France*, *Scotland*, and the other Foreign Courts of *Europe*, in relation to Queen *Mary*, from her Marriage with the Dauphin of *France*, till her Death.

An Account
of his Works

Our learned and worthy Prelate died in his Lodgings at St. *John de Lateran*, in *Paris*, upon the 28th Day of *April*, 1603, in the 52d Year of his Consecration; of his Age, the 86th Year. As his Transactions with the several Princes Abroad, in behalf of his Royal Mistress Queen *Mary*, and her Son *James VI.* shew him to have been one of the most accomplished Statesmen of his Age; so their remaining still in Mss. is one of the greatest Losses that the Republick of Letters can sustain, for the clearing of the History of these Times; for he saw Six Kings of *France*, and was Ambassador under five of their Reigns. And how great an Idea, in Reason, must we form to our selves, of a Person who was the chief Manager in such a Variety of intricate Affairs as that unfortunate Princess's Life was involved in; a Person, who managed all the different Interests so wisely and discreetly, that he gave no just Ground of Complaint to any one that made their Application to him; and not only the Queen's own Subjects, but all the Princes Abroad had their Recourse to him in all Things that concerned her Affairs. And altho' the

His Death
& Characters

1603.

Success was not such as could have been wish'd for, Almighty God intending to sanctifie that Princess by her Sufferings ; yet she was so sensible of his Fidelity and Abilities, that by her Last Will and Testament, and with her dying Breath, she left him the chief Manager and Disposer of her worldly Concerns, to the pious and charitable Purposes she designed them for. But that which gave the greatest Lustre and Beauty to his Management, was that Care that he took of the real Interest of his Country amidst all the Confusions of a Civil War ; and for which there are, amongst his Remains, several Letters of Thanks from the King, and from the whole Towns and Corporations in *Scotland*. And indeed he deserved no less at their Hands ; for he twice obtained the Renovation of their ancient Rights in *France*, by new Patents; first, in the Yeat 1558, in his Embassy for Queen Mary's Marriage ; and afterwards, from *Henry IV.* in the Year 1599.

But what most concerns our present Purpose and Design is, That he was not only a Man of great Learning himself, but a great Encourager of it in others ; and this he did, not only by giving them his best Advice in their Studies, and recommending them to the Queen, and all the other Princes and Ambassadors whom he had any Interest with ; but by assisting them plentifully with Money out of his own Pocket, for prosecuting of their Studies. And amongst these who acknowledged publickly our learned Prelat's Assistance this way, were the two *Blackwoods*, the Lawyer and the Physician ; Mr. *Ninian Winzet*, Mr. *Thomas Winter-hope*, Mr. *John Hamilton*, Mr. *Archibald Hamilton*, Mr. *John Frazer*, Mr. *James Leith* and Mr. *Thomas Biccarton*. And here I cannot but insert a very handsome Epigram of Mr. Biccarton's, to this Purpose ; who, in dedicating his Book of Bees to the Archbishop, tells him, *That he has not Gold to return him, for the Gold he had received from him ; but he would return him what was much more valuable than either Jewels or Gold, which was his Verses ; for Gold and precious Stones were transitory and perishing Things, but his Verses would be of eternal Duration.*

Ad Reverendissimum in Christo Patrem, D. Jacobum Beatonum, Archiepiscopum Glasguensem, Jacobi V. Scotorum Regis ordinarium in Galliis Oratorem.

QUI me tot meritis olim cumulare solebas,
Sancte Pater, vita luxque decusque mea :
Non tute ingrato mihi munera tanta dedisti ;
Ingratos odi defugioque viros.
Semper agam, meritas habiturus pectore grates,
Et memori condam munera mente tua.
Et licet a te sim campus distractus Eundis,
Ipse tamen meriti sum memor usque tui.
Et licet argenti sim vel pauperissimus auri,
Ipse meis opibus carmine gratus ero.

*Nostra igitur placido jam respice munera vultu,
Et cape mellificas (Candide Praeful) apes:
Dona quidem gemmis longe meliora vel auro;
Gemma, aurum pereunt, Carmina morte carent.
Hec tibi si cordi, Lector, meliora daboque,
Arrisura animo forsitan illa tuo.*



An. 1603.

Besides our learned Prelate's Liberality and Protection to all Scholars, for which he was call'd *The Macenas of Scotland*, he made up a Bibliothec for the *Scots* Students at *Paris*, of the best Editions of the most valuable Books in all the Sciences, consisting of above 600 Volumes, most of them all in *Folio*. At his Death he left to the *Scots* College at *Paris*, all the Riches he had acquired by his being Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Abbot of *Lavess in Poictou*, Questor of St. *Hilary*, and Prior of St. *Peter of Pontoise*. All which Places in *France*, he enjoyed by the Favour of his Royal Mistress Queen *Mary*.

Archbishop *Spotswood*, speaking of our Author's Death, says, 'That the King being at *Burleigh House*, near to *Stamford*, got Notice of his Death. This Man was descended of the House of *Balfour in Fife*, and consecrate Bishop at *Rome*, in the Year 1552. And at the Time of the Reformation, forsook his Country, out of the Hatred he bore to thote that had a Hand in that Work, and carried with him all the Writs and Evidents of the See of *Glasgow*, with the Vessels and Ornaments of the Cathedral Church, Things of exceeding great Worth; for besides these of ordinary Use, there belonged to that Church the Image of our Saviour in beaten Gold, and the Pourtraits of the Twelve Apostles, in Silver. The Queen returning from *France*, did establish him Ambassador in these Parts for her Affairs. Under the Government of the Regents, lie was forfeited and deprived of his Living; which, as we have shewed before, was conterred upon Mr. *James Boyd of Trochrig*, and after him, went thro' divers Hands, till the King, at his Majority, did restore him to his Dignity, Honour and Living; employing him likewise for his Ambassador in *France*. A Man honourably disposed; faithful to the Queen whilst she lived, and to the King her Son; a Lover of his Country, and liberal, according to his Means, to all his Countrymen. In his last Will he bequeathed all his Means to pious Uses, leaving, as 'twas said, Ten thousand Crowns, for the Education of poor Scholars being *Scots-men* born. The Evidents, Ornaments and Vessel of the See of *Glasgow*; he consigned in the Hands of the *Carthusians in Paris*, appointing the same to be redelivered how soon *Glasgow* should become Catholick.

That the Archbishop was a true and zealous Son to the Church of *Rome*, cannot be denied; yea, so zealous was he, that he bestowed all that he had in the World for maintaining so many *Scots* Students, who were obliged, when fully instructed in the Principles and

An. 1603:

Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, to go home Missionaries to *Scotland*, to convert the Protestants: And so fond was he of this Society, that in one of his Letters to Queen *Mary* he tells her, That if it were not for her Business, he would have retired himself from the World, and lived amongst them. But that upon this Account, That he bore a Hatred to any Man, as *Spotswood* says, is highly improbable, and differs from the Character that is given him by all the Historians of the *Romish* Church; who represent him as a Man full of Meekness, Holiness and Charity. And as for the Evidents and Ornaments of the Church, which he took alongst with him, I shall give the Reader a particular Account of them, as I had it transmitted to me from *Paris*.

'Tis to be observed, that the Records of Churches were either what belong'd properly to the Bishop, containing his Rights, and the Tithes of such Churches and Lands, as properly belong'd to the Episcopal Manse, or what belong'd to the Chapter, and contain'd their Rights, Privileges and Titles: Of these belonging to the first Part, to wit, what properly belonged to the Bishop; they are wanting for the most Part, till *Robert the Bruce* his Time, having been destroyed, as appears, during the long Persecution and Imprisonment of the Loyal Bishop *Wisheart*, during *Edward Langshank's* Invasion, who destroyed the Houses, Writs, and all that belong'd to that worthy Prelate; yet some of these are still preserved in the *Carthusians at Paris*: But the Original Records of the Chapter are much more entire, and contain 15 Charters of our Kings before *Robert the Bruce*, whereof the Ancientest is one of King *David I.* in the Year 1149. There are also 14 original Bulls of Popes, preceding King *Robert the Bruce's* Time, whereof the ancientest is one of Pope *Alexander the III.* in the Year 1172, being a very large Parchment, containing a Confirmation of the Chapter's Right, of the free Election of their Bishops, of their antient Rites, and Liturgy in Divine Service, *secundum usum Sarum*, and of their other Privileges and Rights, subscribed by the Pope and nine Cardinals: The other Charters are of Bishops, Abbots and Noblemen, whereof there are above 50 Originals, with their Seals, all preceding *Robert the Bruce's* Reign; and during his Reign, and downwards, there are a great Number of Originals of all Sorts.

The Chartularies of *Glasgow* are two in Number, the largest is written in the Reign of *Alexander the II.* and *III.* and all before *Robert the Bruce*, except an Appendix of latter Pieces at the End, written in the 15th Century, where there is also insert a short Chronology of memorable Events happened in *Scotland*, beginning at *Malcolm the III.* and *St. Margaret's* Marriage, in the Year of our Lord 1067, and ending in the Year 1413, at which Time it was written. The other Chartulary is written during the Reign of *Robert the III.* or thereabout. There are also two Protocols, or Registers of the Chapter of *Glasgow*, by *Cuthbert Simon* their Notary, containing Acts past in the Chapter, and others regarding the Church and City of *Glas-*

Glasgow, from the Year 1499, till the Year 1541. All these are still preserved, partly in the *Carthusians*, and partly in the *Scots College at Paris*.

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As to the Statutes and old Reliquaries belonging to the Treasury, and which *Spotiswood* puts so high a Value upon, before the Prior of the *Carthusians* would accept of them; they were all estimate and weighed by a Gold Smith, in Presence of a Comisary of the Chatelet or Justice of *Paris*, of the Prior of the *Carthusians*, of the Archbishop's, Executory Testamentar and others, and an Authentick Act drawn thereupon, by publick Authority, containing each Statue, and other Pieces of Silver Work by it self, in particular, together with it's Weight: As also the Prior's Protestation bearing, That he meant not to engage himself or his Successors, to be answerable for them, further than to conserve them as a Deposition with all possible Care, and render them to whom they should belong; and this Act signed by all present still remains, dated the 26th of July 1603, and these Statues, and the other Silver Work, which had been these 100 Years bygone, crammed up in an old Chest, when broke, some of them were in the Year 1709, more orderly placed, and at large with the ancient Writs of *Glasgow*, and the original Writs and Titles of the *Scots College*, within the Treasury or Charter-House of the *Carthusians*; and at the Transferring of them, they were collationate with the foresaid Act, made in the Year 1603, and found intirely agreeing thereto.

The Pieces of most Value are the following Statues, one of St. *Mungo*, weighing 8 Merks of Silver, one of St. *Nicolas*, valued at 30 Merks of Silver, one of the Blessed Virgin, and our Saviour in her Arms, weighing nine Merks of Silver, one of the Blessed Virgin and St. *John*, weighing 8 Merks and 4 Ounces of Silver: The rest consist in lesser Statutes, Reliquaries and Crosses, and amongst other Things, there is the antient Seal of the Chapter of *Glasgow*, double, weighing one Merk and two Ounces of Silver; but as for our Saviour's Picture in Gold, and the 12 Apostles in Silver mention'd in *Spotiswood*, they are neither mention'd in the Writs, or the least Vestige of them amongst the Reliquaries; by which it plainly appears, That the Bishop was misinformed in this Affair. *George Con*, speaking of our Prelat, highly commends him for his Zeal to the *Roman Catholick Religion*, and says, That he left eighty Thousand Livres to the *Scots College*. His Words are,

In his, prater laudatos, primas partes sibi vindicat Jacobus Betonius, Glasguensis archiepiscopus; qui, nascenti in Scotia Heresi, adolescens diu restitit. Neque pia causa in Gallia, quo solum vertere coactus est, desuit; nam decerpta parte ex annuis Sacerdotiorum qua possidebat, Collegium alendis Scotis instituit, dotavitque Parisiis, octuaginta milibus, Librarum Gallicarum millibus. Hic nullis promissis aut rationibus induci potuit, ut Ecclesia sua jura aut titulum in hereticum hominem derivari & transferri pateretur; cuius administrationem, uno supra quinquaginta annos, omni conatu sibi vindicavit: Moriens vero, ui-

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niversam Ecclesiasticam suscepit item, apud Patres D. Brunonis, depositi jure, reliquit, cum Catholica fide, brevi, ut ipse animo concipiebat, Glasgoam transportandam.

As for our Prelate's Legacy to the Scots College at *Paris*, the Matter of fact is as follows: After the Death of *Patrick Hepburn*, the last Popish Bishop of *Murray*, in the Year 1573, the Care of this Foundation, as of all the *Scots* Students in *Paris*, devolved on the Archbishop of *Glasgow*; who, both by the Pensions he procured for them from the Queen, and by his own Liberality, did considerably augment their Number: And amongst others, he obtained a Pension for Mr. *Thomas Winterhope*, who had the Care of the *Scots* Foundation, in the Year 1580. The most part of the Popish Bishops being then dead, our Archbishop obtained a Bull from Pope *Gregory XIII.* whereby a Licence was given to the Students of the *Scots* College at *Paris*, to receive Holy Orders from the Bishops of *Paris* or *Meaux*, without Dimissorials from their Diocesians.

Upon the Death of Queen *Mary*, the Students being deprived of her Assistance, and our Prelate being reduc'd himself to great Straits, their Numbers were considerably diminished, and remained in that Condition till our Archbishop's Death; at which Time our Prelat, for the Encouragement of Learning amongst his Countrymen, left by Testament all that he had in *France*, consisting in a House, his Moveables, and some Debts owing him, towards the Settling in the University of *Paris* a new Foundation of *Scots* Students, of whatsoever Diocese they were, found fit for any Preference, except of those that bore the Name of *Beaton*, descended of the House of *Balfour* in *Fife*, who were, *ceteris paribus*, to be preferred: And for the Admission of Masters and Students, the Hearing Accompts, and whole Government; he left the Prior of the *Carthusians* at *Paris*, during their Time, sole Superiors for all Times coming. This Foundation, according to the Archbishop's Intentions, was afterwards incorporate by publick Authority, and united to the ancient College of *Grifft*; and both together, by the Designation of *The Scots College of Paris*, have ever since remained under the Direction of the *Carthusians*.

The Measures that our Prelat took in this Foundation, was one of the last Actions of his Life, which happened just after he had received the News of King *James's* Accession to the Throne of *England*, which the King acquainted him of by a Letter he wrote to him in his Journey from *Tork*; but it did not arrive till after the Archbishop's Death: Which, as we have said, happened the 25th of *April*, 1603, in his own Lodgings at St. *John de Lateran* in *Paris*; where his Body was interred, within a Leaden Coffin, in the Blessed Virgin's Chapel, hard by the Altar: And over his Body was erected a Marble Monument, with his Bust and Epitaph. His Funeral Sermon, which was afterwards printed, was preached by Mr. *Peter Cayer*, Doctor of Theology, and Professor Royal of the Oriental Languages, before the Pope's Nuncio, several Bishops, and a great

great many Persons of Quality. The Inscription upon his Tomb is as follows :

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Praesul & Orator fuerat; qui maximus orbis
 Aetate hac, parvo mari more contegitur.
 Quinquaginta unum Praesul transegerat annos,
 Quadraginta duos Regia iussa subit.
 Sex vidit Reges Gallorum, quinque secutus
 Orator; Patria profuit usque sua.
 Est voto fructus, Scotos, Anglosque sub uno
 Unius Scotti viderat imperio.
 Illud restabat, voluit quod utrosque sub unum
 Divina legis mittier imperium.
 Quodque suum cupiit Regem venerarier, & mors
 Fertur in hoc uno præcipitate senem.
 Ille oratorum, quos Scotia sola superbos
 Mittit ad Heroas, ultimus extiterat:
 Ultimus illorum quos magna Britannia fovit,
 Secta exturbavit devia, Praesul erat.

Many other Epitaphs and Poems were composed in Praise of our Prelat, by the most eminent Wits of that Age; but I shall conclude this Account of his Life with the following Epigrams, composed by *Joannes Gessaus a Frenchman*.

Phenix prisca novat Phariæ miracula terra,
 Solius Ægypti nam loca sola colit:
 At tu Scotorum decus & pars maxima, Praesul,
 Unus es e multis quem loca multa colunt.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **I**N Libros Regum Commentaria, Ms.
- II. **D**eploratio Regni Scotiaæ, Ms.
- III. **C**ontroversia contra Sectarios, Ms.
- IV. **I**n Decretum Gratiani Observationes, Ms.
- V. **T**he Scots Proverbs, in 12mo, 1614, and in divers other Tears.
- VI. **L**etters and Memoirs of State Affairs, in Ms. in 14 Volumes in Folio, preserved in the Scots College at Paris; beginning at the Year 1557, and continued till his Death.

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T H E

Life of *WILLIAM BARCLAY*, Doctor of the Laws, and Professor of the Civil Law at *Angers*.

*His Birth,
Parentage &
Education.*

*He goes o-
ver to France,
where he stu-
dies the Laws*

THIS Gentleman was descended from an Ancient and Honourable Family in the Shire of *Aberdeen*, and was related to a great many noble Families (*a*), as his Bore-brief, granted by King *James VI.* bears. He was born in the Shire of *Aberdeen*, in the Year of our Lord 1541. In his younger Years he was engaged in the Service of Queen *Mary*, and spent the most of his Fortune at Court; but being brought up in the Popish Religion, and the Reformation prevailing in *Scotland*, he went over to *France*: And having entirely neglected to improve those natural Parts with which he was endued, he applied himself to the *Belles Lettres*, tho' he was then in the 30th Year of his Age; and by a constant and sedulous Application, in a few Years he became eminent for his Knowledge, not only in them but in Philosophy, and in the Laws, which he studied at *Bourges*, under the famous *Cujacius*, under whom he received his Degree of Doctor in the Civil and Canon Law.

Mr. *Edmond Hay* his own Countryman, and a famous *Jesuit*, (of whom we shall have Occasion afterwards to speak) having great Credir with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had newly founded the University of *Pont-à-mousson*, got him established Professor of the Civil Law there; and the Duke finding him to be a Person of great Wisdom and Integrity, he made him one of his Counsellors, and Master of Requests to his Hospital, in the Year 1582: He married *Anna de Mallaville*, who bore to him *John Barclay*, the famous Author of the *Argenis*: His Son had no sooner attain'd to a competent Age, but Mr. *Hay* and the rest of the *Jesuites* at *Pont-à-mousson*, who had been his great Patrons, would needs have him enter his Son in their Society; but our Author opposing this, and having absolutely refused them that Favour, they never rested, till they brought him in Disgrace with the Duke of *Lorrain*.

King *James* the VI. having invited all the learned Men of his Country that were abroad to *England*, designing to give them Places in his own Dominions, according to their Merit, and thereby to endeavour to gain them over to the Communion of the Church of *England*: Our Author came over amongst the rest, and was highly carelled by King *James*, who offered to settle a considerable Pension upon him, to make him Professor of the Civil Law, in some of the Universities, and one of his Privy Counsellors, if he would

*He goes o-
ver to Eng-
land, where
he is in great
Favour with
the King.*

(a) See *Mortrey and Bail's Dictionaries*; *Dempster*, Lib. 2. P. 218.

would declare himself of the Communion of the Church of *England*; and many were in Hopes that he would be gain'd over, because he published a Book, wherein he vindicates the Power of Kings, from the unjust Pretensions and Encroachments of the See of *Rome*; but these Hopes and Expectations proved vain and ill grounded, for when our Author found, that he could expect no Encouragement in *England* without renouncing his Religion, he return'd to *France*, in the Beginning of the Year 1604. And not long after his Landing, he was made Professor of the Laws at the University of *Angers*, where he went every Day to School, attended by a Servant, who went bare-headed before him, he himself having a rich Robe lined with Ermine, the Train of which was supported by two Servants, and his Son upon his Right Hand, and there hung about his Neck a great Chain of Gold, with a Medal of Gold, with his own Picture; but it seems, that this his extravagant Pride and Vanity, reduced him to great Poverty in his old Age, if we may believe *Dempster*.

This learned Gentleman has obliged the Publick, with a Book upon the Authority of the Pope, and how far his Jurisdiction extends oyer Secular Princes: This has been several Times printed in *Latin*, and translated into *English*, and published at *London* in 1611, in 4^{to}.

In the Year 1605, he published at *Paris* a Commentary upon that Title of the *Pandects, de rebus creditis & de jure jurando*. In the Year 1600, he published a most learned Defence of the Regal or Monarchical Government, against *Buchanan, Brutus, Bucherus*, and all other Antimonarchical Writers, in 6 Books: And for the Reader's Satisfaction, I shall give some of our Author's Observations, and Answers to *Buchanan's Objections*. *Buchanan*, in his Book, *de jure regni apud Scotos*, lays down this Position, as the Ground-work of all his Performances, That the *Scots* Kings have no Power, but what is granted them by the People represented in Parliament; and that it is in the Power of every private Man to call them to an Account of their Actions. Our Author shews the Falshood of this from the Constitution of our Monarchy, which is hereditary, and not elective, as he endeavours most falsely and maliciously to represent it. And all the Instances that *Buchanan* brings from our History, to prove that our Kings were called into Question, and punished for their Mal-administration, are founded upon Rebellions, and the Actions of the Usurpers of the Regal Authority, whom he has all along industriously endeavoured to represent as our lawful Kings: Besides, says our Author, it is well known, how many palpable Lies and Falshoods *Buchanan* wrote, in the latter Part of his History, against Queen *Mary* and her Son, to render him an Author of no Credit or Veracity:

Buchanan takes it for granted, That all Kings were chosen at first by their People, and consequently, that they are answerable to their People for their Administration. Our Author, in Answer to

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He returns
to France,
and is made
Professor at
Angers.

An Account
of his Works.

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this, says, (a) That the People are only employed by GOD, for establishing of Kings over them, and that they derive their Authority solely from Him; and this he does, either by his Theocracy, or by a Patriarchal Right, granted to *Adam* and his Descendants, and always in the Sacred Writ, he claims this as his sole Prerogative: Thus 1 Sam. Chapter xv, Verse 28. *Samuel* says to *Saul*, *The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour of thine; that is better than thou.* So GOD speaking by the Prophet *Nathan* to *David*, says, 2 Sam. xii. 7. *Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I anointed thee king over Israel:* And his Son *Solomon* made a grateful Acknowledgment, as holding his Kingdom only of the LORD GOD of Israel; and the Queen of Sheba told him, 1 Kings, x. 9. *That because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king to do judgment and justice.* And when *Solomon* turned his Heart from the Lord, he was minded of his Holding his Kingdom of God only, and not of the People; and that as he had given the Kingdom to him, so he would take it from him. Chap. xi. 7. *Wherefore the Lord said unto Solomon, For as much as this is done of thee, and thou hast not kept my covenant and my statutes which I have commanded thee, I will surely rend the kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy servant.* And in the 14th Chapter he tells *Jeroboam*, *Solomon's Successor*, Verse 7 & 8. *That he had exalted him amongst the people, and made him prince over Israel.* By all which (says our Author) and many other Passages of Scripture, it appears, that God assumes it as his peculiar Prerogative, to have the sole Power over Kings, and the Disposing of their Kingdoms; and for the People to claim it as belonging to them, is a blasphemous Presumption: And therefore God, through the whole sacred Scriptures, commands and requires our Subjection to them, he being the sole Lord and King of the Universe, to whom they are only accountable. And this, *David*, a Man according to God's own Heart, acknowledged in the following Words, in the Presence of all his People, 1 Chron. xxix, 10. *And David said, Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel, our Father, for ever and ever: Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth, is thine: it belongs to thee to reign, O Lord; and thou art exalted above all: both riches and honours come of thee, and thou reignest over all; and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great and to give strength unto all: Now therefore, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name.* And this Empire of God is eternal; and therefore he is called in the *Apocalypse*, *The King of ages.* It is absolute; and therefore the Author of the Book of *Wisdom*, rightly observes, Chap. xii. V. 12, *For who shall say, What hast thou done? or who shall withstand thy judgment? or who shall accuse thee for the nations that perish, whom thou hast made?* And we find that God exerted visibly by himself this his Empire over the Sons of Men,

Men from the Beginning of the World ; for then he was, and still is, not only their Creator, but their King. He gave unto *Adam*, Gen. iii. such a Precept as he pleased, and told him the Punishment he was to undergo if he broke it. And when he broke that Command; he banished him from his Presence ; that is to say, he declared to him, That by his Disobedience he had brought himself under the Bondage of Sin, and all the terrible Consequences of it. God likewise declared himself visibly in favours of *Abel* and his Sacrifice, against *Cain*, Gen. iv. 4, 5, 6, 9, 10. He reproved *Cain* for his Jealousy ; and when he had killed his Brother *Abel*, he calls him in Judgment before him, interrogates him, passes Sentence upon him, and that none might presume to punish him but himself, he declares, V. 15, *That whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him seven-fold*. And he gives him a Kind of a Safeguard to protect him ; for the Lord set a mark upon him, lest any finding him, should kill him.

All which are Functions of a visible Empire. And after this we find God giving Laws to *Noah* and his Children, Gen. xi. 5, 6 7. He discharges them from eating of Blood, from committing of Murder, and orders them to people the Earth. In the same manner we find him conducting and instructing *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*. He exercised publickly his Sovereign Empire over his People in the Desert ; for he was their King, their Legislator, and their Conductor : He gave them the visible Sign of their Encampments and Decampments, and their Orders, both in War and Peace. And this Theocracy continued visibly under *Joshua* and the Judges : God sent them, and established them over the People ; therefore, when the Men of *Israel* said unto *Gideon*, Judges, Ch. viii. V. 22, 23, *Rule thou over us, both thou and thy son, and thy son's son also ; for thou hast delivered us from the hand of Midian*. And *Gideon* said unto them, *I will not rule over you ; neither shall my son rule over you : the Lord shall rule over you ; for it is he that establishes kings*, It was he that caused anoint *Saul* and *David*, by the Hand of *Samuel*. He established the Kingdom in the House of *David* ; and therefore in the Scriptures, the Throne of the Kings of *Israel*, is called *The throne of God*. Thus 'tis said in the 1st of the *Chronicles*, Chap. xxix. 23. *Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king, in stead of David his father, and prospered ; and all Israel obeyed him*. From all which it evidently appears, That the Government of the *Jews* was a Theocracy, and that all their Kings had their Power from God, and not from the People ; and they were only answerable to God for what they did. And all the Instances brought from the Old Testament, by the Antimonarchical Writers in favours of the Power of the People, are nothing but mere Delusions and Sophisms ; since the Government of the *Jews*, as we have said, was a Theocracy, under the immediate Inspection and Direction of God Almighty. And if we take a View of the Paternal or Patriarchal Right granted by God to *Adam* and his Descendants,

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we shall find, That as it was the first and the best Government, so the Disowning of it is what God has severly punished, sometimes in this Life, and enjoined us to observe, under the severest Threatnings and Denunciations of his Wrath.

That the Paternal or Patriarchal Government was the first that was established, is clear from the sacred Scriptures; for at the Creation of the World, *Gen.* iii. 16. *God said to Eve*, (and in her, to all Women) *that her desire should be to her husband, and that he should rule over her.* And the first Child that *Adam* had, who was *Cain*, *Eve* said, *Gen.* iv. 1. *I have gotten a man from the Lord:* By which we see, that the Children are born in Subjection to their Parents; for since that Child was born in Subjection to his Mother, he was much more to the Father, to whom, by the Command of God, the Mother was subjected: Both of them were blessed with the Child from God, and both of them had an absolute Empire and Command over him; God having put in our Parents, as being in some manner the Authors of our Life, an Image of the Power by which he does whatever pleases him. He likewise transmitted unto them an Image of the Power that he has over his Creatures: For which Reason, in the Decalogue, *Exod.* xx. 12. after that we are commanded to adore and worship God only; it is said, *Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.* And this Command is only a Consequence of that Obedience which we owe to God, who is our Heavenly Father. By all which it plainly appears, That the first Idea that Men had of Authority and Government, must needs have arisen from this Paternal Power. 'Tis plain likewise, from the Scripture, That this Paternal Government continued from *Adam* to *Noah*; for it is not to be doubted, but that all the Time that *Adam* lived, *Seth*, whom God had given him in place of *Abel*, with his whole Family, rendred an absolute Obedience to him; and as *Cain* was the first who transgressed the Law of Nature, by murdering his Brother, so he was the first who lived not under the Paternal Government, being obliged, for his Crime, to live in a City by himself: And yet it would appear, that he likewise would have the Paternal Government observed, from his giving his Son's Name to the City that he had built. The rest of Mankind lived in their primitive Simplicity, having no other Law or Government but the Will of their Parents, and the ancient Customs of their Family: And after the Deluge, this was the Government over the whole Earth; for it appears not only from the Scriptures, but from *Homer*, *Justin* and other Heathen Authors, that in the most early Ages of the World, there was an infinite Number of little Kings, or Governors of Families, insomuch, that in that small Tract of Ground that the *Jews* conquered, there were no less than 33 Kings, and as their Families increased, so did their Kingdoms. And this was the State of our *Fergusian* Family, when they first planted themselves in *Scotland*; and if we take an impartial View of the first Government of

of all Nations, we shall find it was thus. Thus the Romans were first governed by Kings, before they formed themselves unto a Republic; and it was but of late and by Degrees, that the Grecians formed themselves into Republics: And we learn from Homer, that Monarchy was their ancient Government; and all the Republics that are now existing, were at first under a Kingly Government; the Switzers were subject to the Princes of the House of Austria, the Hollanders and United Provinces, are but Rebels to the Houses of Spain and Burgundy; the free Towns of Germany had each of them their particular Lords or Masters, who were all subject to the Emperor. The Cities of Italy, who erected themselves into Republics in the Time of the Emperor Rodulphus, brought all of them their Liberty from him: Yea, even the Republic of Venice itself was at first under this Paternal Government, and subject to the Empire, under the Reign of Charlemain, and for a long Time after; and it is not very long since it was formed into that Republican State that it is now in. All the World then was at first governed by a Monarchy, that was hereditary, and by Succession from Father to Son; and as this was the first Government of the World, so it was certainly the best, since it is the most natural, and perpetuates it self after the same Manner, that Mankind is to be perpetuated to the End of the World. And David insists upon this, when speaking unto the Lord he says. 2 Sam. vii. 18, 19. *Who am I, O Lord God, and what is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? And this was yet a small thing in thy Sight, O Lord God, but thou hast spoken also of thy servant's house, for a great while to come, and is the law of man, O Lord God;* or, as the Vulgar has it, *is this the Law of Adam;* as if he had said, this is the natural Way that has been observed from the Beginning of the World, that the Fathers should succeed to the Son. Another Reason which makes this Government of an Hereditary Succession, better than any other Sorts of Government, is, that as it excludes all Intriguing Caballs, which never fail to end in Anarchy and Confusion, so the Interest of the Prince, by this Means, becomes so interwoven with that of the People, that the Prince, when he is acting for the Good of his State, is at the same Time acting for the Good of his Children and Family; and the Love that he bears for his People, being blended with that which he bears to his own Children and Family, becomes natural to him: And as this Government was the first and is the best of all Governments, so it is the Government that the Law of Nature and the Law of God requires an absolute Submission to: The Law of Nature requires a Submission to the Commands and Will of our Parents; and a lawful hereditary Monarchy such as ours is, is nothing but the paternal Authority of the Ferguson Family, distributed into many small Branches, who enjoy all their Honours and Privileges from that Race of Monarchs, which in a Hereditary Succession has continued over us for many Hundreds of Years.

D d d d d

And

An. 1605.

And to such a Monarchy and Government as this, the sacred Scriptures likewise require our absolute Submission and Obedience: Thus St. Paul, having told us, *That they are the ministers of God; and that they that resist them, shall receive unto themselves damnation*, concludes, Rom. xiii. 5. *Wherefore you must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.* And the same Apostle, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, Ch. vi. V. 5, 6. enjoins us to serve them, *not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart.* And in his Epistle to the Colossians, Ch. iii. V. 22, 23, 24. he says, *Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God:* *And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ.* Now, if the Apostle speaks thus of Servitude, which is a State against Nature; what ought we to think of the Subjection that we owe to the Fathers of our Country? For which cause St. Peter says, 1 Pet. Ch. ii. V. 13, 14. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well:* Yea, and when they do not acquit themselves as they ought, of their Office and their Ministry, yet we are commanded to obey them; for says he, V. 18, *Servants be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.* So that the Respect and Obedience that we owe to our Native Prince, is a Religious Duty; and we cannot serve God a-right, without being dutiful to our Prince: And therefore, in the 17th Verse, the Apostle joins these two together, *Fear God, and honour the king:* Yea, God himself has imprinted upon Princes somewhat of a Divinity that requires our Respect to them. Thus God says, by the Mouth of David, *I have said, You are gods, and all of you are children of the most High; but ye shall die like men,* Psal. lxxxii. 6, 7. And upon this Account it is that the Servants of God, in the sacred Scriptures, swear by the Health and Life of their Kings, as being a divine and sacred Thing: Thus Uriah, speaking to David, 2 Sam. Ch. xi. V. 11. *As thou livest, and as thy soul liveth; I will not do this thing.* Yea tho' they were Heathen Princes, it was the same thing; for thus we find Joseph swearing by the Life of Pharaoh, Gen. xlvi. 15, 16. *By the life of Pharaoh, you shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither;* or else, *By the life of Pharaoh, surely ye are spies.* And Rabbi Eben Ezra tells us (a), That amongst the Egyptians in his Days, and he lived about the Year 1170, (at which Time Egypt was governed by Califs) if one had sworn by the King's Head, and was found forsworn, he was subject to capital Punishment; neither could he redeem the Guilt for his Weight in Gold. And when (saith he) If-

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(a) In Decalog.

mael (a) the first Sophi, got the Persian Empire, no Oath amongst them was so great, as to swear by his Head: 'And *Constantin Hermenopolus* informs us (b), That in the Empire, when Heathen, the Punishment for this Perjury was *Fustigatio*, or Bastinading; and whilst the Officers beat the Offender, they used this formal Admonition, *Swear not rashly!* But if the Perjury was committed against God and his Name, there was no Punishment, because they supposed God would sufficiently revenge his own Cause, and the Abuse offered to his Deity. And long after Christianity was received in the Empire, this Divinity in Princes was acknowledged, as we find in the Codes; where *Nostra Divinitas*, *Nostra Perennitas*, *Nostra Æternitas*, *Divina Voci Oraculum*, and such like, frequently occur. And *Themistius*, in an Oration (c) to *Theodosius* the Emperor, says, ' Lately in the Commonwealth *Cæsar* gave you the Title of *Divinity*; not (saith he) because you have Store of Gold, or that you have Diadems and rich Cloaths; but because only God and the Emperor have Power to grant a Man his Life'. And *Divus Imperator* is generally used for the Emperor, by *Justinian* (d) and others; and *Divalia Sancita*, for the Imperial Constitutions. From all which it evidently appears, That amongst the Jews, Heathens, Christians and Mahometans, there was a *Sanctitas Regum*, as *Julius Cæsar* calls it *an Impression of the Divine Nature in all rightful Kings and Princes*, to which we ought to have a special Regard. And the primitive Christians, as we learn from their Writings, were bright Examples of that Subjection and Obedience that we owe to our lawful Sovereigns. Thus *Tertullian*, in his *Apology for the Christians*, says, in Name of them all, ' We swear not by the Genius's of the *Cæsars*, but by their Life and by their Safety, which is more august than all your Genius's; for do you not know that your Genius's are Demons? But we that have a Regard to the Choice and Will of God, that has appointed them to rule over us, we respect in them that Authority which God has put in them, and which we inviolably observe as sacred': And a little after he says, ' What shall I say more of our Religion and Piety for the Emperor? whom we respect as one whom God has made choice of; so that he is more ours than yours, since it is our God that has established him'. And how beautifully does he describe the Condition and Religion of the Christians in this Point, in the following Words.

' Besides the publick Order by which we are prosecuted, how many Times have the People attacked us with Stones, and put fire to our Houses, amidst the Fury of their *Bacchanalian Feasts*? Yea, the Christians are not so much as spared after their Deaths; for they are dragged from their Graves, and not suffered to rest in that Asylum for the Dead: And yet, what Vengeance receive you from these Persons, so cruelly treated? And could we not, with a few Torches set fire to your City, if amonst us it were lawful

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to

(a) Leucipp. Musulm. Hist. Lib. 16. (b) Cap. 64. Basil. Hermopol. Epit. Scđ. 5. Tit. 3. (c) Oratione 5. (d) Tit. de donat. Inter virum & exortum. L. Usor, 24. vide Et Adam Contendo Republica, L. 7. Cap. 4. P. 470. Col. 1.

An. 1605.

' to requite Evil for Evil? And were we to act as declar'd Enemies
 ' against you, could we be deficient in sufficient Troops or Armies?
 ' No, nor the *Moors*, *Marcomans* and *Parthians* themselves, who
 ' are confined within their own Limits; are so numerous as we are,
 ' who are spread over the whole Earth. It is not long since we ap-
 ' peared in the World, and already we have filled your Cities,
 ' your Isles, your Assemblies, your Castles, your Plains, your Tribes,
 ' your Cohorts, your Palaces, your Senat, your Pleading-places, and
 ' all your public Places, save your Temples, which we leave to
 ' your selves. What for a War could we not raise against you, be-
 ' ing so far in Numbers above you; we who endure to resolutely
 ' Death it self, were it not that we are taught and enjoined, rather
 ' to suffer Death our selves than to kill our Enemies? Yea, with-
 ' out taking up Arms, or rising in Rebellion, we could be revenged
 ' on you, by abandoning you: By which means, your Silence and
 ' Solitude would become a Terror to you, your Cities would ap-
 ' pear desolate; and amidst your Empire, you would be at a loss
 ' to find whom to command; for you would find more Enemies a-
 ' mongst you than Citizens: For at present you have but few En-
 ' mies, because of the prodigious Multitudes of Christians; so that
 ' by cutting us off, you cut your selves off. By our Means you
 ' have an infinite Number of People, I will not say, that prays for
 ' you, because you will not believe it, but from whom you may ex-
 ' pect no Harm'. And having told, That amongst the several At-
 ' tempts that have been made against the Lives of their Emperors;
 there never was a Christian found to have a Hand in them, notwithstanding
 of all the Cruelties and Severities that were used against
 them, he concludes, ' We never made any Attempt against them;
 ' for these whose Actions are regulated by God, ought not only to
 ' attempt nothing against their Sovereigns, but their Neighbours:
 ' And we behave with the same harmless Innocency towards the
 ' Emperor, as towards our Neighbour; for we are equally com-
 ' manded, neither to say, do, or will any Sort of Evil to any Person
 ' whatsoever: And what is not lawful for us to do against any Per-
 ' son, is much more unlawful against the Emperor, whom God has
 ' honoured with that Dignity.

The Reader will find in our Author a great many other Passages
 to this Purpose, from the Fathers of the primitive Church, with the
 Answers to all *Buchanan's* Objections against the Regal Power:
 Which we shall more particularly insist upon in the Life of *Adam
 Blackwood*.

His Death
Character. The Learned are not agreed about the Year of our Author's
 Death; some placing it in the Year 1605. others, in 1609. others,
 in 1611. But all of them are agreed, that he was one of the learnedst
 Lawyers in his Age; for by his Works it appears, that he was
 not only well seen in the Civil and Canon Law, but likewise in the
 Greek and Latin Languages, in Civil and Ecclesiastic History, and
 in all the other Parts of polite Learning. Several Poems were com-
 posed

posed upon him, both whilst he was alive and after his Death, by the learned Men of that Age: But I shall only insert one composed by his Son, because it has a Relation to several Particulars of his Life.

A.D. 1693.

Ad Illustrē fama ac genere virum, Gulielmum Barclaium, parentem dulcissimum.

MAgne Parens, quem ne pigra quæcumque sub arcto
Astra nitent, una credat statione teneri
Mundus, ab æquoreis jussit Fortuna Britannis,
Externo migrare solo, Lotharisque sub oris
Pulchra Caledonix conjungere stemmata fame.
Nondum lucifero cursum temone peregit
Phœbus, & omniferum coit revolutus in annum,
Ex quo me, Patris cingens mitissimus ulnis,
Fovisti gremio, et qua per suspiria transit
Infudisti animam; cum me veneranda benigni
Principis ad patrios revocarent jussa Britannos.
Et mibi jam longo te jam mibi sacula cursus
Invidisse puto. Quoties me dulcis imago
Solicitat, blandoque trahit precordia motu?
Quia mihi, cum prima tuleram de luce salutem,
Verba dabas; qua, cum post sera cubilia solis,
Sobria jungebat latus convivia Vesper:
Nunc redeunt, dulcique animos carpuntque foventque
Alloquio, quamvis totis nos carulis undis
Dividat, et surdis Neraus interstrepat undis.

At tu, seu placidam curis subducere vitam,
Et canos mulcere juvat, fessoque sub ævo,
Laude frui, atque actos latus reminisceris Annos,
Seu placet assueto, multum deducere Campo;
Qua te sancta Themis, qua te mens ardua raptum
Impulit, & merita monstravit premia fame:
Nunc certe viresque Parens, primamque, Senectam
Incusas, quod te patriis procul amoret oris
Debilis, & nostras vetat heu invisere terras!
Et tibi quod terris, patria quod & amplius aura,
Jacobi negat ora tibi: Plus ora cupita
Nempè tibi, quam Sidonius lata astra videre,
Optasset vates, trepidum cum pulsa reliquit
Corpus, & in sanctum fugit lux abdita mentem.
Si tamen hic tumidum, si fors transmittere pontum
Te jubeat, rursusque tuos instrare Britannos,
Non vires, non te spatiū pontique solique
Terreat, atque omni spatio crudelius ærum.
O genitor, desistè queri, satis ille superque
Approbat ingenium, corpusque excusat & annos.

E e e e e

A.D. 1605.

*Tu modo seu dulces humanis Andibus agros,
Seu colis Australiam, qua multo colle Motella
Vitifer inserpens, depresso egerit amnes
Parce tibi, neu cassa labor jam membra fatiget
Amplius & meritis indulge mitior Annis,
Ipse velis natoque tuam servare senectam,
Consortique tuae primis quam junxit ab Annis
Fidus Hymen, qua te toties dixere beatum,
Conjuge, qui tanto toties dixere marito,
Australias inter felicem hanc esse puellas.
Si mores probitasque placent; si premia virtus
Accipit, Inachiam facilis, Ledamque, Europamque,
O non invideas suspiris, unamque quod ultro
Quod facis, aternis observes ignibus Annam
Hec, tua seu placidi sinuarunt Carbasa venti,
Seu fremuere undæ, gemuitque exterrita pinus,
Fida comes semper lateri, colloque pependit,
Dulce onus, atque animum nullo dejecta timore est.*

*Felices, O quot patitur per sacula vitam
Assyrius Phœnix, senii quia tedia tandem
Ignibus, et nimios nil territus exuit Annos;
Tithono quot diva dedit, qua lumine Solem
Advocat, aut vates Phœbum Cumæa poposcit,
Tot vobis dent sponte Deæ, queis jura severi
Staminis, & nunquam vivaci membra senecta
Exoptent lassata mori. Si vivere certe est,
Dum nomen virtusque manent, dum fama superfites,
Omnia perpetua vincetis sacula vita.
Tempus erit quum vos prono veneratus honore
Amplectar, tangamque manus, atque oscula figam.*

*Tunc ego de charis orsus, narrare Britannis
Tunc referam quid Rector agat; quam fronte benigna
Dignetur famulos, & miti temperet ore
Fortunam, quam pulchra genas, quam lumina sancta,
Majestate nitens, nostri Matrona tonantis;
Quam tener, & parvis dudum maturior annis,
Crescat in attoniti Princeps miracula Mundi.*

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. **D**E Potestate Papa, an & quatenus in Reges & Principes Seculares jus & imperium habeat: Francof. 1609, 1613, 1621. Hannoviæ, 1612, in 8vo. & Lond. in English, 1611, in 4to. Muffiponti, 1610, in 8vo. & Parisiis, 1600, in 4to.

II. *De Regno & Regali Potestate, adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, & reliquos Monarchomachos*: Paris, 1600, in 4to.
Hannoviae, 1612, in 8vo.

A.D. 1615.

III. *Comment. in Tit. Pandectarum de rebus creditis & de jurejurando*: Paris, 1605, in 8vo.

T H E

LIFE of HENRY BLACKWOOD, Doctor of Medicin, and Dean of Faculty to the College of Physicians at Paris.

HENRY BLACKWOOD, Brother to the famous Adam Blackwood, was born at Dumfermlin in the Shire of Fife, and had his Education at the University of St. Andrew's; where after he had finished the Course of his Studies in the *Belles Lettres* and Philosophy, he was sent over to *Paris* by his Uncle, the Reverend Father in God, Robert Reid Bishop of Orkney; where, Dempster (a) tells us, he taught Philosophy in this University in the Year 1551. and for which he appeals to the Acts of this University. But applying himself to the Study of Medicin, he was created Doctor of Medicin in this University; and being incorporated one of the Members of the College of Physicians at *Paris*, for his great Learning and eminent Parts, he was at length honoured with the Dignity of *Dean of Faculty*. Now, that the Reader may know how great an Honour this was to our Author, I shall translate, from the famous Mr. Patin, who was *Dean of Faculty* himself, their Method and Manner of Procedure.

His Person-
age and Ed-
ucation.He is made
Professor of
Philosophy,
and Dr. of
Medicin.He is made
Dean of Fa-
culty to the
College of
Physicians
at Paris.

' He is (says he (b) speaking of the Dean) Master of all the Bachelors that are upon their Trials. He regulates the Discipline of the Schools. He keeps all our Registers, which are above 500 Years Standing. He keeps the two Seals of the Faculty. He receives our Revenue, and gives in the Account of it to us. He signs and approves all the Theses. He regulates the Precedency of all the Doctors, according to their several Stations. He convenes the Faculty whenever he pleases; and without his Consent, or an Order from the Court or Parliament, they cannot meet. He examines, with the Four Examinators, at the rigorous Trial of all the Intrants, which continues for a whole Week. He is one of the Three Deans that, with the Rector, governs the whole University; and is one of those who elects them. He has double of either of their Revenues, and which sometimes extends to a con-

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' siderable

An. 1613.

'siderable Sum. He has a great Charge upon him, much Honour, and a constant Hurry of Business. He is Solicitor to all the Processes of the Faculty, and is allowed to plead in the Great Chamber before the Advocate General, as the deceast Mr. *De la Vigne* did in the Year 1644, against the *Garretier*. The Charge is highly honourable, but very troublsom: And any deserving Person that merits the Place, may esteem himself happy when he is not chosen; the Ceremony of which is performed after this Manner.

' All the Faculty being assembled *speciali Articulo*, the Dean that is to dimit his Charge, returns to the Faculty his Acknowledgment of the great Honour that they had put upon him, and that they may proceed to make choice of another in his Place. Then the Rolls are call'd, and all the present Doctors marked; for none of the Absent can be chosen. All these having laid their Billets upon the Table, the Half of them is taken and put in a Hat; and this is called *The Great Banc*. Our Number at this Day is 112. so that 56 is put in the Hat of the eldest Doctors: When the eldest Doctor (who is at this Time Mr. *Riolan*) has sufficiently jumbled and mixed these Billets through other in the Hat, the Dean that is to dimit, takes three Billets out of the Hat, or *Great Banc*, successively, and two out of the *Lesser Banc*, that the Number may be unequal: So that by this means there are Five Doctors that cannot be elected that Day, but they are the Electors. These Five Electors having taken the Oath of Fidelity to the whole Faculty, they are closed up in the Chapel, where they make choice of Three of those they think most worthy for bearing of that Charge, Two out of the *Great Banc*, and one out of the Lesser: These three Billets being put in a Hat, the Dean, with an out-stretched Arm, puts his Hand into the Hat, and the first he takes out is the Dean.

By all this, as I have said, it appears how much our Author was respected and honoured by the Faculty of Physicians at Paris. At what Time he was first admitted to be *Dean of Faculty*, I know not; but by Mr. *de Launy's* History of the College of *Navarre*, I find him in this Station, with the other Members of the University of *Paris*, taking an Oath of Allegiance to King *Henry IV.* of *France*, in the Year 1594, (a).

About this Time there happened a Controversy amongst the Physicians at *Rome*, concerning Blood-letting, in what Disease it ought to be admitted, and in what, not. The Generality of them were Followers of *Erasistratus*, a Grecian Physician, who was born in the Island of *Cea*, or *Ceos*, about the 131 Olympiad, or the 3714 Year of the World, in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Ægypt* (b); who, according to the Conjecture of Mr. *Le Clerc*, gave him an Hundred Talents, or two Hundred and forty Thousand French Livres, for curing *Antiochus* surnamed *The God*, who had espoused *Bernice* the Daughter of *Ptolomy*. This famous Physician, according to *Galen* (c), and for which he cites *Straton*, one of his

most

(a) Ad An. 1594. (b) Vide M. *Le Clerc*, Hist. de Medicine, Lib. 1; Ch. 2. Part 2. (c) De Ven. Sect. adversus El. C 2.

most celebrated Disciples, discharged Bleeding in all Manner of Diseases: And the *Roman* Physicians, as we have said, for the most part following this Practice, they were vigorously opposed by *Iosephus Tettander* (a), in a Book which he wrote upon this Subject: Upon which the Dispute increasing betwixt them, an Appeal was made to the Faculty of Physicians at *Paris*; who, by our Author, their Dean, declared in favours of *Tettander*: And ever since, this Practice of plentiful Bleeding in most Diseases, has continued amongst the Physicians at *Paris*:

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*He intro-
duces the Pra-
ctice of fre-
quent Bleed-
ing.*

Our Author was likewise, upon the Account of his eminent Parts and Knowledge in Medicin, made Physician to the Duke of *Longueville*, with an annual Salary of Two Hundred Pistoles: And during the Pestilence at *Paris*, he never removed out of the City, and was so successful in his Practice amongst them, that he gained the universal Applause and Esteem of all Ranks and Degrees of People.

*He is made
Physician to
the Duke of
Longueville.*

His Works, as they are set down by *Dempster* (b), are,

*Account of
his Works.*

A Commentary upon *Aristotle's Logics*.

A Comparison betwixt Philosophy and Medicin.

Twelve Books upon the Lives of the most famous Physicians. All these (says he) he published in his own Time, and left in Ms. behind him.

Animadversions upon all *Galen's* Works. Some of *Hippocrates's* Works compared with ancient Ms. and translated into *Latin*. Of these we have the three Books of Prognostics, published at *Paris* by *John Libert*, in 1625, in 24to.

A Commentary upon *Alexander Tralianus's* Works, a *Grecian* Physician, who was a great Opposer of *Galen*, and flourished under the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; and whose Works were published in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Basil*, 1656, in 8vo.

A Commentary upon several Difficulties in *Pliny's Natural History*.

Besides all these mentioned by *Dempster*, he has published a Medicinal Dissertation concerning the right Use of Mineral Waters.

Of all these I have only seen our Author's Edition of *Hippocrates's* Book of Prognostics: And since this Book has been, and is still esteemed as *Hippocrates's* Master-piece, I shall give the Reader an Account of it; by which he will not only see how much the Physicians have been obliged to this great Man and to our Author, but the World in general, for his excellent Observations concerning the Prognostics of dying Persons.

The great Reputation that *Hippocrates* has in the World, is principally owing to his accurate Observations, even as to the minutest Circumstances of sick and dying Persons: And by this means he not only acquired the Knowledge of distinguishing the Diseases from one another, by Signs that are particular to each of them; but likewise he acquired a Habit, by comparing the same Diseases that different Persons are subject to, and the Accidents that ordinarily precede and follow them: I say, by this means he acquired an Ha-

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bi-

An. 1613.

bitude of foretelling the Diseases before they happened, and to determine, to the outmost Exactness, what the Event or Success would be. And he himself tells us (*a*), That he was the first Physician who had laid down the Method of telling their Patients what would befall them during the whole Course of their Sickness. And as Mr. *Le Clerc* observes (*b*), no doubt it was upon this that he formed this excellent Observation (*c*), That a Physician who, upon the Signs that he observes in a Disease, tells his Patient all that has happened to him, and what will daily happen to him; and after the Information, if the Patient is capable of telling him what he has omitted, and of telling or predicting to him what the Event will be, he cannot fail of acquiring the Reputation of knowing perfectly well the State of his Patient: And altho' it be not always in his Power to save his Life, yet by predicting or foretelling him what is to happen, he saves his Reputation, let the Event be what it will.

Now, altho' these Signs and Predictions are scattered over all his Works, yet they are more particularly collected in his Book of *Apophisms*, and his most excellent Book of *Prognostics*: And altho' his *Prognostics* are of most excellent Use in the most of all our Diseases; yet such is the Modesty of our Author, that he tells his Readers, that they must not depend upon them as infallible.

The first Thing *Hippocrates* observed in acute Diseases, was the sick Person's Countenance. Now according to him, a Person that has such a Visage, or such a Countenance as he had in perfect Health, it is a good Sign; ' But when a sick Person has a sharp Nose, his Eyes sunk, hollow Temples, his Ears cold and drawn back, the Skin of his Forehead hard, stretched and dry, and his Countenance of a Leadish Colour, then we may say Death is approaching, or at least, that his Strength is entirely exhausted; this is what the Physicians call *Hippocrates* his Face. To which he adds elsewhere, ' cold and hanging Lips.

As to their Eyes, when the Patient cannot endure the Light, when he tears involuntarily, when part of the White of the Eye is exposed, when he sleeps (unless it was his Custom to be so when in Health) and when they are glazed, all these are bad Omens, or at least of a great Weakness. The Eyes sparkling, fixed or wandering, is a Sign of a present or approaching Delirium; when the Patient perceives something red, or Fire-sparks flying before his Eyes, it is a Sign of an approaching Hemoragy or Loss of Blood; and this commonly happens before a Crisis that is obtained by this Means.

As to the Posture of the Patient when in Bed, if he lies upon one Side, with his Neck, Arms and Legs a little drawn in, as Persons in Health ordinarily do, it is a good Sign; to the contrary, if the Patient lies on his Back, with his Arms extended and Legs hanging, it is a Sign of a great Weakness; but if the Patient slides down

(*a*) Lib. 1. de Dieta sub Princip. (*b*) Hist. de la Medicine, 1 Part. Lib. 3. Chap. 6. (*c*) Lib. Prænotio in Princip.

down with his Body towards his Feet, it is the Sign of the Weight of his Body, and of approaching Death: When the Patient lies upon his Belly, contrary to his Custom, it is either a Sign that he has a Pain in his Belly, or of an approaching Delirium.

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In a burning Fever, when the Patient is constantly gripping the Cloaths with his Hands, or plucking off with his Fingers, as if there were something upon his Bed-cloaths, it is a mortal Sign.

As to the Signs of Deliriums or Rovings, when the Patient that naturally speaks little, becomes talkative, or the Patient that is naturally talkative, becomes silent, in both it is a certain Sign either of a present or an approaching Delirium; the Rovings upon sad and lugubrious Subjects are much more dangerous than those that run upon cheerful Subjects, the Starting of the Tendons and long Watchings in Acute Diseases, are Signs of an approaching Delirium.

As to the Respirations of the Patients, it was much observed, and depended upon by *Hippocrates*, who enumerates a great many different Sorts of them, from which he draws his different Prognosticks; but it is sufficient for my Design to acquaint the Reader, that a frequent and forced Respiration is a certain Sign that the Patient is pained, or that there is an Inflammation of the Parts below the Diaphragm; and that a long Respiration is a Sign of an approaching Delirium, but a natural and free Respiration is always a good Sign in all acute Diseases.

Hippocrates likewise insists very much upon all the different Qualities of the Excrements that are voided by our Bodies, that is to say, upon their Colour, Smell and Consistence, the extraordinary Alterations that happen to them; and as to their Heat, Coldness, Sharpness, &c. as well as in Relation to their Quantity, to the Places from whence they are evacuated, to the Time of their Duration, and to the Manner and other Circumstances of their Evacuation; but he mainly insists upon the gross Excrements, on which we shall give some few of his Observations. The Urine of a sick Person that has a good Sediment, that is to say, the gross Part of which falls to the Bottom, and is white, equal and uniform, and remains so during the Indisposition of the Patient, is a Sign that he is in no Danger, but will recover his former State of Health: And this is what he calls a Sign of a good Digestion of the Humours, and he observes, that this Digestion never happens but upon the Days of the Crisis that terminate the Disease; for says he, we are to compare the Urine to the Matter of Ulcers, for the Matter that proceeds from an Ulcer, if it be white and like the Sediment of the above mentioned Urine, it is a Sign that the Ulcer will cure; but if the Matter be clear, or of any other Colour than white, and has a bad Smell, it is a Sign that the Ulcer is malignant, and consequently not easily cured: In the same Manner all the Urines, as they more or less approach to what is above mentioned, are the more or less to be depended upon, and the more

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that they are removed from this Digestion, the more they prognosticate the Crudities of the Humours and of the Urines; of this last Sort the best are those that are the Redish of a sweet and equal Sediment; and they prognosticate, that the Disease will be of a longer continuance, but without any Danger, the worst are these that are very red, and at the same Time clear, and without any Sediment or thick, and perturbed, when rendred by the Patient in Urines: There is likewise sometimes observed a Cloud, which in the Urinals or Glasses in which the Urines are, stands suspended, and the more that this Cloud is suspended from the Bottom, or different from the Colour that the Sediment should be of, the more it prognosticates the Crudity of the Humours. The Urines that are white and clear as Water is likewise the Sign of a great Crudity, and sometimes of a Transferrence of the Bile to the Brain. Those that are yellow prognosticate a Prevalency of Bile. Those that are black are the worse, and particularly if they have a fetid Smell, or that they are altogether perturbed, or altogether clear. Those that have a gross Sediment, like Meal, or like Scales, or like thin Plates of Matter, are all of a bad Omen, especially the last two; and by them the Physician may judge of the bad Disposition of the Patient's Reins or Bladder, when a fat or oylous Substance floats above the Urine, forming a Cover like a Spider's Webb, it prognosticates a Consumption of the Fleshy and solid Parts. When the Patient voids a great deal of Urine, it is a Sign of a Crisis. *Hippocrates* likewise compares the Disposition of the Tongue to that of the Urines. Thus for Example, when the Tongue is yellow and overcharged with Bile, the Urine should be of the same Colour; and on the contrary, when the Tongue is vermillion and humid, the Urine ought to have its natural Colour.

As to the Excrements, if they be soft, yellowish, of a good Consistence, and without any extraordinary Stink, and that the Quantity be answerable to the Nourishment that the sick Person takes, and that they are voided at the due Hours, it is a Sign of the good State of the Patient's Health or Recovery: If the Matter be liquid, it may afford great Ease to the Patient, provided it be not voided with too great a Noise, in small Quantities, and too frequently, or in too great Abundance, or so often as to make the Patient faintish. All Excrements that are waterish, whitish, of a pale greenish Colour, red, frothy or slimy, are bad; but those that are black, greasy, livid, or of the Colour of Verdegrease, are the worst of all: But when they are entirely black, which is nothing else but the voiding of the Black Bile, is always the Prognostic of great Danger; for whenever that Humour is voided, it prognosticates the bad State of the Patient's Intrails. Excrements of diverse Colours are not only bad, but prognosticate the Duration of the Disease. Those that are bloody, yellow, and full of Bile, greenish and black; those that are like the inner Coat of the Guts, and those that are altogether bilous or pituit, are all of them bad.

As to Vomiting; if the Matter be mix'd with Bile and Pituit, it is good; but if it be altogether Pituit, or altogether Bile, it is bad: Those that are black, livid or green, are all of them dangerous. The Vomiting of Blood proves often more mortal, as does likewise of livid Matter with a fetid Smell.

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As to the Defluxion or Spittle that's voided by sick Persons; if they be easily expectorated, and without Difficulty, tho' at first yellowish, there's no Danger: But if they continue long of that Colour after the Commencement of the Disease, or that they are red, or that they are saltish or sharp, and cause a great Cough, they are not good; and those that are altogether yellow, are dangerous; those that are white, tough and frothy, give no manner of Ease to the Patient: And altho' the Whiteness of the Spittle be a good Sign of the Coction or Digestion of the Humours, yet they should not be too viscid, too thick, or too clear. And the same Judgment may be formed of the Excrements of the Nose, in relation to their Coction and Crudity: Those that are green, black or red, are very troublesome in the Inflammation of the Lungs: Those that appear first mixt with Bile and Blood, are of no Danger; but if it comes not till the 7th Day, it prognosticates great Danger. But the worst of all is, when the Defluxion is detained, and by the Quantity of the Matter that Nature would have evacuated, it causes a Rattling and Noise in the Throat and the Breast, a Spitting of Blood, followed with an ulcerous Matter; and is an inflexible Sign of a Decay, and of approaching Death:

As to the Sweatings of sick Persons; those that come upon the critical Days, that are plentiful, and over the whole Body, and that abate the Fever, are good and safe, and prognosticate the Patient's Recovery. Cold Sweats are bad in all acute Fevers; but in others, it only prognosticates the Duration of the Disease. When the Patient only sweats in the Head and Neck, it is a Sign that the Disease will be long and dangerous. An Ephidrose, or a slight Moisture of a Sweat, either upon the Head or Breast, affords no manner of Relief to the Patient; but it prognosticates the Seat of the Disease, and the Weakness of the Part.

As to the Collection of airy ulcerous Matter in any Part of the Body; as long as it is a-forming, the Patient is pain'd, and the Fever continues, and does not cease till the Matter be throughly ripened: And we have above given an Account of the good and bad Signs of the Coction of this Matter, when speaking of Urines.

As to the Hypochonders and Belly; when they are hard, unequal, and elevated or too much raised, or that the Patient cannot suffer them to be touched, 'tis a Sign that the Intrals ate in a bad Disposition, unless there be an external Inflammation.

As to the Pulse, or Beating of the Arteries; *Galen* (a) and some Modern *Grecians* have affirmed, That this is the only Part of Medicin that this ancient Physician did not take notice of; yet the

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same *Galen* (a) in another Place, says, That he was the first Physician that made use of the Word *Pulse* in the Sense that it is ordinarily used in, that is to say, for the ordinary and natural Beating of the Arteries; for it is to be observed, That *Hippocrates* and the ancient Physicians, for the most part, understood by this Word, the extraordinary Pulsation, or violent Beating that is found or perceived in the inflamed Part, without the Application of the Fingers: Yet, as Mr. *Le Clerc* has observed (c) from the Writings of *Hippocrates*, he has several Precepts upon this Subject; as when he says (d), *In very acute Fevers, the Pulse is very frequent.* And in the same Place, when he mentions *slow and trembling Pulses.* And when he observes, in speaking of the *fluor albus* in Women, *That a Pulse that is so weak and feeble, as to be hardly discernable to the Fingers, is a Sign of an approaching Death.* And in his Edition of *Hippocrates's Prognostics* he observes, *That in Lethargic People the Pulse is slow and lingering.* And in his Book (e) of Epidemic Diseases, he says, *That when the Cubital Vein or Artery beats strongest, 'tis a Sign that the Patient is inclined to be furious, or that he is very much inclined to be choleric and passionate.*

Now, by all these Passages it plainly appears, That *Hippocrates* was not altogether ignorant of the Signs of the Pulse: But it must be acknowledged, that he did not depend upon them so much, as on the other Signs mentioned by them; for he does not reduce them under certain Precepts and Heads, as he does the rest of the Signs, as appears from his Book of *Epidemic Diseases*, which is a Kind of Journal, wherein he sets down a great many Histories of Diseases, and his Method of curing them; and wherein he takes no Notice of the State of the Pulses. But as Mr. *Le Clerc* observes, This probably proceeded from his Observation of the different Degrees of Heat and Cold that he observed in his feverish Patients, or from their Inquietudes or Respirations; in the last of which he was very particular. And this may suffice to give the Reader a general Idea of this Book which our Author published, compared with the best Mss. and which has been so highly valued by all the Physicians that have flourished since *Hippocrates's Time*, and upon which the Moderns have made vast Improvements, by a great many other additional Prognostics; and especially upon that of the Pulse, in which he was defective. And amongst all the Moderns who have wrote upon this Subject, there is none who has writ with such Accuracy and Exactness as the famous *Prosper Alpinus*, Professor at *Padua*, in his excellent Book, *De præagienda vita & morte agricantium, &c.* first Printed at *Venice*, in 1601, in 4to.

By *Dempster's Account* of our Author, he could not but have been very old when he died; for if he was Professor of Philosophy in the University of *Paris* in the Year 1551, 'tis but reasonable to think that at least he was 20 Years; and if he died in the Year

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(a) *De differ. & gen. Pulsi.* (c) *Hist. de Medic.* 1 Part. L. 3. Chap. 6. P. 153. (d) *Epidem. Lib. 4.* (e) *Epi-*
demic. Lib. 2.

1613, or 1614, as he says, he must have been 82 or 83 Years of Age.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. *In Organum Aristotelis Commentaria, Lib. I.*
- II. *Collatio Medicina atque Philosophia, Lib. I.*
- III. *De claris Medicis, Lib. XII.*
- IV. *Animadversiones in omnes Galeni Libros, Lib. I.*
- V. *Hippocratis quadam cum Mss. collata, Lib. I.*

Amongst these was published,

Hippocratis Coi Prognosticorum, Libri tres, cum Latina Interpretatione, ad veterum exemplarium fidem emendati & recogniti, Parisiis, apud Johan Libert. 1625, in 4to.

- VI. *In Alexandrum Trallianum, Lib. I.*
- VII. *Locorum quorundam Plinii Explicatio, Lib. I.*
- VIII. *Quæstio Medica, in Scholis Medicorum Parisiensium agitata, An visceribus nutritiis astuantibus aquarum metallicarum potus salubris? in 4to, Parisiis.*

T H E

Life of ADAM BLACKWOOD, Professor of the Civil Law at Poictiers.

ADAM BLACKWOOD was born in Dumfermling in the Shire of Fife, in the Year 1539: He was descended of an ancient Family. And we find, that in the Time of George Cardinal d' Amboise there was buried at Rome, in the Campus Martius, in the Church of the Augustines, one John Blackwood, with this Inscription upon his Tomb:

Scotia qua genuit generosa e stirpe Joannes Blackvod, heu miser! hic situs est ante diem. Clarus erat Scutifer patris alti Rotomagensis Cardinalis, hic placida frontis & oris erat: Inde animi pietate, fide & virtutibus impar, Carcere ab hoc tandem se tulit ad superos.

His Birth,
Parentage &
Education.

His Father William Blackwood died in Battle, fighting for his Country. His Mother Helen Reid, was Niece to Robert Reid Bishop of Orknay. He lost both his Father and Mother in the Tenth Year of his Age, as he elegantly thus expresseth it in one of his Poems:

*Ætas vix erat alterum
Ingressa lustrum; cum mibi prælio
Raptus Pater. Mater dolore
Victria, comes sequitur Maritum.*

After the Death of his Parents he was sent to the University of *Paris* by his Uncle the Bishop of *Orkney*, where he had his Education under these two famous Masters, *Adrian Turnebus* and *Joannes Auratus*: But he had not been long in that University when his Uncle died; which obliged him to return to *Scotland*: But finding no Encouragement there, by reason of the Civil Wars, he returned; where, by the Liberality of Queen *Mary*, he studied Philosophy, Mathematics and the Oriental Languages; and after that he had accomplished himself in these Studies, he went to the University of *Tholouse*, where he studied the Civil Law for two Years; and returning to *Paris*, he acquired a great Reputation for his Learning; and becoming intimatly acquainted with *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, he recommended him more amply to the Queen, and her Husband the Dauphin; who recommended him to the Parliament of *Poictiers*, to be admitted one of their Members: And after a due Examination, wherein he acquitted himself with an universal Applause, he was chosen one of their Counsellors, and afterwards made Professor of the Civil Law; during which Time he composed and published the following Books.

He applies himself to the Law, & is made one of the Counsellors of the Parliament of Poictiers, and Professor of the Civil Law.

The first of these is his two Books concerning the Connection or Union that is betwixt Religion and Empire: These are published at *Paris*, in the Year 1575, and dedicated to Queen *Mary*. In these Books he shows, by various Examples, and Reasonings from sacred and prophane History, how much it is the Interest of Princes and for their Happiness, to take care of Religion, especially the Christian Religion; and to oppose all Innovations, from whence arise all Rebellions: And that when Princes neglect the true Religion and Worship of God, by suffering false Opinions, derogatory to his Purity and Holiness, to spread amongst their Subjects; then 'tis not to be expected but that God will punish them. Whereas the pure Religion of the Gospel can never fail to support their Power and Empire; Rebellion being diametrically opposite to the Doctrines of *Christ*.

His next Book is his *Apology for Kings*, against *Buchanan's* Book *de Jure Regni*, dedicated to Queen *Mary* and her Son, and published at *Poictiers* in 1580. This Book consists of 35 Chapters: The first Chapter is a bitter Inve&tive against the rebellious Practices and Principles of the Reformers. In the 2d Chapter he treats of the Title of *Buchanan's* Dialogue, *Of the Right to Reign among the Scots*, as if the *Scots* had a different Right from all other Nations. Then he asks him, If by the Right he refers to here, he means that Law of Nature which is common to the Beasts as well as

as to us, as *Ulpian* has observed (a), which Law exempts us from all Government and Laws, or if it be that, which is most agreeable to the Dictates of humane Nature, which the Civilians call the Law of Nations, but even by this last Law the Government was never lodged in the Populace, as our Author is to make appear; but indeed *Buchanan* seems to have understood it of the first Law, as several of his Followers have since explained themselves, and as one of their Poets expresses it.

“ Born free as Nature first made Man,
“ E’re the base Laws of Servitude began
“ When wild in Woods the noble Savage ran.”

But how contrary this Utopian Scheme is to the Account that we have of the Original of Government in the Sacred Scriptures, will appear afterwards: Our Author in this Chapter, lashes *Buchanan* severely for his Ingratitude, and treasonable Practices: In the third Chapter our Author shows, that the Occasion of the Writing of this Book was to vindicate their Rebellion against their Prince, and to sustain the Interest of his old Pupil the Bastard Regent the Earl of *Murray*, who to pave his Way to the Throne, upon which he had always his Eye, caused a Rumour to be spread amongst the People, that his Mother was lawfully married to King *James* the V. and that when she was with Child of him, she dreamed that she was with Child of a Lyon, and that in one Word he was the true Heir of the Kingdom; so that if he could but once dethrone the Queen, by accusing her of the Murdering of her Husband, and cut off the Loyal Families that adhered to her, there would be no Difficulty of gaining the Throne; and in this Project *Morton* join’d with him, not for any Love that he bore to him, but partly out of Fear, and partly out of a Prospect of being a Sharer in the Government, in which he was not deceived; for after they had expelled their lawful Prince, both of them most tyrannically usurped the Government.

*Ausus uterque nefas, Domini respersus uterque
Insontis jugulo.* (b)

After our Author shows what Sort of Persons these were who accused the Queen of this Murder; they were either Persons newly raised by her Enemies, of the Dregs of the People mean menial Servants, and Dependents upon them, or notoriously factious and rebellious; and since by the ancient Laws the Christians could not be accused by the *Jews* (c) the Orthodox by the Hereticks, Parents by Children, Patrons by Clients, and by an express Law of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, Servants who accused their Masters, with whom they had been familiar, or in whose Lands they had Possession, either capitally or for their Fortunes, before exhibiting of

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(a) 9. Lib. 1. §. pena de juft. &c. iur. (b) Claud. de 4. Conf. Hor. (c) Quoniam G. d. heret. & Manich. D. C. qui ac-
culer D. de ecclesiast. 1. Corin. 4. Clem. Roman Epift. 1. ad Iacob Frat. Dom. Eccl. 6. Epift. 1.

the Witnesses, or Examination of the Judges, in the very Opening and Exordium of the Accusation, were ordered to be cut off by the Sword, for say they (a) *vocem enim funestam amputari, potius oportet quam audiri*, it was better to cut off the pestiferous Voice than to hear it; with what Confidence then says our Author can those Men, Scoundrels, and Dependents upon her Majesty's Enemies, be admitted Parties and Judges against this illustrious Princess, especially, since by the Civil Law (b) the Consent of private Persons, or what they do cannot stand in Judgment, or have any Authority against any Person whatsoever, and much more reasonable was the Custom of the *Persians*, who in all Capital Cases (c) never passed Sentence, till they found the Number of the bad Qualities in the accused Person to exceed his good ones. And lastly our Author says, That granting the Queen to be such a Tyrant as he represents her, where'ts to the contrary, she was all Lenity and Mercy, yet it was no Ground for them to rise in Rebellion against her; and for this he appeals to the Example of the Royal Psalmist *David*, so well known to *Buchanan*, who added Homicide to his Adultery, and yet never was called a Tyrant, nor killed by his Subjects for it, altho' by the Law amongst the *Hebrews*, the Crime of Adultery was capital, and then he exhorts *Buchanan* to reflect upon the Murder of *David Rizzio* the Queen's Secretary, which his Accomplices and Patrons did, in the open Day, in the middle of the Court, at Her Majesty's Feet, she being big with Child, and which they avowed to the whole World, and desired him to compare this publick Murder with theirs, for which they had no Law or Authority, to that which they accused their Princess of, without any Proof, but on the contrary was clearly proven to be false and calumnious, and they themselves the Authors of, and for which, by all the Laws of God and Men, they ought to have been severely punished.

In the fourth Chapter our Author shows, how unjust and ridiculous *Buchanan* is, in representing Queen *Mary* as a Tyrant, by giving the Character of a Tyrant, and of Queen *Mary*; besides he shows, that it never was by a Law, or with the Consent of the People, that even Tyrants themselves were killed: Thus *Caligula* who was such a Tyrant, that he wished that all the People of *Rome* had but one Head, that he might cut it off at one Stroke, was not killed by a Decree of the Senate, but by *Cassius*, as he was coming out of the Theatre, and so he instances in the Deaths of several other Tyrants; he acknowledges, that Queen *Mary* made some Escapes in her Government, and particularly in imposing a new Tax upon her Subjects, by the Advice of the Bastard *Murray*, which he did on purpose to alienate the Minds of her Subjects from her; but if her Life be compared with those of her Predecessors, she will be found inferior to none of them: For, says he, they who have

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(a) *L. si quis c. de his qui accus. non poss.* (b) *Privatorum enim consensu judicem non facit, nec quod is statuit rei iudicatae, vim & auctoritatem habet L. 3. de iuris. omnia. Jud. Cap. significati de for. compet.* (c) *Diod. Sicul. Lib. 1. 15.*

the fewest Faults are always to be esteemed the best, according to that of the Poet.

*Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est
Qui minimis urgeatur.*

In the 5th Chapter our Author shows, how vastly Buchanan is mistaken, in thinking that the Scots Monarchy, and the Government of the Romans under their Cæsars were the same; and in applying the Proceedings of Subjects under a Republick to those of the Scots, who are under an absolute Monarchy.

In the 6th Chapter he examines Buchanan's Comparison betwixt the Natural and the Body Politic. *The Natural Body* (says Buchanan) is like the *Body Politic*: *The Diseases that arise from the Humours in the Body*, are like the *Commotions and Rebellions that are in the Commonwealth*; for the curing of which, as in the one Case the sick Person calls for what Physician he pleases, and discharges him when he pleases; so in the other Case, the King plays the Part of a Physician, but may be turned off or discharged, whenever the People who called him and made choice of him, pleases.

To this our Author says, That this Comparison of Buchanan's, if it proves any thing, proves the Contrary of what he intends, for this proves the Necessity of an absolute Monarchy; for there is no Patient that calls a Physician but he gives him an absolute Power over his Life, and to do what he pleases with him: 'Tis true, that sometimes a fretful discontented Patient may change his Physician, and call for another; but this is still look'd upon by all wise Men, as an Action not proceeding from his Judgment or Wisdom, but from the unaccountable Rovings of his Disease: And if the People have no more Power to judge of their Kings, than a sick Person in a Fever has of his Physician, 'tis plain they have none at all.

In the 7th Chapter, our Author comes to examine the original State of Nature, and proves, That it was a State of Dependency by the Institution of God Almighty; or by acquired Power, not from the Choice and Consent of the People; but by the Right that they had by their Birth, and Superiority over the People: As he shows in several Instances from prophâne and sacred History. And indeed this is very plain from the sacred History it self; for a State of Equality amongst Mankind can never be, as long as we allow of the Scripture-account of the Origination of Mankind, which makes us all to depend upon one another. Neither is there any Dictate of Nature more impressed upon our Minds, than the Obedience of Children to their Parents: 'Tis true, some of our late Followers of Buchanan have acknowledged a Dependency in this State of Nature; but they deny the Paternal Power. Thus one of their famous Rabbi's (a) says, *That the Fifth Commandment is so far from establishing the Monarchical Power of the Father, that it*

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sets up the Mother equal with him. For which he quotes a great many Texts, where Children are commanded to honour their Fathers and Mothers. And then concludes, *I do not remember that I anywhere read, Children, obey your Fathers, and no more : The Scripture joins the Mother too in that Hommage which is due from Children.* And he employs a whole Chapter to prove the Mother's Title equal to that of the Father's, over the Children (*b*). *And if this one Thing, says he, (c) had been but well considered, it had ended all the Dispute about Fatherly Authority.* Let us then seriously consider this new Invention of his, and compare it with the Scripture-account of the Origination of Mankind and the Paternal Power.

GOD at first created but one Man, and did not create the Woman at the same Time, but made her afterwards out of the Man; which showed her Dependency upon him: And she was made for his Use, as *an Help meet for him.* And thus the Apostle argues the Authority of the Man over the Woman, from his being first created (*d*), *Suffer not a woman to teach, or to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence ; for Adam was first formed, then Eve.* And we find, That God gave his positive Command, and Institution of Government betwixt *Adam* and *Eve*, before there were any other of Mankind in the World ; saying to *Eve*, (*e*) *Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee :* or, *art under obedience*, as the Apostle words it (*f*). So that it cannot be supposed, that her Power is equal to his over their Children : 'Tis true, the Mother has a Power over the Children, but the supreme Power is only in the Father, for he commands both Mother and Children. Besides, as a learned and excellent Person of this Age has observ'd (*g*), This of the Mother's Power is no more an Objection, than where inferior Governors are joined with the Supreme; as that of St. Peter (*h*), *Submit your selves ---, whether to the king, as supreme ; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him.* Now it cannot be said, that by this there is no Supremacy given to the King because other Governors are joined with him in the same Command of Obedience. And as much, and no more, does the Mother's being joined with the Father in the 5th Command, take away the Supremacy of the Father: Which we are next to examine as the Original of all Government.

'Tis very plain from the sacred Scriptures, That the Government of the World, from the Creation to the Flood, was Patriarchal, Regal, or Fatherly Government, for they are all synonymous Terms; for the Word *Patriarch* signifies the Chief, or Governor of the Country, and is equivalent with that of *King* or *Emperor.* And accordingly we find King *David*, in the New Testament, styled *Patriarch*. In the 5th Chapter of *Genesis* we have a List of these Patriarchs from *Adam* to *Noah*; the First-born being only named

(*a*) Lock, Book 2. Chap. 6. (*b*) Page 272. (*c*) 1 Tim. ii. 12, 13. (*d*) Gen. iii. 16. (*e*) 1 Cor. xiv. 34. (*f*) Mr. Lessly's Rehearsal, No. 55. (*g*) 1 Pet. li. 13.

named there, all the rest being past over under the general Name of Sons and Daughters.

About 100 Years after the Flood, when Men were multiplied, God designed to separate them into divers Colonies, and to to people the Earth with them; but a great many of them did gather together, with an Intention not to separate, and for that End, to build a great City, and a mighty high Tower, to secure themselves against another Deluge: But God defeat this Design of theirs, and did scatter them abroad upon the Face of all the Earth: But *Babylon* fell to the Share of *Nimrod*, and this was the Beginning of his Kingdom. And from him, who is called *Belus* in prophane Histories, through the *Affyrian*, *Persian*, *Grecian* and *Roman* Monarchies; and from the Division of the *Roman* Monarchy into the Eastern and Western Empires, we have the Names of all the Kings, and their Successors to this present Time. And here our Author shows, how that some Kingdoms have been obtained by Conquest, others, by Testaments and Legacies, and others, from the Abuses of the Populace. Thus *Aristotle* (a) says, That the Government of Kings had its Rise from the Tyranny, and not the Choice of the People, who never could endure Persons of eminent Merit; like the *Ephesians*, who banished their Prince *Hermodorus*, because he had more Religion, Prudence and Knowledge, than any of his Subjects. And therefore the same *Aristotle*, in another Place, defines the Regal Power to be, *Tutelam præstantium virorum, adversus indominate multitudinis insolentiam: The Protecting of good and vertuous Men, against the unbridled Insolence of the People.* And from the first Forming of the *Grecian* Commonwealths, which had their Rise from their Rebellions against their lawful Princes, we shall find more Cruelties, Bloodshed and Murders, than ever was in the World before them; for when they rebelled against their Princes, and assumed the Power to themselves, they roll'd about from one Revolution to another, till they sunk themselves, and perished in Oceans of Blood. Our Author proves God to be the Author of Monarchical Hereditary Government, from the ancientest Governments in the World, which were all Monarchies, and none older than that of our own Country; and from the universal Impression upon Mankind, of the eldest Son's Right to his Father's Inheritance.

In the 8th Chapter, our Author returns to *Buchanan's* Comparison betwixt a King and a Physician, which he shows to be very different; for the sick Person may call and choose what Physician he pleases, but to People born under an Hereditary Monarchy, such as ours is, no such Choice can be allowed. A sick Person, without any probable Reason, may discharge his Physician; but by our Constitution, the People can upon no Pretence whatsoever, discharge their King; in the choosing of whom they have no Hand, it being theirs by their Birthright. But granting (says our

Author) that Kings were at first made choice of by the People, and called as a Physician to them: As the Patient's Death is not to be imputed to the Physician, says *Ulpian* (a), neither does his Ignorance protect him; for by the *Lex Aquilia*, even tho' he has no bad Design, tho' he be diligent in the prosecuting of his Cure, as he thinks, yet if he be found an Ignorant, he is guilty by the Law; (b) Yea even tho' he performs an Operation according to all the Rules of Art, yet if he prosecutes not the Cure, he is condemned by the Law: But (says he) who is the Judge in this Case? Certainly not the sick Patient, but wise experienc'd Physicians: So no more can the People, by this Comparison, judge of their Prince's Actions. And lastly, our Author asks *Buchanan*, why he did not make use of *Plato's* other Comparisons about a King (c)? who not only compares him to a Physician, to a Master of a Family, to a Captain of a Ship; and at length concludes, That a well regulated Monarchy is the most perfect Pattern of the Government of Men.

In the 9th Chapter, he shows the vast Difference that is betwixt Kings and Physicians, in regard that Physicians are tied to the Rules that *Hippocrates* and all his Successors have laid down, from constant Observations: Whereas a King, according to the various Circumstances of the People, has an absolute Power of altering and abrogating the Laws and Constitutions of the Nation over which he is the Head, according as he is directed by the Wisdom of his Counsellors; according to that of the Latin Poet, *Juvén. Sat. 14. Nullum Numen abest si sit prudentia*. And after this he appeals to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, to show the absolute Monarchy of our *Scots Kings*.

In the 10th Chapter, he shows the Excellency of a Monarchical Government above all other Governments, and how Mankind were at first only under that Government. And since *Buchanan* seems to rely upon *Plato's* Authority in favours of the Populacy, he cites the following Words of *Plato* against him, in his 3d Book *de Legibus*, *Nihil porro tam aptum est ad jus conditionemque naturae* (quod cum dico, legem a me dici intelligi volo) *quam Imperium Imperiorum varia genera statuit, ac proinde subdit*: *Omnes antiquæ Gentes Regibus quondam paruerunt; quod genus Imperii primum ad homines justissimos & sapientissimos deferebatur, deinde etiam deinceps posteris probebatur, quod & in iis etiam qui nunc regnant, manet. Quibus autem Regia Potestas non placuit, non ii nemini, sed non semper uni parere voluerunt. Nos autem, quoniam leges damus liberis populis, quaque de optima Republica sentiremus, in sex Libris antea disimus: Accommodabimus hoc tempore leges ad illum quem probamus civitatis statum. Magistratibus igitur opus est, sine quorum prudenteria ac diligentia esse civitas non potest, quorumque descriptione omnis reipublicæ moderatio continetur: Neque solum iis praescribendus est imperandi, sed etiam civibus obtemperandi modus. Buchanan like-*

wise

(a) L. Illicitas, § Sicuti de offic. praesid. Si quis §. (b) L. 1. & seq. D. ad Legem Aquil. D. L. idem Juris, ad Legem Aquil. (c) In Pol. Juris gent. § Sed cum nulla de Pacl. L. 1. de rerum permut. Fide jussor. oblig. de Fido juss. L. Stichum, § Naturalis de Solut. L. Si noxali de peccat.

wise makes Use of *Cicero's* Authority for a popular Government, and owning that the People first made Kings, and prescribed Laws to them, by which they should govern their Subjects. Now *Cicero* plainly owns, (a) that all the ancient Nations in the World were first governed by Monarchs, and that they had no other Law but the Will of the Monarch; but the Successors becoming Tyrants, the People freed themselves from their Yoke (that is to say, they rebelled) and made Laws by which they were to be governed, and appointed Magistrats over them, who should put these Laws in Execution: So that he distinguishes betwixt the Power of Kings, which is in Monarchies, and where his Will is the Law, and the Power of the Laws which is in Common-wealths, and by which their Magistrats are obliged to govern. And *Aristotle* says (b) That a King is a living Law upon Earth, whose Power cannot be restrained by any other Law than that of his own Mind: And the same *Aristotle* having acknowledged, that a King should be looked upon as a God amongst Men, says, that it is necessary amongst Equals to have Laws, but over Kings there can be no Law, they being the Law themselves; and *Pomponius* the Lawyer acknowledges, that in the Beginning, amongst the *Romans* (c) the King's absolute power was the sole Law; and they were much happier when they were under this Kingly Government, than when under a Common-wealth, as all the Nations of the Earth have been, as well as they that have rejected the Kingly Government, and betaken themselves to Common-wealths, as it clearly appears from their Historians.

In the 11th. Chapter our Author takes *Buchanan* to Task, for subjecting our Kings and People to the *Roman* Laws, which is against the express Acts of Parliament; for in King *James* the First's Time, in the Parliament held at *Perth*, it is statuted and ordained, that all his Majesty's Subjects are only answerable to the Laws enacted by him and his Predecessors; and the same is again confirmed, by an Act of Parliament in King *James* the 4th's Time, Chap. 114; and this is not peculiar (says he) to the *Scots* only, for several other Nations have done it as well as they: Thus, when *Philip* the Fair instituted the Parliament of *Paris*; he exempt them from the *Roman* Laws; and by an old Decree of the Parliament, the Advocates are discharged from citing any *Roman* Law, against the Law of the Nation; and amongst the *Spaniards*, either to praise it in their Civil Judicatories, or to teach it in their Schools, is punished with Death; and *Alaricus* ordered, that any who should oppose the *Roman* Law, to the Laws which he had established amongst his *Goths*, should be put to Death: 'Tis true, that neither the *Scots* nor any of these Nations absolutely discharged the making Use of the *Roman* Laws; on the contrary, our Law allows them in all Cases where our own Laws are deficient, and to

(a) *Ciceru de legibus*, Lib. 2do. de ffc. - (b.) *Aristote* says, that a King is a living Law upon Earth, Lib. 3. p. 104.
§ prohibutum. (c) de juri. sive auctoritate. de cunctis. §. p. 1. fin.

support and enforce the Reason of our own Laws; and since the *Roman* People, ever since they were subject to their *Cesars*, have acted in a private Capacity, in Obedience not only to their Laws, but their Lusts; much more ought we (says he) to be subject to our Kings, over whom we never pretended to have the least Authority.

Buchanan, to prove the People to be the first Authors of the Laws, says, That as in every Country there is a Variety of Languages, or different Idioms, so there is Variety of Laws: But if the Prince had been the first Fountain of the Laws, then there had been no Difference of the Laws in one Place from those of another in the same Country; and since this Variety of Laws is tolerated under Princes, 'tis plain that the People made these Laws for governing themselves, which the Prince has no Power to alter. To this our Author answers, in his 12th Chapter, by distinguishing betwixt the Nature of Divine and Humane Laws; for the Divine Laws are constant, perpetual and unalterable, but all Humane Laws are variable, and subject to many Alterations, according to the various Vicissitudes in Humane Affairs; and therefore God appointed Kings, as his Vicegerents, over the People, that they might accommodate their Laws according to the Necessities of the Times; for, as the Poet says,

Hec etas aliam vitam, alios mores postulat.

And hence it is that several old Laws are in Desuetude and abrogated, and according to the Circumstances of the Times, new ones put in their Place. Now I call a Law (says he) the Pleasure and Will of a Prince who has an undoubted Right, to which not only all Cities, Societies and Incorporations, but likewise the publick Laws themselves are subjected; for as to what concerns the Government of the different Cities of a Kingdom, they act only in a private Capacity; whereas the Prince or King acts as the Representative of all the People, upon which they can never impose any Law but what he approves of; and whatever Privileges they have, it is rather by way of Paction than Law; such as we see granted to Communities, to whom a Privilege is granted to govern themselves by such Laws as they think fit: But private Pactions are never derogatory to the public Laws, and therefore all Cities, Colleges, Incorporations, and in a Word, all the Laws made by the People, require the Authority of the Prince to make them standing and obligatory; because they often go beyond the Bounds of Pactions, and encroach upon the Legislative Power. And 'tis a Contradiction in it self to affirm, that the Supreme Power should be in one Hand, and the Coercive, in another. And since this cannot be, a King must be free, not only from the Laws of others, but from his own, for he cannot bind himself further than he has a mind to. And as the Lawyers say, *No Obligation can consist with a Promise that is only founded upon the Will of the Promiser.* And since he cannot be bound by

by his own Laws, far less by the Laws of others. And we daily see Princes confirming the Laws of their Predecessors, without which they would have no Authority. And *Titus Vespasian*, whom *Suetonius* calls *The Delight of Mankind*, by one Edict confirmed all these of the preceding Emperors.

In the 13th Chapter our Author shews, by abundance of Quotations from the Civil Law, that the Supreme Power is lodged in the King, and not in the People, and consequently the Legislative Power, for (*says he*) was it ever known, as *Buchanan* asserts, either from our own Histories or the Histories of other Monarchies, that the People led out Armies, conferred Honours, punished Criminals, coined Money, entered into Leagues with their Neighbouring Potentates, or had the Power of Peace and War in them? No, all these belong to the Prince, and are the very Sum and Substance of the Laws; and consequently, in all Monarchies the Legislative Power must be lodged in the King.

In the 14th Chapter, our Author shows that nothing can be said more ridiculous than what *Buchanan* says about the interpreting the Laws. When the Laws seem to contradict one another, (*says he*) then the Judges, and those that are well seen in the Laws, must interpret them. Here he takes the Power from the King, and gives it those of an inferior Rank, and from his beloved People, to the Judges; not knowing that the Interpretation of a Law hath the Force and Strength of a Law, and that the Judge is only the Interpreter of his own Sentence. Since then *Buchanan* acknowledges, that the People has not the Power of interpreting the Laws, they cannot be the Legislators; for he who makes the Law, has the sole Power of interpreting the Law. And since in all Monarchies, neither the People nor the Senate have the Power of making or interpreting of Laws, but when they have the Royal Sanction, 'tis plain that the sole Legislative Power is lodged in the King. Then our Author proceeds to examine *Buchanan's* Argument, from the Power that Popes have over Kings, in excommunicating them, in absolving their Subjects from their Allegiance, and transferring their Kingdoms to others; which can have no Force amongst Protestant Princes, and has as little among Catholic Princes, who are not bound by their Faith to believe that they have such a Power, or ever granted them such a Power; altho' indeed (*says our Author*) 'twere more reasonable to grant this Power to the Priesthood than to the People. Then as to *Buchanan's* bitter Invectives against the Popes, he appeals to the whole World, if ever so much Mischief was done to Christendom by the Papacy; since St. Peter's Time, as had been done by the *Calvinists*, since *Calvin's* Time; whose Followers have always been (*says he*) a bloody, cruel, inhumané and rebellious Race of People;

Contemptrix Superum, savaque avidissima cedis.

Our Author in the 15 Chapter takes *Buchanan* to Task, for applying to the licentious Lives of the Pope's, the Passage of St. Paul, *a Bishop ought to be the Husband of one Wife*, which he shows that some of the ancient Fathers have understood, in a Metaphorical Sense, as if the Apostle only meant here, that a Bishop ought only to have no other Wife but his Church, and this was *Callistus* Interpretation of it, who lived near the Time of the Apostles, and sealed the Faith of Christ with his Blood, as likewise of St. *Ambrose* which many have approved of, tho' others have understood it as discharging second Marriages in Clergy Men, it being no ways agreeable to that Contingency which Clergy Men ought to have, and which Mr. *Knox*, says our Author, nor none of *Buchanan*'s Reformers ever observed, the most of them having been so scandalously incontinent, that they have been married four or five Times.

In the 16 Chapter our Author first refutes *Buchanan*'s Assertion, that unless a King be chosen by the Suffrages of the People, he cannot be a lawful King, as if all Power acquired by Force of Arms were unlawful, tho' he himself acknowledges the Lawfulness of the *Roman* Empire, tho' it was acquired by meer Force of Arms, and all Servitudes, Manumissions and Captivities, are regulated by the Laws, and esteemed lawful amongst all Nations: Then he shows how *Buchanan* has confounded the Regal Power of *Scotland* with that of the Dukes of *Venice*, the Kings of the *Lacedemonians*, and the Consuls of *Rome*, in all which Governments, as he shows from the Records of their Nations, that they had nothing of the Regal Power. And lastly, he shows the Falseness of *Buchanan*'s reasoning, when he asserts, that a King's calling for the Advice of his Councillors, when he is going to impose Laws, shows that he has no absolute Authority over them, and in all Criminal Cases he has no Power, but the Judges, who pass Sentence upon the Criminals, after a legal Probation; If says our Author one of *Buchanan*'s Scholars in St. *Leonard*'s College should argue thus, he deserved to be whipt; For how ridiculous is it to say, a King by the Advice of his wise Counsellors enacts a Law, and gives his Royal Sanction to it? therefore he has no Power in making that Law, or giving the Sanction to it, he permits the Judges to pass Sentence in all criminal Cases, therefore he divests himself of all Authority. Here our Author wishes heartily, that before so great and so learned a Man as *Buchanan* had wrote upon a Subject of this Nature, he had studied the Laws, of which he is not only ignorant, but likewise of the very Nature and Constitution of all humane Societies, when he asserts, that a good King should be not only inexorable, and a good Law never altered, which is repugnant to Reason, and the common Good of Mankind; for as the Lawyers say, *Summum jus est summa injuria*, and a good King must not always stand by the strict Letter of the Law, but according to the Circumstances of Times, Persons and Places, consider the Equity

Equity of the Thing, and not what the Law strictly requires, and therefore the *Romans* had a honourary Magistrat appointed for that Purpose; and says our Author, If Laws cannot be supplied, altered, corrected or changed, it was in vain, for *Buchanan* to write either of the Power of the People, King or Laws, for we should have been eternally tied up, to live according to the Laws and Customs of our Predecessors.

In the 17 Chapter our Author shows, how vastly *Buchanan* is mistaken, in his Notions concerning a Tyrant and a King: For a Tyrant, says he, according to the Etymology of the Word, is so called, because in ancient Times they lived in Towers and fenced Places, they being such worthy Persons in popular Governments, as defended themselves, by the Assistance of their Friends, against the Insults of the Populacy, and by that Means brought them to a more regular Government, as being nearer to that of a Monarchy; and accordingly we find the first Tyrants were the wisest and best Men among the Antients. Thus *Pittacus* and *Periander*, were both of them reckoned amongst the seven wise Men of *Greece*, and the one was Tyrant of *Mytilene*, and the other of *Corinth*, and *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, was one of the greatest Men of the Age, none showing more Moderation, Justice and Equity in his Government than he did; neither were they ashamed of the Title given them, for *Plato*, in his Letters to *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, gives him that Compellation, and he assumes it to himself, in his Returns to *Plato*; so that when *Buchanan* says, that the only Distinction betwixt a Tyrant and a King was, that a King's Government was mild, according to the Laws, whereas a Tyrant was above, and contrary to the Laws, he contradicts all ancient Histories, as witness several of the *Sicilian* Tyrants, who reigned very mildly and wisely; but when their Successors oppressed their Subjects, and became licentious in their Ways and Actions, then the name of Tyrant, which was a Title of Honour, Virtue and Respect, became odious to the People, and the bad Kings who imitated them were called Tyrants, for the Kingly Government, as we have laid, was long before this Government was ever so much as known in the World; but, says *Buchanan*, those who become Tyrants, ought to be looked upon as a Species of Animals, distinct from Mankind, like those Boars and Wolves that infest a Country, which not only the whole Body of the People, but every individual Man has the Liberty to shoot and kill, and not only them, but their Cubs likewise. This, says our Author, is the destroying of all Government, yea, even the popular Government it self, where the principal Law was, *Privilegia ne irrogante de capite, civis nisi per maximum comitiatum olosque, quos censores in partibus populi locassent ne ferunto*; but 'tis plain, that *Buchanan*'s Meaning here is, that every one had Liberty to kill the Queen, whom he calls a Tyrant, and the Royal Infant her Son; and then he asks *Buchanan*, whether she or they acted most like Tyrants;

rants, in the whole Course of their Actions, from the Beginning of her Reign :

Quorum (says he) *animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit.*

In the 18th Chapter, our Author examines what *Buchanan* says of the *Lex Regia*, by which, as the Lawyers affirm, the whole Power of the People is so transferred to their Princes, that whatever the Prince pleases has the Strength and Force of a Law; so that whatsoever (says *Ulpian*) (*a*) the Emperor orders, either by a Letter or Subscription, or knowingly decrees, or plainly pronounces or commands by an Edict, is a Law. And this Law, (says *Livy*) was from the very first Foundation of the City. And here our Author observes, That if *Buchanan* had known any thing about the Constitution or Government of his own Country, of which he pretends to write, he might have saved himself a deal of needless Trouble that he has put himself to, by denying that ever the *Scots* were subject to the *Roman* Laws: But instead of this, he goes about to destroy the Force of this Law, by a great many Shifts, in which he shows himself entirely ignorant in the Laws; and at length falls foul upon *Justinian*, for having inserted it among his Laws, and accuses him of his Ingratitude to *Belisarius*. But our Author says, that he wonders that he did not accuse him of Popery and Idolatry, since the *Romish* Faith is established by his Laws.

In the 19th Chapter our Author examines *Buchanan's Assertion*, *That from Fergus I's Time till Kenneth III. all our Kings were chosen by the Suffrages of the People, who had likewise the Power of Depositing them when they transgressed the Laws.* This (says he) is not only contrary to all our Histories, but even to his own, for all the People swore inviolable Allegiance to King *Fergus I.* and his Successors; but he dying, and leaving only two Children behind him, who, by reason of their Nonage, were not capable of the Government: Whereupon *Feritharis* their Uncle took the Government upon him, and made a Law, That whilst the Children of their Kings were Infants, one of their Kindred, who was judged most accomplished for the Government, should sway the Sceptre in their Behalf; and if he died, then the Succession of the Kingdom should descend to the former King's Sons. And this last Law, which cost the Nation so much Blood, as it appears from our Histories, is what *Buchanan* would make the first Constitution of our Government; whereas the first Law was the *Lex Regia* amongst us; and the other, a lasting Foundation for Usurpations, Civil Wars and Murders, till that wise and valiant Prince King *Kenneth III.* abrogated it. And the *Roman Popular* Government, which *Buchanan* seems still to have had his Eye upon, from their first shaking off the Monarchical Government, till their embracing it again under *Augustus*, they were in constant Confusions; in so much, as I have ob-

observed in the II Volume of this Work, that within the Space of 134 Years, they had 37 Changes of Government. Besides (says our Author) granting, which is absolutely false, that King *Kenneth* should have altered the Monarchy from being Elective to be Hereditary; yet when the *English* conquered *Scotland*, *Robert Bruce* drove them out of it, and conquered them a-new again: So that he did not owe his Right to the Suffrages of the People; nor can any of his Descendants have any other Right but what they derive from him, and consequently, are Absolute Monarchs.

In the 20th Chapter, our Author examines what *Buchanan* says concerning King *Kenneth's* Hereditary Right: This (says he) was either obtained by Force of Arms, or by a fraudulent Paction with the People: If by Force of Arms, then the People have Reason to shake off the Yoke whenever it is in their Power, for the Law of Self-defence is a known Law of Nature; if by a fraudulent Paction and Circumvention, then they ought to be restored to their former Liberties; for if Tutors are answerable by Law, for whatever they do in Prejudice of Minors; much more Kings are answerable for what they do against the People who made them. To this our Author answers, That 'tis very true that the Law of Self-defence is a Law of Nature; but 'tis likewise true, that we are all born in Servitude, and to be subservient to one another; for tho' it be natural for the Brute Beasts to defend themselves from the Injuries they receive from one another, yet this brutal Way of acting, amongst Men, would destroy all Society. The Notions of Right and Wrong do not belong to Beasts, and there can be no Right where there is no Communion; and what natural Communion can be betwixt us and the Brute Beasts? The Principles of all humane Society are Reason and Speech, which they have not: Because it is natural to the Brute Beasts to lie promiscuously together, is the same to be esteemed a Law of Nature amongst Men? Because the wild Beasts resist the Hunters by the Law of Self-defence, theretor are the People to resist the Magistrats when they are putting the Laws in Execution, yea even unjustly? Because Beasts naturally eat, drink and sleep at pleasure, therefor, shall the same Right of Nature be a Law amongst Mankind? No surely, for these Things are no ways agreeable to humane Society, and far less to the Divine Law of the Gospel, where we are commanded to forgive Injuries, and to be submissive to the Superior Powers. Besides that we find, by the Laws, That a few Years Possession gives a Right, even to that which has been acquired by Force. And *Cassiodorus* calls *Theodosius* the Elder's Law of Prescription after 30 Years, the Protection of all humane Society. So (says our Author) granting that King *Kenneth* had by mere Force got the Government hereditarily settled in his Family, yet now to challenge it, is against all Law, it being prescribed; and in stead of being a Repelling of Force by Force, 'twould be a Repelling of Right by Wrong. Then as to the other Part of *Buchanan's* Argument, of King *Kenneth's* fraudulent Circumyeening

of the People; our Author asks *Buchanan*, Who shall be Judge in this Affair? It cannot be the People, for the Laws permit not the same Person to be both Judge and Party: And the King, for the same Reason, cannot be it; therefore none but God can be Judge, who is only Superior to the King. Then as to the Claim of the People's Right; it prescribes in a few Years; for by the old Laws it was in Four Years, and by *Constantine's* Laws, in Five at farthest. How then can they claim Restitution from King *Kenneth*, after more than six hundred Years that he and his Successors have been in Possession of the Kingdom. But granting that they came to this by a fraudulent Paction with the People; yet, as the Lawyers say, Prescription has a greater Power and Authority than Paction; for a Right to a Land cannot be acquired by Paction, but by Time it may. The Right of a Feu can prescribe, which cannot be alienated by Paction. Wherefore, if the Kingdom came to King *Kenneth's* Children by a fraudulent Paction, it belongs to them now by a long Prescription: So that whatever Way they came to it, at this Day, by all the Laws, it belongs so to them, that they cannot be deprived of it without a manifest Violation of the Rights of Mankind.

In the 21 Chapter, our Author examines what *Buchanan* says, in the Case of a King's having a Son, that is either a Fool or a mad Man, such as these (says he) cannot govern us, they wanting Governors themselves, and indeed says he, such are excluded by the Laws, but he names not what Laws; and our Author appeals to any that is known in the Laws, if ever there was any Law, that deprived the Sons of Kings of their Father's Kingdom, that were either mad or foolish, in the Case of private Families we find it quite otherwise, and so provident have the Law-givers been, in the Case of mad, foolish and prodigal Children, that they have expressly provided Tutors and Curators for them, to protect them in their Birth-right, and to administrate their Affairs; and this we find to be the Case of Kings, as well as of private Persons: Thus *Charles the VI of France*, falling into an Inclination of Mind, he was put under Tutory for several Years, but none during his Life presumed to ask his Kingdom, tho' he had several Children, and other Princes of the Blood, who were sufficiently qualified for it: But not to insist upon the Instances of *Cambyses*, King of *Persia*, *Orestes* King of *Mycena* in *Argea*, and others, who were really mad, and yet never deprived of their Kingdoms. Our Author asks *Buchanan*, if none but Persons of consummated Virtue and Knowledge should be Kings? Why are not Infants excluded from being Kings, who have no more Use of their Reason than mad Men or Fools have? And yet we find Instances of Infant Kings, in all the Kingdoms of the World, as our Author shows from their Histories, and *Buchanan* and his Party were then under the Government of an Infant King; and it is very well known says our Author, that all the Lawyers that have wrote upon this Subject acknowledge

knowledge, that Infants are not excluded from their Nonage or Want of Reason, but are allowed Tutors or Curators.

Our Author having sufficiently refuted *Buchanan's* Notions, concerning the first Rite of Kingly Government, and the Power of the People in creating Kings: In the next Place he comes to examine in the 22 Chapter, the Power that *Buchanan* gives to the People, 'in punishing Kings, wicked tyrannical Princes, says he, have been some of them banished by the People, others thrown into Prison, and others put to Death; and when their Children or nearest Heirs came to reign, they were never challenged for what they had done. To this our Author replies, that 'tis true, that such Instances have been of rebellious Subjects against their Kings, as it is false that they had any Right to do it, or were not punished for it, then he examines the Instances that *Buchanan* gives from our Histories; for proving this Power of the People in punishing Kings, and the first is from the Custom of the *Highland* Clans in the Islands of *Scotland*, who elect their Chiftains; and if they do not govern them, according to their Advice and Counsel, they disown them, and take themselves to another. This says our Author is a very gross Mistake, and an imposing upon Mankind; for the *Highland* Chiftains are as absolute and hereditary in their own private Families, as any Monarchs in the World, Yea, such Slaves are their Followers to them, that they often follow them against their own native Prince. A second Argument of *Buchanan's* is from the Murder of several of our Kings by the People, but all these Murders were against the Laws of God, and not from any Right in the People; yea, so far were the People from claiming it, that they were all committed by private Conspiracies. His third Argument is from the Instances of *John Baliol* and King *Robert Bruce*; but we shall not insist upon this, we having fully considered it, in the first Volume of this Work: To all which our Author adds the Consideration of *Bruce's* not succeeding by the Choice of the People, but by the Assistance of such of his Friends as joined him, and conquered the Nation from the *English*, and for which, by that Right, it ought to belong to him and his Successors. *Buchanan's* last Argument is from the Instance of King *James the 3d*, whom the People very justly punished says he, and the States of Parliament approved of what they had done. To this our Author answers, by giving the Character of King *James*, whose only Fault was, that for the encouraging of Learning, he put more Respect upon the Men of Letters in his Time, who were generally of mean Parentage, than upon his Nobility who were ignorant, for which they conspired, and rose in open Rebellion against him, tho more than the third Part of the People were on the King's Side, and the Parliament that approved of their Proceedings was constitute of the Rebels themselves, who had forced the young Prince his Son to head them against his Father; and to concur with them in what they have done; for which; when he

came to Age, he gave public Acknowledgment of his Sorrow and Repentance. And for *Buchanan* (says our Author) to bring this for an Argument of their legal Proceedings, is the utmost Piece of Impudence.

From our own Histories, *Buchanan* proceeds to Foreign Histories to show the Power of the People over Kings: But our Author makes it appear, that he is as much mistaken in them as in our own Histories. In the 23d Chapter *Buchanan* acknowledges indeed, That the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* were not subject to the People, but to God, from whom they alone had their Power, and therefore could only be punished by God. But (says our Author) is not this contrary to the Doctrine both of the Old and New Testament, God himself having declared, *That by Him all Kings reign*; and St. Paul, *That there is no Power but of God?* But (proceeds *Buchanan*) it is quite otherwise in those Kingly Governments that have their Power from the People, such as that under the *Prætors*, *Decemviri* and *Dictators* of *Rome*, the Dukes of *Venice*, and that of *Scotland*. To this our Author appeals to all that have ever read any thing of these Governments, if any of them has the least Relation to that of *Scotland*; but he still proceeds in his wilful Ignorance, in confounding the Regal and Popular Government together. After this our Author answers two Instances that *Buchanan* gives of the Power of the People over their Kings in Regal Governments; the First of these is from the *French* History, where the States deposed *Childeric*, the last of King *Clovis's* Race, and made *Pepin* King in his Place; but the true Matter of Fact was, that *Pepin* having made himself Master of *France*, the *French*, that they might have some Excuse for themselves, sent to Pope *Zachary*, and *Boniface*, Bishop of *Mentz*, to know their Minds, whether or not they should acknowledge *Childeric* their lawful King, or *Pepin* the Conqueror; both the Pope and the Bishop were for the strongest Party, and gave their Opinions for *Pepin*, hoping that he would assist the Popedome, which was then almost ruined, by the Divisions in *Italy*; and they were not deceived, for *Pepin* not only assisted the Pope, but was the main Instrument of raising it to its present Greatness, as we have shown in the Life of S. *Boniface*, in the first Volume of this Work, and poor *Childeric* was thrust into a Monastery: Besides, tho' the People had assumed their Power to themselves, which they never had, says our Author; yet one Example can never have the Force of a Law, and the Laws are not to be examined by Examples, for we are not to look to what is done, but to what ought to be done. His other Instance is in *Christiern*, King of *Denmark*, who was not deposed by the unanimous Consent and Power of the People, as *Buchanan* supposes, but by a Faction of the Nobility and Clergy, the Consequence of which was, that both *Denmark* and *Sweden*, had the Misfortune to be made the Scene of a confused and fatal Anarchy, and to groan under the tyrannical Dominion of as many Sovereigns,

raigns as there were Lords that could raise any Forces, or were Masters of a Castle or Fort: Every private Quarrel was the Occasion of a War, and the contending Parties made use of the Name of King *Cantuſon*, his Competitor, and King *Christiern*, to cover their Rising up in Arms with a Pretence of Authority, tho' at the bottom they did not own the Right or Interest of either of these Princes. And during the Time that this Scene of Disorder lasted, the Kingdoms were perpetually distract with intestine Wars; and the People were so weary of a Liberty that exposed them to so many terrible Miseries, that they demanded a King with extraordinary Eagerness and Importunity, preferring an easy Subjection to a wild and troublesome Freedom. And this (says our Author) is the Case of all Elective Monarchies, as we see at this Day in *Poland*, that affords so many bloody Tragedies in the choosing of their Kings; and which shews the Excellency of an Hereditary Monarchy.

In the 24th Chapter our Author examines *Buchanan's* Comparison betwixt the Regal and the Papal Power. The Popes (says *Buchanan*) who are in Power far above all Kings, yet are subjected to the Laws; for by the Council of *Basil* they are subjected to a General Council: Some of them have been deposed, and others have had their Bodies, after they were dead, and their Ashes thrown into the *Tiber*: And why then ought not Kings, who are much inferior to them, be punish'd and subject to the Laws as well as they? The Comparison is ridiculous from the Pen of a *Protestant*: But (says our Author) Is this a Way of Reasoning; Because the enraged Populace have done such and such Things to the Popes, therefore they ought to do them to Kings! 'Tis not the Matter of the present Debate, what has been done, but what ought to be done according to the Laws: Besides, there is no Parity in the Comparison, for the Popes are to be judged by the Church, whom God Almighty has inspired, and promised to assist to the End of the World: But the Kings must be judged by the People, whose Judgements have been always condemned by all the wise Men in the several Ages of the World. The Judgment of the Populace (says *Cicero*) (a) is the very Fountain of all Error: And their Eyes and Ears (says *Socrates*) (b) are the worst Witnesses in the World; they being like a huge brutal Animal, that neither from it self or others is capable of being taught the Truth of Things; yea, so uncapable are they of being wise Judges, that they never fail to persecute and disgrace those that do them any Good: And therefore *Socrates*, *Plato's* Master, says, (c) That because they are not capable of being taught the Difference betwixt Justice and Unjustice, they are not capable of being Judges. And *Phocion*, that prudent and wise Judge amongst the *Athenians*, (d) having one Day pronounced a Sentence which was highly applauded by the People, he turned himself to his Friends, and asked them if he had said any thing that was amiss,

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(a) Tusc. 2 de Fratib. &c in orat. pro Plan. (b) Plato in Alcib. 1 id Criton. & Lib. 6 de Republica (c) in Alcib. 2.
(d) Plut. in Phocion.

suspecting his own Judgment when he found the People approving of it. A great many such Sayings are quoted by our Author from the Ancients; but we shall conclude all with the Saying of a wise and pious Bishop, who being ask'd what was the Thing in the World that most differed from Truth, answered, *The Judgment of the Vulgar.* *Buchanan* having foreseen all this, says, That by the People he understands the Representatives of the People in Parliament; and if they transgress, they are to be judged by the whole People. Thus he is driven to a thousand Shifts, to support his precarious Notions about Government, and would run us (says our Author) to the greatest Confusion and Anarchy imaginable, by devolving all upon the Judgment of the Mob. But this (says our Author) will yet more appear, by examining the first Rise of Parliaments, and their Nature and Constitution amongst us: Which he does in

The 25th Chapter. 'Tis plain from our Histories, That for several Hundreds of Years we had no Parliaments but our Kings; and the *French* having contracted a strict Friendship and Alliance betwixt the two Nations, we by degrees came into a great many of their Customs, and amongst the rest, to that of Calling Parliaments, which signifies no more than a Conference with their Subjects; as it appears from the *Word Parliament*, which, in *French*, signifies *Conference*, for these Princes being willing to rectifie whatever Grievances their Subjects complained of, out of their Royal Clemency called them together to hear their Complaints; and upon their humble Supplications and Intreaties, they made such Laws as they thought fit for their Ease and Relief. And this is plainly the first Rise and Nature of them, for they cannot meet without being called by the King: And all Meetings of the Subjects without the King's Calling of them, both by their Laws and ours, is called *High Treason*; neither can they make any Law but what has the Royal Consent: And the King can approve or reject what he pleases. From which (says our Author) it plainly appears, that the Parliament can claim no Power over their King, their very Being and Constitution depending allanerly on the King's Clemency.

In the 26th Chapter our Author examines and refutes what *Buchanan* says concerning the Coronation Oath. From the first Foundation of our Monarchy, (says *Buchanan*) our Kings have always, at their Inaugurations, sworn to the People to observe the Laws and Customs of their Predecessors: By which it plainly appears, that they hold their Crown of the People; and upon the Breach of their Coronation Oath, they can transfer it to another. To this our Author replies, That what he says of the Oath's being taken by all our Kings from the first Foundation of the Monarchy, is false; for the First who took this Oath was King *Gregory*, who flourished more than a Thousand and two hundred Years after the Foundation of the Monarchy: Neither was this imposed upon him by the People, but a voluntary Oath of his own, which he took out

out of mere Zeal, and by which he bound himself only to a strict Observation of the Laws, both Spiritual and Temporal; for he could not bind his Posterity, who, by the Law of Succession, were as absolute as he: Neither did he or any of his Successors swear unto the People, but unto God Almighty, from whom only they hold their Crown and Sceptre; and as a Proof of this, they swore to the Bishop, who anointed them in God's Name and by his Authority. Besides (says our Author) by the old Oath, they swore to maintain the ancient Catholic Faith of the Church of *Rome*, and the Laws that were enacted for that End: So that if this Oath was obligatory upon them and their Posterity, they had caused their young King perjure himself in taking a contrary Oath, for the Supporting of the Reformed Religion.

In the 27th Chapter, our Author refutes *Buchanan's* Interpretation of *Samuel's* Words concerning the Office of a King. The People (says *Buchanan*) foolishly desir'd a King, when they had *Samuel* who was their lawful King; and they would not only have a King, but a Tyrant too, for they would have such an one as the Nations about them had, who were all Tyrants; for the People of *Asia* were a mean dispirited People, and only fit for Tyranny: And never was it known by History that they had lawful Kings. To this our Author answers, That 'tis very surprizing to see a Man of *Buchanan's* Parts affirming that *Samuel* was the lawful King of *Israel*, when not only all the Catholic Writers, but even the Protestant Writers say, That *Samuel* was only one of their Judges; for the Jewish Government, till then, was a Theocracy, God himself being their King; and therefore he says unto *Samuel* in the same Chapter, *For they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* And the Scripture is always plain in distinguishing betwixt the Kings of *Israel* and the Judges of *Israel*. Besides (says our Author) can it be imagined, that if *Samuel* had been their lawful King, that they would have made choice of him to choose them another? Neither is it to be thought, that God here intends that the Kings that should reign over them should be Tyrants; for that were to accuse *David*, *Solomon*, and all the other good Kings they had, of Tyranny. And as to what he says of the mean and slavish Spirits, and of the tyrannical Government of the *Asiatic* Nations, he shows himself ignorant in the Histories of these Nations. And *Cicero*, *Solinus*, and all the other wise Men amongst the Ancients, have extolled them for their Humanity, Civility and Ingenuity, above the most of all other Nations in the World.

In the same Chapter our Author shows, how *Buchanan* perverts several other Passages of Scripture, as particularly that of St. Paul, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation:* All this

(says *Buchanan*) is to be understood of good, and not of wicked Kings and Tyrants. To this our Author answers, that there is not the least Shadow for such an Interpretation, either from the Apostle's Words, or from the Practice of Christ and his Apostles; for we find, that our Blessed Lord and Saviour submitted to the wicked *Pontius Pilate*, who caused crucify him, and reproved *Peter*, for resisting the wicked Rulers who apprehended him, and all the Apostles submitted to their Persecutors, and that not for Fear, but for Conscience Sake: And their immediate Followers and Disciples, the Primitive Christians did the like, under the Heathen Emperors (a). And this Doctrine of Resistance, is against the whole Tenor of our Blessed Lord and Saviour's Life and Doctrine. But *Buchanan* finding the New Testament not so fit for his Purpose, as the Old; has Recourse to the Example of *Jehu's* cutting off *Joram* (b), and the whole Royal Progeny, for the Sins of their House: To this our Author replies, that *Joram* was not killed whilst he was King, but after that *Jehu* was anointed King in his Place, by the Prophet, and special Command of God.

In the 28 Chapter, our Author refutes three Arguments that *Buchanan* brings, against the Power of Kings, the first is, Since God Almighty, without any Distinction of Persons, orders that they should be punished for their Wickedness, according to his Holy Law, why Kings should be exempt more than others he does not see. To this our Author replies, that God has expressly declared, that their Punishment belongs only to him, for by him Kings reign, and the Hearts of Kings are in his Hands, to turn them as he pleaseth; but, says *Buchanan*, the punishing of Vice is a Part of the Kingly Office, so the Office of the Hangman or Executioner, is a Part of the Kingly Office, but none will think because of that, he himself is exempt from all Punishment, when he transgresses the Laws. To this our Author replies, that to order the Laws to be put in Execution against Offenders, is indeed a Part of the Kingly Office, because there can be no Empire without Jurisdiction (c); but to put them in Execution himself, is no Part of his Office, for by the same Argument, says he, it would follow, that the Devil's punishing of those that God condemns to eternal Flames, is a Part of the Divine Jurisdiction and Empire, which none but a Mad-man will affirm; the Kingly Office consists in commanding, prohibiting, and permitting what he pleases; but the Hangman's Office, is only to put his Laws in Execution, which has nothing either of real or mixt Empire or Jurisdiction in it. But says our Author, this unmannerly and ridiculous Expression of *Buchanan's*, only shows his inveterate Malice and Spite at all Kings whatsoever. *Buchanan's* next Argument is, That if Tyrants reign by God's Command and Approbation, then God is the Author of Evil, as if God's being the Author of Government, (says

(a) Euseb. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 27. Nicoph. I. 3. C. 17. Tertul. in Apol. C. 2. (b) King's Book. 2. C. 9. and 20. (c) L. 3. D. de juris om. Jud. Glos. ad L. 3; D. de offic. ejus cui mand. est juris.

(says our Author) should make him the Cause of all Mismanagement, and wicked Actions, that the Governors or Princes of this World are guilty of. And no less ridiculous and absurd is the third and last Argument, *viz.* St. Paul, says Buchanan, commands us to be subject to all Powers whatsoever; that is to say, Citizens to their Magistrats, Soldiers to their superior Officers, &c. But none will deny, but that all of them can be punished, when they transgress the Laws. In Answer to this our Author says, that he is ashamed, to see a Man of Buchanan's Parts and Learning, argue so foolishly and childishly, as if he knew not, that all the inferior Magistrats are subject to, and can be punished by the supreme Magistrat, who is answerable to none, but to God; for by all the Laws in the World (*a*), it was never known, that the Inferior was allowed to correct and punish his Superior; but on the contrary.

In the 29th Chapter, our Author examines Buchanan's Notions concerning Tyranny, and shows, that there are two Sorts of Tyrants, the first are these who are lawful Kings, but abuse their Power, to whom we are bound to be subject, and to whom the primitive Christians subjected themselves, with all the Alacrity and Cheerfulness imaginable; as we learn from their Writings: The other Sort of Tyrants are your Usurpers, whom the *Gracian* and *Roman* Laws allowed every one to kill, and to whom the Ancients promised great Rewards (*b*) for killing them, whereas they were ordered to be subject, and to obey their lawful Prince (*c*), whether his Commands were just or unjust.

In the 30th Chapter our Author shows, what a wretched Representation Buchanan gives of the Christian Religion: When *Paul*, (says he) commanded the Christians to be subject to the Superior Powers, it was in Opposition to a Notion that then had crept in amongst them, that they being redeemed by the Son of God, and governed by his Holy Spirit, were not bound to be subject to the Empire of one Man. Besides (says he) the Christians at that Time, were neither numerous, powerful or rich. Thus (says our Author) he makes St. Paul oppose a Notion of his own Contrivance, and for which, he has no Authority, and makes the Apostle accommodate his Doctrine to their Circumstances, which St. Irenaeus (*d*) tells us, was the Doctrine of the *Gnosticks* of old, who said, That our Saviour and his Apostles had taught some Things, that were not strictly true in themselves, but accommodate to the Circumstances of the Times and Persons, as if the Laws of God were like the Laws of Men, variable, and accommodated to the Times. And as for what he says, of the Christians obeying, because they were not powerful and rich enough to resist. Our Author shows, from the Writings of the Primitive Christians (*e*), that they had a different Notion of the Apostle's Meaning, and that they looked upon the Doctrine, of being subject to the Superior Powers, as an Essential Article of their Holy Religion, and of an eternal Obligation;

(*a*) *Can. qui refutat.* 11. qu. 13. (*b*) *Vide plut. in Arat. & Timot.* (*c*) *L. 1 de oper. nov. max.* (*d*) *Lib. 3. Cap. 4.*
(*e*) *Vide S. Cyprian. Epis. 8. Testim ad Scapul. Cap. 4. &c contra Judaeos. Cap 1.*

tion; and so far were they from resisting when they had Power, that *Tertullian* tells us (a); That they suffered themselves to be persecuted for their Religion, when they were as numerous and powerful as the *Romans* themselves, but that they submitted for Conscience Sake, being commanded so to do by their Lord and Master; and it was a wise Saying of *Seneca* (b) *Rex si nocentem puniat, cedendum est Justitiae, si innocentem, cedendum est fortuna.*

In the 31st. Chapter, our Author, after he has answered some trifling Objections of *Buchanan's*, taken from the old Testament, he shews from our Histories, how that all the Barons and Lords have their Lands and Dignities from our Kings, that they constituted all the legal Courts in the Nation; and that by all our ancient Laws, it was high Treason to own any other Superior but the King; so that an absolute Monarchy is the very Nature and Essence of our Constitution; and since it is an Axiom, both in the Divine and Humane Laws (c), that an Inferior can never judge a Superior; the Parliament, whose Members have all their Lands and Dignities from the King, and who are constituted by the King, can never be the King's Judge.

In the 32d Chapter, our Author answers *Buchanan's* Argument from the Nature of the King's Office. That the People is better than the King (says *Buchanan*) is evident, because a King is made by God for the Good of the People, and if there were no People, there would be no King, for there would be no use for him: So when the King is call'd to be judged before the People, the Inferior is call'd before the Superior. By this way of Reasoning (says our Author) which he brought from St. *Leonard's* College, the Sheep is better than the Shepherd, the Scholars, than their Master; the Sick than the Physician, the Pupil, than the Tutor, &c. for if 'twere not for the Sheep there would be no Shepherd, no Master, but for the Scholars, no Physician, but for the Sick, no Tutor, but for the Pupil, &c. But the most learned *Faber the Lawyer* (d) has proven the Necessity of this Superiority of Kings over the People in all Cases St. *Augustine* and St. *Jerom* expressly agree to the same Doctrine (e), and all the Doctors of the Primitive Church.

In the 33d Chapter our Author shews from History, the fatal Consequences and bloody Tragedies that have followed upon the dividing of the Supreme Power; according to that of the Poet, (f)

*Summo dulcissimum
Stare loco; sociisque comes discordia regnis.*

He likewise shows, from the Nature of Government, and the Authority of the Learned in the Laws and Politics, that 'tis impossible to lodge the Supreme Power in the People, without falling into Anarchy and the greatest Confusion in the World.

In the 34th and last Chapter, our Author summs up the whole Con-

(a) in *Apologia Cap. 37.* (b) *Lib. 2r de iis, Cap. 30.* (c) *Can. Clericus & Canon Majorum 2. qu. 7.* (d) *Populus, Nom. 3. ¶ Sed & pleb: & ¶ Ex nou scripto, Num. 8. Instit. de iure Nat. Gent. & Civ.* (e) *In Psal. LI. Tibi soli peccavi.*
(f) *Stat. Papin. Lib. 1. Theobald:*

Controversy, and shews the mutual Duties of Subjects and Kings, and that all Kings should be fear'd and obey'd by their Subjects; but they are only answerable to God for their Transgressions, according to that of the Poet;

*Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsis imperium est Jovis.*

Queen *Elizabeth* having struck off the Head of *Mary Queen of Scotland* in the Year 1587, as we have shewn in the Life of that Illustrious Prince, our Author, the very next Year, published in French, at *Antwerp*, the History of her Martyrdom, which we have frequently cited in the History of her Life: To which he has annexed a Collection of Poems, in Latin, French and Italian, upon both those Queens, by several Hands: In the Life of Queen *Mary* we have inserted some of our Author's upon her; and here we shall give one or two of his upon Queen *Elizabeth*, by which the Reader may judge of the rest.

*In tetrica ac truculentissima Anglorum Regine, Elizabethae
Tenderæ, Anagramma.*

*Elizabeta Teudera,
Vade, Jezabel tetra.
12, 16, 13, 14, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1, 2, 10, 11, 8, 15, 9.*

Tetraastichon.

*Uxor Abab, Jezabel, quondam sevissima pestis,
Sanctos occidens, Tartara nigra petit:
Sic tu Tetra Dei qua Christos tangis inique,
Æternis, Jezabel, vade tremenda rogis.*

Epitaphium Elizabethæ Titheræ, Anglæ.

*Q*UAM nata stupro suscepit Avunculus, & quam
Incestu triplici, pro genetrice soror.
Nominis ancipitem Cœli produxit in auras,
Picquiririo prolem qua sine matre tulit.
Multis fossa viris, Veneris lasciva sacerdos;
At nexus casti libera conjugii.
Ne male, cum vellet, tribados foret emula Sapphus,
Turbaretve sacros justa querela jocos.
Hostis Cœlicolum, Patria crudelis Erinnys,
Et fidei & fama prodiga, parca boni.
Machorum voto Dominam mactavit, & aras
Polluit insonti sanguine turpis anus.
Numinis irati flagrum, sine Numine vixit
Tarda nimis, Stygiis præda recepta rogis:
Dum luat insana damnata pericula vita,
Hic jacet Elizabeth, si bene fecit, habet.

N n n n n 2

In

In the Year 1598, our Author published a Manual of Devotions at *Poitiers*, dedicated to *James Beaton* Archbishop of *Glasgow*. The Occasion of his writing this Book, which consists of Prayers and Poems upon Divine Subjects, was, That he usually read the most of the Night, and had thereby so weakened his Eyes, that he could hardly know his Children if they were but ten Foot distant from him: For which the Archbishop advised him to a more useful and safe Way to employ his Time, which was in frequent and fervent Prayers to God.

In the Year 1606, our Author published at *Paris* a Poem upon King *James VI's* Inauguration, which he dedicates to the King; and two Years after he published his Meditations upon the fiftieth Psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, which he dedicates to the Bishop of *Glasgow*. In the Year 1609 he published at *Poitiers*, a Collection of all his Latin Poems, which he dedicates to the Chancellor of *France*. And in the Year 1612, he published at *Poitiers*, his 3d Book *De vinculo Religionis & Imperii*. And these are the Books which our Author has published, and which were collected altogether in one Volume in 4to, and published at *Paris* in 1644, with his Life, wrote by the famous *Gabriel Naudens*, Bibliothecar to Cardinal *Mazarin*; who highly commends him for his great Knowledge in the Laws, his Loyalty, and Zeal for his native Prince and Country, his great Prudence and Sagacity in his managing of public Affairs, his exemplary Life and Conversation, and his profound Knowledge in all the Parts of Literature; in which, if he was not above, he was equal to any of the Age he lived in. Much to the same Purpose are the Elogiums given him by *George Con* (a), *Dempster* (b), *Barclay* (c) and *Widdrington* (d). The same *Naudens* tells us, That he wrote a Supplement to *Hector Bois*'s History, which he lived not to finish, and which is still in Ms.

He died in 1623, in the 74th Year of his Age, leaving eleven Children behind him, 4 Sons (of which one attained to his Father's Senatorian Dignity at *Poitiers*) and 7 Daughters. He was most splendidly interred at *Poitiers*, in St. Porcharit's Church, beside his Brother *George*, under a Marble Monument, with this Inscription upon it:

D. M.

HAVE, *Viator, & metuere oculis Saxum.* *Hic Adamus Blackwoodius, nobilis Scotor, deposuit jacet, qui nunquam jacuit vivus, & adhuc staret, si virtuti parceret Parca.* *Filius Wilhelmi, minorum Majorum serie in Caledonia noti; quem nobilem, si natus non fuisset, praestitissimi filius.* *Nepos Roberti Reidai, Orcadum Episcopi; Secretioris Scottie Consilii Principis, ad Summos Pontifices Adrianum VI. Clementem VII. Paulum III. & Reges Christianissimos, Franciscum I. & Henricum II. & Henricum Britanniae VIII. sapius Legati.* *Onerassent alium tot magna nomina, Ipsi fuere ad virtutem Incitamentum, ut huic etiam alteri Themistocli, togati illius Militiadis trophya somnum perturbarent.* *Vir literariorum Literatura, & scientiarum ferme omnium ac linguarum scient, ut videlicet, Apollinis lauros militaris familia palmis adjungeretur.* *Magna Mariae Stuartæ per quam ebarus, ejusdem sanctioris Consilii adfessor.* *Senator Pittaviniensis & Scabinus: in gerendis maximis rebus & legationibus ad Principes, praeclare versatus.* *Ut agnoscas quota pars Illius hic lateat, qui Scotiam, Angliam & Galbam suo nomine compleverit.* *Vixit annos 74. per omnes honorum & virtutum gradus exaltos: Religionis studioffissimus, Justitia tenax, Virtutum amans, Officiorum immodicus, Fidei & observantie erga Principes retinientissimus.* *Talem esse nimurum oportebat, eius, in tam perversa aetate, mors visa est omnibus immatura.* *Obiit Anno Salutis MDCXXII. permuliis summa eruditiois viris exitiali, quasi labaret Literatorum Republica, tanto fukimento concussa.* *Sic omnes morimur, pauci sic vivimus.* *Vale & perge.*

THE

(a) *In vita Marie Stuartæ, & in Primitiis Scoticis*, P. 35. (b) *Hist. Eccles.* P. 116. (c) *De Regno & Regali Potestate*, *advocat. Monarch.* P. 2. (d) *In Apolog. Card. Bellarm.* pro iure Princip. P. 198, 199.

The Catalogue of his Works:

- I. *ADVERSUS Georgii Buchanani Dialogum de Jure Regni apud Scotos, pro regibus apologia*, Pict. 1580. in 8vo.
- II. *De iure Religionis & Imperii, Liber tertius*, Pict. 1612. in 8vo.
- III. *De iure Religionis & Imperii, Lib. 2. Parisiis, in 8vo. 1575.*
- IV. *In psalmum Davidis quinquagesimum, cuius initium est, Miserere mei, Deus*, Pict. 1608. in 8vo.
- V. *Sanctorum precationum praemia*, Pict. 1598. in 8vo.
- VI. *Varii generis poemata*, Pict. 1609. in 8vo.
- VII. *Jacobi I. Magnæ Britanniæ, seu Scotangliæ & Hiberniæ Regis inauguratio*, Parisiis, in 4to. 1606.
- VIII. *Martyre de Maria Stuart Reyne d'Escoffe*, en Anvers, in 8vo. 1588.

*Omnia Blackvodæi opera hactenus enumerata, in unum collecta
cura Gabrielis Naudæi, prodierunt Parisiis in 4to. 1644.*

T H E

Life of *JAMES BONAVENTURA*^{An. 1621.} *HEPBURN*, of the Order of the Minims.

THIS Gentleman was born in the Shire of *East-lothian*, His Birth and
Parents. upon the 14 Day of *July* 1573. and was Fourth Son to *Thomas Hepburn*, Rector of old *Hamstock*; for in some manuscript Observations, writ by his Father, and now in my Custody, I find this following Register of the Births of all his Children (a).

1. *Die 14 Januarii, sub horam nonar matutinam, An. 1562. natus est Thomas Hepburn.*
2. *Die 6 Maii, hora septima post meridiem, natus est Georgius Hepburn, An. 1564.*
3. *Die 10 Augusti, anno 1567. paulo ante meridiem, natus est Alexander Hepburn.*
4. *Die 14 Julii, sub horam decimam matutinam, An. 1573. natus est Jacobus Hepburn.*
5. *Die 1 hora 3. pomeridiana, 17 Augusti, 1575. natus est Theophilus Hepburn.*
6. *Die 8 Junii, 1578. hora nona matutina, natus est Joannes Hepburn.*

O o o o o

7. Die

(a) Ms. History of his Life, now ex.

An. 1621.

7. *Die 8 6 Octobris, 1579. sub horam 5 matutinam, natus est Robertus Hepburn.*
8. *Die 13 Julii, 1581. hora paulo plus secunda pomeridiana, natus est Patricius Hepburn.*
9. *Die 8 3 Julii, 1583. paulo ante horam secundam matutinam, natus est Franciscus Hepburn.*

His Education.

He had his Education at the University of St. Andrews, where, after he had finished his Studies in Humanity and Philosophy, he applied himself to the Study of the Oriental Languages, in which he made such a wonderful Progress, that none of his Age was comparable to him: His Father brought him up in the Protestant Religion, but being induced to go over to the Communion of the Church of Rome, he went over to France and Italy; and from thence he travelled through Turkey, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and most of the eastern Countries; by which Means he attained to such a Perfection in all the Languages, that it is said, that he could have travelled over the whole Earth, and spoke to each Nation in their own Language: But whatever Exaggeration may be in this, it may be said without any Vanity, that there never was a Nation that produced a Person that was Master of so many Languages as he was Master of; as I shall make appear by an authentick Document in the following Account of his Life.

He enters in
to the Order
of the Minims.

Upon his Return from his Travels, he enters into the Order of the Minims at Avignon. The first Founder of this Order, was St. Francis de Paula, who built towards the Year 1467. a small Monastery near to the City of that Name, where several religious People were brought up under a Rule of his own Contrivance; which was approven of by Pope Sixtus IV. Pope Alexander VI. and by Pope Julius II. At first they were called the Hermites of St. Francis, and afterwards Minims from their calling themselves, out of their Humility, *Minimi Fratres Eremitæ*. After this he lived at Rome for five Years retiredly, in the French Monastery of the Holy Trinity, belonging to this Order, but his eminent Parts having divulg'd his Fame thro' the whole City, he was brought out of his Retirement by Pope Paul V. and made Overseer of all the Oriental Books and Manuscripts that were in the Vatican, in which Station he continued for six Years (a).

Is made Overseer of the Oriental Books and MSS. in the Vatican.

Dempster, who could not but know our Author, since he lived in Italy at the same Time with him, gives us the following Catalogue of his Works, all which, he says, he himself had seen.

An Account
of his Works.

An Hebrew Dictionary, a Chaldaick Dictionary, an Arabick Grammar, this was published at Rome in 4to. in the Year 1591. with the following Title, *Alphabetum Arabicum, & exercitatio lectionis.* A Commentary upon some Psalms, translated from the Hebrew into Latin. Rabbi Solomon the Son of Tsemach, his *Ketuar Malcuth* translated from the Hebrew into Latin. This Book, which Dempster intitles *Diadema Regni*, was printed at Venice, under the Title of *Gloria & Decus Israelis*, and contains Six Homilies or Sermons on the Glory and Privileges of God's chosen People. Two Books writ by Rabbi Aben Ezra, translated from the

(a) Vide Dempster, Hist. Eccles. Lib. 8. Pag. 362.

the Hebrew into *Latin*, the one concerning the mystical Numbers, and the other concerning Seven different Ways of interpreting the sacred Scriptures. This Rabbi *Abraham Awen Ezra*, was one of the most learned Rabbies amongst the Jews, he lived in the Twelfth Century, and died in the Year 1165. He has wrote literal Commentaries on most Part of the Bible, which are printed in the great Bibles of *Venice* and *Basil*; and besides his Commentaries upon the Scripture, he has wrote several Books upon other Subjects, as his *Sepher mosni lescon hakodesh*, that is to say, *The Book of Balances of the holy Tongue*; and his *Sepher isahut Bedikduk*, that is to say, *The Book of the Elegancy of Grammar*, and many others, needless to be mentioned here. Our Author has likewise translated from *Hebrew* into *Latin*, the Canticles or Song of Rabbi *Joseph*, called *Karras Keseph*, or, *The Silver Shield*. The *Sepher Kacabola* of Rabbi *Abram Levita*. An Epitome or short Chronicle of the Affairs of the *Romans*. The History of the Actions of the Kings of *Israel*, by an unknown Author. Several Letters writ by the Jewish Rabbies. The Commentaries of Rabbi *Quintis* on the Psalster. A Collection of all the synonymous Words that are in the Bible. *Simmus Tebillum*, that is to say, *The Ministry of the Psalms*. All these Books were translated from the *Hebrew* into *Latin*, by our Author whilst he was a Laick; and after he turn'd Monk, he translated the *Sepher Jetzira*, that is to say, *The Book of the Creation*. This Book the Jewish Rabbies alledge to have been writ by the Patriarch *Abraham*, for, according to their Cabalistick Doctors, every Patriarch from *Abraham* to *Moses*, had an Angel for his Master, who instructed him; and most of these Patriarchs have left Records of what past in their Time: Thus Rabbi *Abram Bendior*, in his Preface to this Book of *Jetzira*, tells us very gravely what the Angels Names were, the Angel *Raziel*, says he, was *Adam's* Master; *Zophiel*, *Sem's*; *Zedekiel*, *Abraham's*; *Raphael*, *Isaac's*; *Peliel*, *Jacob's*; *Gabriel*, *Joseph's*; *Metatron*, *Moses's*; and *Malathiel*, *Elias's*; and each of these Angels gave to their Scholars the Cabal, which is the Jewish Tradition, and by this Means it has been preserved amongst them. Now, the *Chaldeans* not agreeing amongst themselves about the First Principles of Religion, some setting up Two first contrary Causes, others Three, and others only the Sun, the First Cause of all Things; this, according to them, gave the Patriarch *Abraham* occasion to compose this Book of the Creation, which, tho' it be the Work of some Impostor who has borrowed *Abraham's* Name to it, nevertheless, one may discover in it the Remains of the Faith of the ancient *Chaldeans* and *Persians*, as it was taught them by the famous Impostor *Zoroastres*.

Our Author's next Performance, was a Translation of the History of *Judith*. A Translation of Rabbi *Salamon*, the Son of *Adratbi* (commonly call'd *Rashba*) *Cultus Sanctitatis*, or, *Holy Worship*: This Book contains the Duties of the Jews upon their holy Days and Fasts. Rabbi *Levi Ben Gerson* his Commentary upon the *Pentateuch*: This Rabbi has made several Commentaries upon the Scripture, most of which have been printed at *Venice*. A Book upon the Death of *Aaron* and *Moses*. The Chronicle of *Moses* the Legislator. The Book of *Tobias*. . The

Book of *Eldad*, of the Tribe of *Dan*. The Parables of *Sandabar*, with the Actions of the Seven wise Men. The Proverbs of the Fifty Disciples. The Office of the Blessed Virgin in Hebrew Rhymes, *Saare Hazredele*, or, *The Porches of Justice*, by Rabbi Joseph the Son of Karintoil. The Book of *Enoch*, and the *Virga aurea*. The Ancients and Moderns have been very much divided in their Opinions about the Book of *Enoch*, as it will appear from the History of this Controversie, as we have it set down in the Third Chapter of the Third Tome of *P. Simon's Critical Bibliothek*.

I now come to our Author's last Performance mentioned by *Dempster*, which is his *Virga aurea septuaginta duobus encomiis cælata*; and this is the authentick Document that I formerly mentioned of our Author's surprizing Knowledge in the Languages. This was communicated to me by the late Sir *John Murray of Glendoick*; and since it is a singular Piece of Curiosity, I shall give the Reader a particular Account of it, with some Reflections upon the different Languages that are here set down by our Author.

This is a large Print, engraved at *Rome* in the Year 1616. and dedicated to Pope *Paul V.* Upon the Top is the Blessed Virgin, with a Circle of Stars round her Head, wrapt up in a glorious Vestment, upon which is her Name in *Hebrew*; all round her Elogiums in *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew*, proceeding like so many Rays from her; above her Head is pictured the Father, Son, and holy Ghost; and on each Side of her Angels, and the Twelve Apostles; and under her Feet the Moon and the Stars.

Then follow Seven Columns, in the First and Last the Author, in *Latin* and *Hebrew*, gives the Account of his Design, in representing in Seventy two Languages, and in Emblems adapted to so many Passages of the sacred Scriptures, Encomiums upon the blessed Virgin. The Names of the Alphabets of these Languages in which these Encomiums are written, I shall here set down, with the Emblems and Scriptures that are writ round them, in the Language of each Alphabet.

The First of these Five Columns, has the following Alphabets, Emblems and Scriptures, The *Babylonish* Alphabet, the Emblem, Water flowing out of divers Conduits; the Inscription, *The Waters of Paradise*, Eccles. ii. 4. The *Hieroglyphick* Alphabet, the Emblem, A beautiful Mirrour; the Inscription, *A Mirrour without a Spot*, Wisd. vii. The *Apollonick* Alphabet, the Emblem, An open Book; the Inscription, *The Book of God's Law*, Eccles. xxiv. The *Egyptian* Alphabet, the Emblem, The Head of a beautiful Woman; the Inscription, *The King's Daughter is all glorious within*, Psal. xliv. The *Cyprian* Alphabet, the Emblem, A great City; the Inscription, *The City of a great King*, Psal. xlvi. The *Virgilian* Alphabet, the Emblem, A Woman sitting before the rising Sun; the Inscription, *Brighter than the Sun*, Wisd. vii. The *Hetruscan* Alphabet, the Emblem, A Ladder with Angels ascending and descending; the Inscription, *Jacob's Ladder*, Gen. xxviii. 12. The *Saracen* Alphabet, the Emblem, A Bed with the Mother and the Babe; the Inscription, *Behold, the Bed it is as that of King Solomon*, Cant. iii. 7. The *Affryian* Alphabet, the Emblem, *Judith with Oloferne's Head*

Head in the one Hand, and the Sword in the other : And thus the Author proceeds to other Alphabets, viz. the Armenian, the Syro-armenian, the Illyrian, the Sabean, the Ethiopian, the Phenician, the French, the German. The Second Column contains the Gothick, the Getick, the Seythian, the Messagetic, the Mercurial-Egyptiack, the Isiack-Egyptiack, the Greek, the Ionick, the Æolick, the Attick, the Dorick, the Latin Græcis'd, the Coptic Alphabets, that of the Jacobites, the Servian, the Irish, the Scots Alphabets. In the third Column is Pope Paul the Vths. Picture, beneath which are these two Latin Verses.

Anno 1621.

*Dat minimus minimum munus tibi, Maxime mundi,
Cerne animum dantis materiamque tibi.*

There are also the Pictures of Bathseba and Esther, with the Syriack Alphabet, and that of the Maronites.

The 4th Column contains the Chaldaick, the Palæstin, the Canaanian the Persian, the African, the Arabick, the Indian, the Turkish, the Rabinical, the German-Rabinical, the Galilean, the Spanish Rabinical, the Afro-Rabinical, the Hebreo-Arabick, the Syro-Hebraick, the Mystical.

In the 5th Column are the Seraphick, the Supercelestial, the Angelical, the Enochian, the Punick, the Hebrew, the Samaritan, the Mosaick, the Judæo-Samaritan, the Idumaan, the Halo-Rabnick, the Brachman, the Adamæan, the Solomonick; the Noachick Alphabets.

Our Author was so expert in all these Languages, as to be able to write in each of them.

Now these are all the Languages (and they are the most of the known habitable World) in which our Author has given us a Specimen of his Knowledge, and which evidently demonstrates, that he was not only the greatest Linguist of his own Age, but of any Age that has been since the Creation of the World, and may be reckoned amongst those Prodigies of Mankind, that seem to go beyond the ordinary Limits of Nature. Dempster says, That he is mentioned with great Honour, by *Vincentius Blancus*, a noble Venetian, in his Book of Letters; and as we have already observed, he is highly commended, by that learned Dr. of the Canon Law, *James Gaffarel*, in his Book of *Unheard of Curiosities*, published in Latin at Hamburg, Anno 1676. Dempster says, That our Author died at Venice, in the Beginning of the Month of October 1620, where he had gone to print some Hebrew, Syriack, and Chaldaick Writings; but others say that he died at Venice, Anno 1621, and that his Picture is still to be seen there, and at the Vatican at Rome: I design'd, in the Account of this learned Linguist's Life, to have inserted a Dissertation on the Origine, Progress, and different Dialects of the most ancient and useful Languages; but this Volume having already swelled to a sufficient Bulk and many Persons of Quality and Learning urging the Publication

P P P P P P of

 of it, I am forced to delay it, till an Opportunity offers in the 4th Volume. The Catalogue of his Works, according to *Dempster*, are as follow; all which he says he had seen.

The Catalogue of his Works.

- I. **D**ICTIOMARIUM *Hebraicum.*
- II. *Dictionarium Chaldaicum.*
- III. *Grammatica Arabica. Roma 1591, in 4to.*
- IV. *Commentarii in quosdam Psalmos.*
- V. *Keter Malcuth seu Gloria vel decus Israelis, continet C. Homiliae
sive Conclaves, Venetiis.*
- VI. *Rabbi Abraham Aben. Ezra Librum, de Mysticis numeris vertit
in Latinum.*
- VII. *Ejusdem Librum alium de Septemplici modo interpresandi
Sacram Scripturam vertit.*
- VIII. *Canticum Josephi Hysapei, quod dicitur Kaaris Kesoph vel
Argentea vertit, sequentes etiam libros vertit & edidit.*
- IX. *Sepher Kacabola Rab' Abrah'm Levita. F. David.*
- X. *Epitomen Chronicorum Romanorum.*
- XL. *Gesta Regum Israelis, incerto Autore.*
- XII. *Varias Rabbinorum Epistolas.*
- XIII. *Commentarios Rabbi Kimchi in Psalterium.*
- XIV. *Synonima qua in Bibliis habentur.*
- XV. *Summit Tebillim, i. e. Psalmorum ministerium.*
- XVI. *Sepher Jetzira, seu de Creatione.*
- XVII. *Historiam Judith.*
- XVIII. *R. Salomonis, F. Alar, cultus sanctitatis.*
- XIX. *Libellum de obitu Aaronis & Moysis.*
- XX. *Chronica Moysis Legislatoris.*
- XXI. *R. Levi, Ben. Gerson Commentarios in Decalogum.*
- XXII. *Librum Tobiae.*
- XXIII. *Librum Eldad, de Tribu Dan.*
- XXIV. *Parabolas Sandabar, in quo gesta septem sapientum continentur.*
- XXV. *Proverbia L. Discipulorum.*
- XXVI. *Librum Enoch.*
- XXVII. *Saare Hiazzedele, i. e. Porta Justitiae.*
- XXVIII. *Officium B. Virginis & Hymnos Hebraicos fecit.*
- XXIX. *Schema LXXII Idiomatum, sive Virga aurea, Romæ, 1616.
Quia Beata Virgo dicitur tot annis in vivis fuisse; & ille numerus Discipulorum est Christi, & R. E. Cardinalium, & tot Mysteria in nomine Dei.*

THE

T H E

LIFE of JOHN NAPIER, Baron of Mer- An. 1617. chiston, the Inventer of the Logarithms.

THIS Gentleman was descended from an ancient and honourable Family, (as my good Friend that learned Antiquary, Mr. Crawford has shown, in his History of the Peerage of Scotland (a). His Father Sir Archibald Napier of Edinbelly, was a learned and worthy Gentleman, and Master of the Mint in King James the VI. Time, who had a particular Respect and Esteem for him: His Mother Janet Bothwal, was Daughter to Mr. Francis Bothwal, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, in King James the V. Time, and Predecessor to the Lord Holy-rood-house: He was born at Merchiston, hard by Edinburgh, in the Year of our Lord 1550; he had his Education at the University of St. Andrews, as he himself informs us, where hearing Mr. Christopher Goodman preaching upon the *Apocalyps*, he says, That he was so moved at the Blindness of the Papists, that he immediately formed his Design of writing upon the *Revelation*, which he did indeed afterwards perform, with a wonderful Diligence and Labour; But it happened to him, as to all those that have meddled with these obstruse Mysteries, that none of them have as yet had the good Fortune to open the Seals, so as to convince any rational Man, that they have been admitted to those hidden Secrets of the Kingdom of Heaven: And all the Attempts that have been hitherto made, in the Explanation of this Book, have only served to show, how unsuccessful all their Attempts and Endeavours that Way have proved,

Our Author had no sooner finished his Studies in Philosophy at St. Andrews, but he was sent to his Travels by his Parents; and having stayed for some Years in the low Countries, *France* and *Italy*, he returned to his Native Country, and applied himself closely to the Study of Mathematics, in which he excelled all the Mathematicians of his Age. Yet the noble Speculations of these Sciences had not freed him from his Apocalyptic Visions, for his first Appearance in the World, was his Commentary upon the *Revelation*, which he published under the following Title, *A plain Discovery of the whole Revelation of St. John, set down in two Treatises, the one searching and proving the true Interpretation thereof; the other applying the same paraphrastically and historically to the Text, with a Resolution of certain Doubts, moved by some well affected Brethren; whereunto are annexed certain Oracles of Sibylla, agreeing with the Revelation, and other Places of Scripture.* And this he published in Quarto, in the Year 1593. And

P p p p p p 2

His Descent, Birth,
and Education.

He goes to his Travels,
and returning to his
Country, publishes
his Commentary
upon the *Revelation*.

it

An. 1617.


it must be acknowledged, that this Performance of his did very much amuse all *Europe*; and it was immediately translated into *Dutch, French, Italian* and *Latin*: And many were firmly perswaded of the Truth of what he had advanced in his Conjectures upon those Visions. But how much both he and they were mistaken, appears from the 14th Proposition of his First Book; wherein he positively affirms, that the Day of Judgment was to happen betwixt the Years 1688 & 1700. But had he, from these Visions, calculated our *Grand Revolution in Britain* in stead of that of the World, and foretold the grievous Calamities that have happened in *Europe* within this Period and since, he had been as much extoll'd for his Knowledge in these Mysteries, as he has been for his Knowledge in Numbers, by his wonderful and surprizing Invention of the *Logarithms*; of which I shall give the Reader a brief Account.

He invents
the Loga-
rithms, an
Account of
this Inventi-
on.

The Ancients, in their Calculations, used the natural Chords; the Circumference of a Circle being divided into 360 Parts, and the Diameter into 120, with each of these sub-divided into 60, the Sexagenary Division being the most convenient then known: And in these they estimated their Chords, a Table whereof we have in *Ptolemy's Almagest*. And these were the only Tables in use till about the Year of our Lord 1430, that *Regiomontanus*, keeping the same Division of the Circumference, divided the Diameter into 20000 equal Parts, computing in these the Chords of Half-arcs, which he call'd *Sines*. This is the first Decimal Division of the *Radius*, or whole *Sine*: Yet it was the *Saracens*, or *Arabians* that first form'd the *Sines* in stead of *Chords*, we having from them, about the same Time, the nine useful Characters which we call *Digital Numbers*. Afterwards, to these Tables of *Sines*, *Bressius* added the Table of *Natural Tangents*, which he call'd *Adscripts*; and others, as *Vicetia*, call'd them *Prostheses*. After which *Joachimus Rheticus* add'd the Tables of the *Natural Secants*, which he call'd *Hypothenusa's*, or *Transinusosa's*. All which were us'd with a great deal of Labour for common Multiplication and Division, till *Nicholaus Raymarus Dithmarsus*, by an Art he called *Prostapherisis*, somewhat eas'd the Work. This was improved by *Maginus*, in his Tables in his *Primum Mobile*: Yet Calculation remained very burdensom, and few would endure the Trouble of it; which was one Reason why these Sciences were so much neglected. But at length our Author hit upon the *Logarithms*, about the Year 1614, and by this wonderful and surprising Invention, all the Multiplications and Divisions were performed by Addition and Subtraction; so that thereby all Geometrical and Astronomical Calculations were rendred so easy, that by these Tables more can be done in one Hour, than in a Day by any of the former Methods invented by all the preceeding Mathematicians.

This glorious and wonderful Invention was no sooner published to the World, but 'tis incredible to believe with what a surprising Joy and Satisfaction it was received by all the Mathematicians in

Eu-

Europe, and what Elogiums were bestowed upon him by Petrus Crugerus, Benjamin Ursine (a) John Kepler, Adrian Vlacq, Frobenius Batschius. And all the most eminent Mathematicians of that Age, but by none more than by that eminent Mathematician Henry Briggs, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford: For he was so transported with Joy, as Dr. Smith informs us, in his Life (b), That our Author's Book, which was first published at Edinburgh in 1614, as we have said, became his Bosom and Darling Companion, by Night and by Day: And in his publick Lectures to his Scholars, and his private Converse with his Friends, Merchiston's Praises was the Theme he mostly entertained them with: And having thoroughly examined this noble Discovery, he wrote to our Author his Thoughts upon it, and how that they might be further improved: Nor would this satisfy him, without seeing our Author himself. So taking his Journey from London, he came to Merchiston, in the Year 1615, where he stayed with our Author for a Month, and returned full fraughted, with the Joy of our Author's having approved of his Improvement of his Logarithms. And the very next Year he made another Journey to Scotland, to have the Happiness of enjoying his Converse, and was preparing to make a third Journey, had he not been stoped by our Author's Death. Merchiston's Method was indeed much improved, by succeeding Mathematicians; and particularly the Construction of the Logarithms has been rendred very easy, by the famous Dr. Hally, in that most ingenious Essay, published in the Philosophic Transactions (c), to which I refer the Reader. It ought not to be omitted, that the same excellent Author, by considering the Proportions for the Solution of right angled spherical Triangles, invented the two following short Rules, whereby all the 16 Cases of right angled spherical Triangles, are easily resolved.

Rule 1. In any right angled spherical Triangle, the Rectangle under the Radius, and the Sine of the Middle Part is equal to the Rectangle, under the Tangents of the adjacent Parts.

Rule 2. The Rectangle under the Radius, and the Sine of the middle Part, is equal to the Rectangle under the Co-sines of the opposite Parts.

All the Learned in these Matters are sufficiently acquainted with these Rules, so that I need say nothing more of them.

Mr. Wood the Oxford Antiquary (d), says, That one Dr. Craig a Scots Physician, who received his Degree at the University of Basil, and was afterwards incorporated to the same Degree, in the University of Oxford, in the Year 1605, and who wrote a Book in 4to. addressed to Tycho Brahe, entituled, *Capnurania seu Comet. In aetheria sublimationis refutatio*, coming from Denmark to his own Country, went to visit Merchiston at his own House, where amongst other Discourses, he told him of a new Invention in Denmark, by Lon-

An. 1617.

Mr. Briggs,
the Savilian
Professor of
Geometry at
Oxford, vi-
sited him at
Merchiston,

A Confu-
tation of the
Story of Dr.
Craig's gi-
ving him the
first Hint of
the Logar-
ithms

(a) vide *Vossius de finis Mathematicarum*. Page 324. (b) *The Life of Dr. Briggs*. Page 4. (c) *Phil. Transact.* No. 636. Page 98.

(d) *Albinae Oxon. Vol. I. Page 459.*



gomontanus, to save the tedious Calculation by Multiplication and Division; and Merchiston having asked him what he knew of the Matter, he told him, That all he knew of it was, that it was done by proportionable Numbers: Napier taking the Hint from this, desired him upon his Return to call upon him; which after some Weeks, Dr. Craig coming to him, Merchiston shewed him a rudd Draught of it, that he called *Canon mirabilis Logarithmorum*, which Draught, with some Alterations, he printing in 1614. It came to the Hands of Henry Briggs, and William Oughtred, two famous English Mathematicians; and both of them consulting about the perfecting of it, the former took a Journey into Scotland, to confer with Napier about it; and having received great Insight from him, he perused the Matter, and in a few Weeks after, put forth two Books, after a more compendious Method: And this was Mr. Brigg's *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, which he published at London, in the Year 1624: And which was afterwards revised, corrected and augmented by Adrian Vlacq, and published under the following Title.

Arithmetica Logarithmica, sive Logarithmorum Chiliades centum pro numeris naturali serie crescentibus, ab unitate ad 1000000 una cum Canone triangulorum, seu tabula artificialium sinus tangentium ad Radium 10000000,00000. Et ad singula scrupula prima quadrantis.

Quibus novum traditur compendium, quo nullum nec admirabilissime nec utilius, ad solvenda pleraque problemata Arithmetica & Geometrica.

Hos numeros primus invenit clarissimus vir, Joannes Neperus, Baro Merchistonii, eos autem ex ejusdem sententia mutavit eorumque ortum, & usum illustravit Henricus Briggius, in celeberrima Academia Oxoniensi Professor Savilianus; Editio secunda aucta per Adrianum Vlacq, Goudanum. Goudæ 1628.

Now, as to that Part of the Story, concerning Dr. Craig's giving him the first Hint of this Invention, it is rejected by all the Mathematicians, as a mere Fable, the sole Glory of this Invention being owing to himself.

Our renown'd Author having thus eas'd the Mathematicians of their laborious Calculations, he in the next Place, contrived a most ingenious Divertisement, for all Gentlemen and Tradesmen, to perform all Manner of Arithmetical Operations, by certain quadrangular Columns, having proper Numbers written on all their four Sides, and from their being commonly made in Bone: They are called Merchiston's Bones, tho' they may be made in Timber, Silver, or any other Sort of Metal: And in the Year 1617, he published the Way how to make these Rods or Columns, and the Manner and Method of using them, under the following Title, *Rabdologia seu numerationis per virgulas libri duo, cum appendice de expeditissimo multiplicationis promptuario, quibus accessis, & Arithmetica localis liber unus; authore & inventore, Joanne Nepero,*

As Ac.
count of his
Invention of
Numbering
by the Rods
commonly
called Mer-
chiston's
Bones.

to, Barone Merchistonii, Scoto: After which our Author lived not long, dying upon the third of April the same Year; in the 67th Year of his Age.



His Death
and Charac-
ter.

He was twice married, and by his first Wife *Margaret Stirling*, Daughter to Sir *James Stirling* of *Kier*, he had that noble and learned Gentleman, Sir *Archibald Napier*, who in the Reigns of King *James* the VI. and King *Charles* the I. was one of the Lords of the privy Council, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, Lord Thesaurer depute, Lord Justice Clerk, and advanced to the Honour of Peerage, by the Title of *Lord Napier*, upon the 4th of May 1627. By his second Wife *Agnes Chisholm*, Daughter to Sir *James Chisholm* of *Cromlix*; he had five Sons, *John Napier* of *Easter-Torrie*, *Robert*, who published his Father's Posthumous Works, and of whom are descended the *Napiers* of *Kilcrouth*, *Alexander* of *Gillets*, *William* of *Ar amore*, and *Adam*, of whom are descended the *Napiers* of *Blackstoun*, and five Daughters, *Margaret* married to *James Stuart* of *Rossayth*, *Jean* to *James Hamilton* of *Kilbrachmont*, *Elizabeth* to *William Cunningham* of *Craigends*, *Agnes* to *George Drummond* of *Baloch*, and *Helen* to the reverend Mr. *Matthew Birsbane*, Parson of *Erskine* (a).

Should I here set down all the Elogiums that have been given to this renowned Author, by the Mathematicians of his own Age, and by all those that have lived since his Time, I should swell this Work to an immense Bulk, with needless Repetitions; his very Name is a sufficient Elogium, and will be such as long as the World lasteth: Besides his Knowledge in the Mathematicks, he was a Gentleman who was well seen in the Latin and Greek Languages, in the Roman and Gracian Histories; in the Writings of the ancient Fathers; and Ecclesiastical Historians; and had with great Care studied the Controversies betwixt us and the Church of Rome.

Gerardus Vossius speaking of our Author's Writings, says (b), *Vir hinc ut dico, Petrus Crugerus* (c) *Mathematicus Dantiscanus scribit vel ob id unicum, si cetera deessent immortali laude dignissimus excogitavit numeros illos mirabiles qui Logarithmici dicuntur, hoc est Numeri proportionum aut rationum indices, aut, interprete Keplero, incommunicabilium proportionum communis mensura; narrat deinde Crugerus, quam gratus hic labor fuerit viris doctis, in his Beniamino Ursino, Joanni Keplero, Henrici Briggio, & Adriano Vla- ca.*

Dr. *Smith*, in the Life of Mr. *Briggs*, speaking of our Author, and of the Esteem that that famous Mathematician had of him, gives us the following Account, of the just Esteem and Value that was put upon him and his Performances, by the learnedest Men of that Age (d). Anno 1614, Edinburgi prodidit nobilissimi viri D. Joannis Neperi, Baronis Merchistoni, mirifici Logarithmorum canonis descripsio, ejusque usus in utraque trigonometria; ut etiam in omni logistica Mathematica amplissimi facillimi & expeditissimi explicatio-

Qqqqqq 2

Perc

(a) Cawood ad loca. (b) ad loca. (c) Prof. in Trigonometria Logarithmica. (d) in Vita Henrici Briggs

Anno 1617.

Percrebuit olim fama, licet incerta, de cuius veritate merito dubitandum videtur. ^{D.} Cragium, Scotum, e Dania reducem, quo tempore illum honoris & amicitiae causa invisebat, enarrasse Christianum Longomontanum methodum invenisse, vel saltem de nova methodo inventi, qua numerose perplexaque Multiplicationes & Divisiones, quarum usus in Astronomicis supputationibus haec tenuis, non sine summo studio & labore obtinuit, in breve compendium faciliter opera redigi posse, idque proportionalium numerorum ope, sollicitum esse. Illud quidem fortasse illi summisque Astronomis, Joanni Mullero, Regioni montano, Nicolao Copernico, Tychoni Brachio, aliisque quibus compertissimum erat, Astronomiam, absque accuratissima doctrinae Triangulorum cognitione, non posse instaurari, maxime in votis & optatis suis esse videtur; & si quid hic ex parte conarentur, post frustra tentatas investigationes pro deplorato habitum, & quasi supra humum captum, vix ingenio & solertia cuiusquam superandum abjecisse. An vero quicquam simile, aut quovis modo analogum, hac ex parte praestiterit celeberrimus ille Tychonis discipulus, aliter famae in se, ex scriptis editis & inventis, derivanda cupidissimus, nullibi ab illo memoratum reperio. Inventum hoc prorsus mirabile, celesti ingenio Neperi unice debetur; splendidissimo autem titulo optime & plenissime respondet aureus iste Liber, prestatque quod ille, in Epistola ad Serenissimum Carolum, Wallie Principem, unicunque Regis Jacobi I, filium, Dedicatoria, vere & absque omni jactantia, spoponderat, ut illius administrculo plures questiones Mathematicae unius horae spatio, quam, pristina & communiter recepta forma Simum, Tangentium & Secantium, vel integro die absolvantur.

Quamprimum comparuit Liber, praeclarissimi quidam Mathematici, viz. Benjaminus Ursinus, Joannes Keplerus, Fröbenius, Bachchius, arrepta hic expedita & compendiaria Logistica, nondumque in meliorum methodum redacta, quam secuti sunt, illum magno cum honore exceperunt; sed nemo magis quam Briggius noster, qui Canonem, res tantas paucis pagillis adeo subtiliter & artificiose complexum, in omnem partem versavit, & etiam ac si ipse proprio marte invenisset, in profundiora illius arcana penetravit, hunc in deliciis habuit, in sinu, in manibus, in pectore gestavit, oculisque avidissimis & mente attentissima, iterum iterumque perlegit. Literis ad Ulterium scriptis (a), nullum Librum ipsi melius placuisse, animumque uberiori perfudisse voluptate, ut in veriorem excelsi auctoris ingenii, cui nihil impervium aut inaccessum videbatur, admirationem abripuisse serio professus. Hinc in illo illustrando, novisque augmentis in ultimum perfectionis statum provehendo, aut in museo, aut in lecto omnes cogitationes advertit, nec studia aut fructuosius, aut pulchrius, aut glorioius, quam in hoc praeclarissimo instituto, ceteris vice ^{supponitur} deinceps habendis impendi posse duxit. Hunc familiari apud amicos sermonem summis laudibus extulit. Hunc auditoribus suis ex cathedra explicavit, interim re accuratissime, & saepe sapius quidem perpenfa, longe commodius futurum judicavit: si pauxilla mutatione admissa,

Si

Si o: esset Logarithmus Unitatis, totius vero sinus 1000, de qua literis obsequit plenis inventorem monuit. Nec hoc officioso affectu contentus, proxima etate, anno viz. MDCXVI, ut colloquiis & aspectu illius fruoretur; deinde etiam iterum, sequente anno, in Scotiam contendit, tertiumque prosectorus, nisi D. Neperi mors intervenisset, de hisce communibz studiis elaborandis, simul cum illo consultaturus. Hic dum per integrum mensem, omni cum humanitate acceptus moram fecerat, de illa cuius in epistola meminisset mutatione, D. Neperum in illius sententiam, promptissimo assensu concedentem, idem dudum sensisse gratulatus est, coram dicentem se, quo minus istos numeros reformaret, valetudine & negotiis impeditum fuisse, quod ille, anno proximo, in Praesatione Rhabdologia, Edinburgi, MDCXVII edita, faciendum moneret.

An. 1617.

A great many Elogiums of this Nature, as I have said, I could amass together, were it needful; so I shall conclude with two Poems in Commendation of our Author, composed by Mr. Andrew Young, Professor of Philosophy in the College of Edinburgh: The first prefix'd to his *Rhabdology*, and the other, to his *Logarithms*.

*Multiplicare juvat numeros vel scindere, Lector,
Ut factus subito prodeat atque quotus:
Vel si Quadrati radicem, aut noscere Cubi
Schematis, hac proprium conflet ut arte latus:
Sive Geometricas vis: mensurare figuras;
Hic disces colorem per facilemque viam.*

Aliud,

*Buchanane, tibi Nepērum adsciscē sodalem;
Floreat & nostris Scotia nostra viris:
Nam velut ad summum est culmen perducta Poesis,
Sic etiam ad summum est culmen perducta Matthesis;
Inque hoc stat, nec quo progrediatur habet.*

The Catalogue of his Works.

A Plain Discovery of the whole *Revelation* of St. John, set down in Two Treatises: The One, searching and proving the true Interpretation thereof; the Other, applying the same Paraphrastically and Historically to the Text. *Edinburgh*, by Andrew Hart, 1593, in 4^o.

IL Rhabdologia, seu Numerationis per Virgulas. Libri duos: Edinburghi, Excudebat Andreas Hart, 1617, in 12^{mo}.

III. Mr. Robert Napier, his Son, after his Father's Death, published at Edinburgh,

1. *Mirifici ipsius Canonis Constructio, & Logarithmorum ad naturales ipsorum numeros habitudines.*
2. *Appendix de alia atque praestantiore Logarithmorum specie construendi; in qua scilicet Unitatis Logarithmus est 0.*
3. *Propositiones quædam eminentissime, ad Triangula Spherica mira facilitate resolvenda. Edinburghi, 1619, in 4so.*





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